Children's Literature across Space and Time

The Challenges of Translating

Beatrix Potter's Tales into Romanian

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original and does not, to the best of my knowledge, breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dear friend James Moulder (1937-2014), who suggested researching the translation of Beatrix Potter's tales and supported me in so many ways during this project. May God rest your soul, James. I will always be grateful for your help and your kind friendship.

Acknowledgements

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List of abbreviations and other conventions

BB: *The Tale of Benjamin Bunny*

CL: children's literature

CLT: children's literature translation

CLTS: children's literature translation studies

DTS: Descriptive Translation Studies

FB: *The Tale of the Flopsy Bunnies*

GP: *The Tale of Ginger and Pickles*

JF: *The Tale of Mr. Jeremy Fisher*

JPD: *The Tale of Jemima Puddle-Duck*

JTM: *The Tale of Johnny Town-Mouse*

MT: *The Tale of Mr. Tod*

PPP: *The Tale of the Pie and Patty-Pan*

PR: *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*

SC: source culture

SL: source language

SN: *The Tale of Squirrel Nutkin*

ST: source text

TG: *The Tailor of Gloucester*

TK: *The Tale of Tom Kitten*

TC: target culture

TL: target language

TT: target text

TW: *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle*

n.d.: no date available for a work cited

n.p.: no page numbers available for a work cited

"The Tale of…" is omitted in references to titles of tales by Potter.

Translations and back-translations are given in square brackets.

Generally, only last names are used. First names are added to differentiate between persons with the same surname, for instance, Norman Warne and Fruing Warne.

The words "communist" and "communism" are not capitalised. It is a personal choice, motivated by the negative impact of communism on my country and family.

Abstract

Dana-Mihaela Cocargeanu, *Children's Literature across Space and Time: The Challenges of Translating Beatrix Potter's Tales into Romanian*

Since their publication in the early twentieth century, Beatrix Potter's tales have been translated into more than forty languages. Despite this, Romanian translations are relatively few and recent. This thesis identifies the challenges of translating Potter's tales into Romanian, based on analyses of the source and target texts and contexts, complemented by discussions of the general challenges of translating children's literature and those of translating Potter's tales into other languages. The translation challenges are categorised into extra-textual (relating to the publishing process) and textual (regarding the verbal and the visual elements of the works). This study concludes that extra-textual challenges include selecting Potter for publication in Romania, selecting specific tales and book formats for publication, marketing the translated editions and assessing reception. The textual translation challenges comprise the translation of "syntext" (a term used instead of "paratext", inadequate with regard to Potter's books), of culture-specific items, proper names, challenging vocabulary, read-aloud and stylistic features, humour and narrative verb tenses. This thesis contributes to children's literature translation scholarship by focusing on Beatrix Potter's works, which have been little researched from a translation perspective, and on contemporary Romania, a little-known cultural and literary space.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

"I do not remember a time when I did not try to invent pictures and make for myself a fairyland amongst the wild flowers, the animals, fungi, mosses, woods and streams … (Beatrix Potter, letter to Bertha Mahony Miller, November 1940, qtd. in Taylor 2002b, p. 107).

Beatrix Potter (1866-1943) grew up in London in an upper-middle-class Victorian family with a penchant for the visual arts, who loved to spend holidays in the British countryside. Potter's own love of art and interest in the natural world were expressed in her drawings and paintings and in her scientific studies. Victorian gender-related ideologies which associated women with the domestic sphere, together with her parents' controlling tendencies, made her determined to gain financial and personal independence. Her literary career, prompted by this desire, began in 1901, when she published a privately-printed edition of her first book, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*. The following year, the book, published by Frederick Warne & Co., became hugely successful. Potter's collaboration with Warne lasted for several decades and resulted in the publication of twenty-three books. After 1913, Potter's literary activity decreased, as she became increasingly involved in farming and land conservation in the Lake District, where she had been living for several years. The large areas of the Lake District which she purchased to safeguard them from development were bequeathed to the British National Trust after she and her husband, William Heelis, passed away in the 1940s.

Potter's literary legacy has survived to date, thanks to the high quality of her books, the large number of translations based on them and the promotion industry developed around them. The "World of Beatrix Potter" tourist attraction in the Lake District has attracted numerous visitors since it was established in 1991, a film based on Potter's life was produced in 2006 and sequels to her tales were published in 2012 and 2013. Numerous books based on Potter's original tales and associated merchandise are also

sold in Britain and abroad. To date, Potter's tales have been translated into more than forty languages.

Despite this continuing popularity and great number of translations of Potter's tales, there are only few, relatively recent Romanian translations. The first Romanian edition which preserved Potter's original illustrations and was licensed by Warne, a collection of four tales, was published as late as November 2013. Further tales may be published in Romania in the future. Since Romanian translations are only beginning to be published, this study explores the challenges posed by translating Potter's work into Romanian, on the textual and extra-textual levels.

Although to date some children's books, such as Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* or Collodi's *Pinocchio*, have been extensively researched in Children's Literature Translation Studies (Tabbert 2002, p. 307), Potter's tales remain under-researched from a translation perspective. One of the main contributions of this thesis, therefore, is to provide an analysis of this much-translated author from a translation perspective. Moreover, scholarship about translations for children in Eastern Europe is not as visible internationally as research regarding the Western part of the continent and there are few studies of children's literature translation (CLT) in Romania, as the field is only now beginning to develop there. Consequently, the second major contribution of this thesis is its exploration of CLT in the Romanian context, which adds to the body of research on the little-known Romanian cultural and literary space and on Eastern Europe in general. Finally, the study keeps abreast of recent developments in the translation of Potter's tales in Romania, by including an analysis of the latest, 2013 edition. Since further Romanian translations of Potter's tales may be published in the future, it is hoped this study will serve scholars researching this phenomenon.

1.2. Research question and working definitions

The main research question of this study is:

What are the potential challenges (textual and extra-textual) of translating Potter's tales into Romanian?

"Challenge" is defined here as any aspect of the translation process, including publication, in which the main actors involved (for instance, translator, publisher) have to make decisions which will impact on the final product and possibly on its reception. "Textual" refers to the verbal and the visual elements in Potter's books, in contrast to "extra-textual" elements, pertaining to the publishing process.

"Children's literature" (CL), another term often used in this thesis, is generally acknowledged as difficult to define in CL and CLT studies, due to the ambiguity and cultural variability of the terms "children" and "literature", and to the wide range of literary species which have come to be considered appropriate for children (O'Connell 2006, pp. 16-17; Maybin and Watson 2009, pp. 3-4; Hunt 2009, pp. 22-23; Pearson and Hunt 2011, pp. 3-7). Consequently, various working definitions have been proposed, such as "literature which is read silently by children and aloud to children" (Oittinen 1993, p. 11), or "literature intended for readers aged between one and eighteen at the time it was written" (Pearson and Hunt 2011, p. 4). In this study, "children" are defined as persons aged up to eighteen; however, distinctions are made between younger and older readers whenever necessary, especially since Potter's works are intended primarily for younger children. "Children's literature" is understood as literature published for children, which includes texts written expressly for children and texts which have come to be accepted as appropriate for children, although initially not aimed specifically at them.

References to the "West" or "Western" indicate Western Europe and other Anglophone countries, such as the United States. "Eastern European" countries are those formerly under communist rule.

1.3. Theoretical framework and methodological approach

This study is conducted within a broad descriptive and transfer-oriented framework. It is descriptive, in the spirit of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), in that it does not include prescriptive statements regarding, for example, the most appropriate strategies for translating Potter's tales into Romanian. However, unlike typical DTS, which are target-oriented, this research is transfer-oriented. The term "transfer-oriented" has been used in relation to the historical-descriptive study of translation by scholars of the Göttingen Centre for the Study of Literary Translation. Based on the idea that "[t]ranslations are media of interlingual exchange and of intercultural contact, communication and transfer", Kittel (1998) argues that neither source-oriented, nor target-oriented approaches account satisfactorily for translation phenomena. The proposed "Göttingen approach" involves a consideration of both source and target "sides", together with the agency of individual translators, the difficulties of the translation process and "the dynamics of transfer" (p. 7; see also Gentzler 2001, p. 191). Frank (1990) argues, along the same lines, that translation history research needs to take into account not only the source or the target side, but both of them, and "the differences between them" (qtd. in Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997, p. 178). Although this study does not research translation history, the general theoretical principle of the "Göttingen approach" is particularly relevant for it. This is because the research attempts to identify the potential challenges involved in the translation and publication of Potter's tales in contemporary Romania, the challenges of transferring literary works with specific characteristics, related in specific ways to their context of origin, across space and time, into a different context. The idea of "challenge" itself is closely linked to that of "process" and hence of "transfer". For this reason, an orientation towards "transfer", rather than the DTS focus on target texts and contexts, is better suited to this research enterprise.

In terms of methodology, this principle involves considering both the source and the target texts and contexts. For clarity of presentation, the general methodological approach is outlined below, whereas specific methods are detailed at the beginning of chapters or sections.

The examination of the source context draws on the findings of published research in historical, sociological, cultural and literary studies, and original research into

Potter's published correspondence. It focuses on aspects relevant to the subsequent analysis of the STs, including socio-economic developments, educational practices and CL in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, and biographical details regarding Potter. The various relationships between the STs and their context are thus outlined. The STs are then analysed, to identify their main textual features, which may be relevant in translation. The analysis takes into consideration their inclusion in a specific literary category, that of CL, and therefore relates to scholarship in CL (T) studies, while also using concepts common in linguistics and stylistics, such as register.

Potter's best-known works include twenty-one prose narratives and two nursery rhyme books. Due to space limitations, this study focuses on the tales. Furthermore, given the significance of visual elements in Potter's work, it analyses only those tales that can be defined as picture books, in line with the discussion in Chapter 2. Since the definition of a picture book adopted there is that of a book with at least one illustration on each double spread, *Little Pig Robinson*, in which not all double spreads feature illustrations, is excluded. Of the remaining twenty tales, a sample of seven has been selected, although reference is made to the other stories, where necessary. The sample comprises *Peter Rabbit* (1902), *Squirrel Nutkin* (1903), *The Tailor of Gloucester* (1903), *Benjamin Bunny* (1904), *Jemima Puddle-Duck* (1908), *The Flopsy Bunnies* (1909) and *Mr. Tod* (1912). These tales have been chosen for particular attention because they illustrate the range of layouts and text complexity in Potter's works, they provide examples of particularly interesting or characteristic features of her books and they have been translated into Romanian.

On the target side, the study focuses on historical, socio-economic and cultural developments which may impact on the translation of Potter's tales, drawing on published research in relevant fields. It also includes original research into Romanian CL and translations for children, based on online searches of data bases and publishers' websites. Existing TTs (print and online editions) are analysed and compared with the STs. Finally, those involved in the translation of Potter's tales are included, for example, the translator of the 2013 edition, the illustrator of the 1998 one and the Rights Assistant at Penguin Books (which currently owns Warne).

The challenges of translating Potter's work into Romanian are thus identified based on these analyses, which establish the main features of the tales, the characteristics of the target context which may impact on the translation process, the main differences between the STs and TTs, which indicate where the translators had to make particular decisions, and a translator's perceptions regarding the challenges encountered during the translation process. Other methods which contribute to the analysis include identifying the main challenges of translating CL, drawing on existing scholarship, and identifying the challenges of translating Potter's tales into languages other than Romanian, as discussed in Potter-related translation scholarship and evident from Potter's correspondence.

1.4. Thesis structure

Chapter 1, "Introduction", explains the rationale for the study and its contribution to Children's Literature Translation Studies (CLTS). It defines important terms, outlines the methodological approach and reviews relevant CL and CLT scholarship. The main features of translating for children are discussed, in relation to the defining characteristics of CL. The challenges of translating for children are then identified, with a view to examining the extent to which they apply to Potter's works, in Chapter 5, "The challenges of translating Beatrix Potter's tales into Romanian".

Chapter 2, "The source context: Potter's life and times", first discusses aspects of Victorian and Edwardian England relevant to Potter's life and her works, namely, economic, social and political developments; religious life and the development of science; gender-related discourses; the situation of children and representations of childhood; educational practices and philosophies; and CL. The analysis then focuses on Potter's life and identifies links between her cultural context, personal experiences and works.

Chapter 3, "The source texts and their translation", explores the characteristics of Potter's tales, which may pose translation challenges, by analysing verbal and visual aspects and their interaction. It also discusses the link between Potter's works and translation, by establishing the extent to which Potter's work has been translated to date. Finally, it identifies the challenges of translating Potter's tales into languages other than Romanian.

Chapter 4, "The Romanian translation context", focuses on the target context, delineating aspects of particular relevance for the translation of Potter's works. An initial outline of Romanian history centres on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, significant for the development of Romanian CL. Economic and social developments are then discussed and related to the translation of Potter's tales. An exploration of the situation of children, conceptions of childhood and educational aspects identifies the characteristics of Potter's potential audience and contemporary educational practices and philosophies to be taken into consideration by the publishers and translators of Potter's books. The chapter also discusses contemporary attitudes to CL and outlines the historical development of Romanian CL and its current state. Finally, the main features of Romanian are presented and their implications for the translation of Potter's tales are addressed.

Chapter 5, "The challenges of translating Beatrix Potter's tales into Romanian", discusses the main challenges posed by a Romanian translation of Potter's tales. After a prefatory presentation of the Romanian translations already published, the translation challenges are discussed, divided into two categories, extra-textual and textual. The extra-textual challenges comprise selecting Potter for publication in Romania, selecting specific tales and book formats for publication, marketing the translated books and assessing reception. The textual challenges include translating visual and verbal syntextual elements, culture-specific items, proper names, challenging vocabulary, read-aloud qualities, writing style, humour and narrative verb tenses.

Chapter 6, "Conclusion" summarises the main findings and relates them to the general challenges of translating for children identified in Chapter 1. Several areas worthy of further research are also indicated.

1.5. Children's Literature Translation Studies and translating for children

Children's Literature Translation Studies (CLTS) have developed in tandem with significant trends in Translation Studies, namely, the move from prescriptive to descriptive, and from source-text orientation to a focus on the target texts and contexts (Tabbert 2002, p. 28; Van Coillie and Verschueren 2006, p. vi). Although explorations of CLT have been conducted from a variety of theoretical perspectives, several concepts and theories are more prominent and used frequently in CLTS. They include Even-Zohar's polysystems theory, Toury's translations norms, Venuti's discussion of translator (in)visibility, domestication and foreignisation, and theories of narrative communication. Given that the discussion below makes reference to these theories, they are briefly introduced next.

From a polysystems perspective, a literary text is studied as a part of a larger literary system, itself related to other (social, historical, cultural) systems (Munday 2001, p. 109). The literary polysystem is heterogenous, including several systems alongside the central, canonised one. It is also hierarchical and dynamic: there is a permanent struggle of the different systems to occupy the central position (Even-Zohar 1990a). Translated literature itself can be either "central" or "peripheral" under various socio-literary circumstances and the different positions influence translation behaviour and norms (Even-Zohar 1990b). Translation norms are "socio-cultural constraints" that govern translation behavior (Toury 2000, p. 199). Norms can change in time and different types of norms (i.e. mainstream, outdated and new ones) can exist synchronically (ibid. pp. 204-205). Toury also acknowledges that individual translators' behaviour cannot be absolutely systematic and that translators are actively involved in shaping translation norms (ibid. pp. 208, 204). Translators' agency and (in)visibility are dealt with by Venuti (1995), who criticises the Anglo-American translation tradition of fluency and naturalness of discourse, translator invisibility and low status. Venuti links this ethno-centric, "domesticating" translation practice to cultural imperialism and advocates a "foreignising" approach which emphasises the otherness of the ST, destroys the illusion of transparency and makes the translator more visible. Venuti also calls for more translator assertiveness, for example, through discussions of their approaches in prefaces or lectures (pp. 1-42, 307-313). The translator's voice is also addressed from narratological perspectives in CLTS. Theories of narrative communication focusing on the roles of

the narrator, the real and implied author and readers (for example, Chatman 1978 or Schiavi 1996), are applied to translation by O'Sullivan (2006a), who adds a second group of participants to the communicative act, namely, the narrator, the real and implied translator and readers of the translated text. Furthermore, Bakhtin's work on the carnivalesque and dialogics is employed in Oittinen's study of translating for children (2000), in which she suggests that translators must immerse themselves in the essentially carnivalesque culture of children.

Drawing on such theoretical developments and on CL scholarship, CLT research delineates the characteristics of translating for children and evidences their connection with the general features of CL. Thus, the distinguishing features of CL and translations for children are rooted in the particular relationship between their producers (adults) and their intended audience (children). Firstly, there is an "asymmetrical" relationship between these two categories (O'Sullivan 2005, p. 14; 2006b, p. 113). Generally it is adults who write, publish and purchase books meant to be read by or to children. This asymmetrical relationship results in an "adult presence" (Lathey 2006e, p. 5) and a "dual audience" in CL (O'Connell 2003, p. 227). The adult presence is visible in the ambivalence of meaning in children's texts, which can be read in different ways by children and by adults (Lathey ibid; O'Connell ibid.). Furthermore, adults (educators, librarians and parents) play a "gatekeeping" role, selecting the books that children read (Squires 2009, p. 191). The implications for CLT of this asymmetry are discussed by several scholars. Pascua-Febles (2006) argues that translators of CL take into consideration not only their juvenile audience, but also parents, librarians, teachers, "publishers' norms" and "the possible didactic purpose of the text", which may conflict with one another (p. 111). Moreover, CLT scholars agree that translators must be aware of the several implied readers of the ST and decide to preserve the texts' dual address or to orient them more determinedly towards one type of audience (O'Sullivan 2013, p. 453; Lathey 2006c, pp. 14-15; Oittinen 2006b, p. 35; 2008, p. 3). Such decisions are explored in studies which provide examples of dual address preservation (Rudvin and Orlati 2006; Minier 2006) or transformation into child address, for instance, by eliminating irony and sexual allusions and adding explanations (Øster 2006).

Secondly, CL fulfils several functions and conforms not only to literary norms, but also to educational and social ones (O'Connell 2003, p. 228). CL is subject to

pedagogical considerations whereby the content of children's texts should be adapted to their limited world knowledge (Lathey 2006e, p. 7) and linguistic abilities. It is also influenced by didactic concerns, including the teaching of literacy and religious or moral education (Lathey 2006e, p. 6; Puurtinen 1995, p. 17; Pederzoli 2010, p. 187). Finally, it is subject to manipulation to serve political ideas. As a result, CL is shaped by educational philosophies, conceptions of childhood, political thought and, more generally, systems of beliefs specific to individual authors, historical periods and cultural spaces, which are generally discussed as "ideology" (Keyes and McGillicuddy 2014; Hunt 2009, pp. 13, 15; Pearson and Hunt 2011, p. 196; Nodelman 1996; Hunt 1992, pp. 27-32; Stephens 1992). Examples of political manipulation of CL are provided by research on the former USSR and Eastern Bloc, where CL was used to shape the "new man", an active participant in the building of a socialist society on the path to complete communism (Balina 2008, Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2005, 2006a, 2006b). Pearson and Hunt (ibid, pp. 263-266) and Fernández López (2006, p. 41) also show that texts for children are altered when they move across historical periods, in accordance with the prevailing ideologies of those times. However, CL also has a subversive potential and can deal with problematic topics which are not approached by mainstream adult literature (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2005, pp. 36-41) or can criticise dominant ideologies (Müürsepp 2005, pp. 109-113).

CLT scholarship shows that translations for children also serve a multiplicity of functions, conform to socio-educational norms and are influenced by changing ideologies. O'Sullivan (2013, p. 453) argues that CLT is the site of a tension between pedagogical considerations (the need to adapt the translated text to children's receptive abilities) and the basic function of translated literature, that of facilitating children's contact with foreign cultures. This tension influences translators' decisions regarding the degree of domestication or foreignisation of foreign elements in the STs. O'Sullivan (2006a) also argues that, due to the adaptation of translation to a child audience, a narrator voice, different from that in the STs, can be discerned in the TTs. Desmidt (2006) points out that the possible effects of prioritising "pedagogical norms" (i.e. changes in content, structure and style) may clash with literary norms and faithfulness to the STs (p. 88). Explicitation, a strategy by which translations are adapted to the perceived abilities of the target audience, is shown to

affect even the relationship between the illustrations and the texts of translated children's books, for example, by the verbalisation of information provided only at the visual level in the originals (Desmet 2006, pp. 194-195). Lathey (2010) demonstrates that British translations for children have historically employed various types of "mediation", for example, through language and structure (pp. 120-122). Stolt (2006) emphasises that adults' "preconceived opinions" about children and their abilities make STs "paler and tamer" in translation (pp. 72-73).

The ideologies of translators and TCs, including conceptions of childhood, educational philosophies and political thought, account for such changes and other significant alterations brought to translated CL (Lathey 2010, p. 111; Oittinen 2006b, p. 41; Oittinen 2000, p. 4; Øster 2006, pp. 146-148, 150-152; O'Connell 2003, p. 229). CLTS research suggests that such manipulations are more common in translations for children than in those for adults (Pokorn 2012, p. 7; Mambrini 2010, p. 253). Pokorn ascribes this phenomenon to the belief that CL should not obstruct "the development of children into ideal citizens or individuals", which are conceived of differently in various cultures and historical periods. Consequently, the ideologies of TCs are reflected in their translations for children. Examples of this relationship between translated CL and TC ideologies are provided by several studies. Pokorn (ibid., pp. 128-130) and Mazi-Leskovar (2006, p. 162) agree that in the early days of communist rule in Slovenia, at the peak of Soviet influence, religious references were eliminated or replaced in translated children's books, although translations for adults were not tampered with. This was the result of the political context, whereby ideological propaganda, directed mainly at education and publishing, aimed to estrange children from religion, in line with Soviet, Marxist principles (Pokorn ibid.). Pokorn also reveals that the main motivation for these changes was the translators' self-censorship, due to fear of sanctions, internalisation of ideological requirements, or allegiance to communist doctrine. The agency of translators or publishers is indeed a significant factor in ideological manipulation of translations for children, as shown by other CLT studies. For example, Nic Lochlainn (2013) argues that the anticolonial ideology of the Irish translator of Blyton's *The Secret Mountain* motivated him to remove the original, controversial imperialistic elements (p. 85). Kyritsi (2006) also shows that in Gág's English translation of Grimms' tales, religious references are eschewed and "goriness" is considerably reduced (pp. 207-

208). Mambrini (2010), a translator of children's and young adult books, recounts her experience of working with Italian publishers, who tend to eliminate or tone down potentially problematic passages dealing with taboo subjects such as sexuality, drugs, alcohol and violence (pp. 251-253). However, in other cultural contexts and under the pressure of commercial interests, some taboo topics may actually be foregrounded to arouse potential buyers' interest, as in the case of the early Dutch translations of Chambers's novels for young adults, whose covers openly represented sexuality or irreverent treatment of religion (Joosen 2006, pp. 64-65).

Thirdly, CL is generally perceived as having a lower status than literature for adults. This status is described as a "peripheral position" in literary systems by Shavit (1986, p. 112); O'Connell (2006) agrees that CL has traditionally been seen as "somehow second-rate and functional rather than of high quality [and] creative" and that children's authors have low professional prestige and have tended to be poorly paid (pp. 16, 19). Low status also results from the literary evaluation criteria applied to CL, which are more suitable for literature for adults (ibid, p. 19). Hunt (2009) concurs that many adults consider CL "popular" literature and hence of inferior quality (p. 19). Mambrini (2010) supports this by noting that CL is reviewed only in specialised publications for educators and librarians and that it gains cultural visibility only when best-sellers, such as *Harry Potter*, are published (p. 244). Perhaps as a result of this low status, "textual transformations" of CL, including print and multimedia adaptations, are common (Lefebvre 2013, p. 2). Similarly, an abundance of sequels, "prequels", "interquels" and other types of books which stand in various relationships with an initial successful one, are produced (Nikolajeva 2013, p. 197).

On the translation side, Shavit (1986) argues that it is exactly this peripheral position and low status which allow CL to be manipulated in translation according to the TC ideology and the didactic, pedagogical and literary norms of the target system. This "systemic affiliation" leads to abridgements and deletions, changes in the level of complexity and style of the texts (pp. 111-130). Other scholars identify a similarity between CL authors and translators, with regard to professional prestige and pay (O'Connell 2006, pp. 19-20; Pederzoli 2010, p. 186). Nevertheless, translators' status is also shown to vary, depending on particular circumstances. Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2006) demonstrates that in the former German Democratic Republic, due to the

importance of translations for ideological propaganda, translators, including translators of CL, enjoyed social prestige and financial benefits. More recently, Minier (2006) explains that the translation of the *Harry Potter* series conferred prestige and visibility to their Hungarian translator (p. 119). Alternatively, the prestige and visibility of CL translators may derive from their association with other (adult) areas of cultural activity. For instance, Borodo (2006) explains that Barańczak, Dr. Seuss's translator, is a reputed Polish translator and that his photograph and a biographical note were included next to Dr. Seuss's, on the back cover (p. 149).

Fourthly, visual and aural elements are particularly important in children's books and have benefitted from increased critical attention in recent decades. Scholars emphasise the significance of illustrations and other visual elements, with particular reference to picture books, which depend on the visual-verbal interaction. Aural elements are also important, because young children listen to stories being read to them and because children discover language by playing and experimenting with it (Lathey 2006e, p. 10). Visual and aural elements in children's books require specialised skills from their translators, including visual literacy and linguistic creativity (O'Sullivan 2013, pp. 453-4).

Finally, recent decades have witnessed particular developments in CL, with some significant similarities and differences between Western and Eastern European CL. On the one hand, Western scholarship argues that the influence of new technologies has given rise to new forms of story-telling. For example, in computer games and interactive online narratives, stories differ each time they are performed, may have "shared authorship" and do not conform to linear narrative patterns (Pearson and Hunt 2011, pp. 274-275; Flewitt 2009, pp. 361-365). Furthermore, many books are published as part of series of products, comprising DVDs, films and websites (Pearson and Hunt 2011, p. 279). Pearson and Hunt also argue that the style of children's fiction seems to have become closer to that of "popular" fiction (i.e. less subtle), but it is difficult to judge such contemporary CL by the same criteria as that of other historical periods, because the reading experiences are different, due to their association with experiences of other types of media (e.g. watching a film before reading a book based on it (ibid, pp. 285-291). The popularity of computers and the internet among children has raised concerns about literacy and the status of reading,

which has prompted several campaigns in Great Britain (Squires 2009, p. 185). The crossover genre (fiction which appeals to both children and adults), has also risen to unprecedented prominence, due to a redefinition and a fluidisation of boundaries between childhood and adulthood in the Western world (Falconer 2009, pp. 375-377). Furthermore, CL has become increasingly commodified. Squires (2009) shows that CL has become more important for the British publishing industry, partly due to the success of crossover fiction (p. 183). This importance is accompanied by an increase in marketing activity, which is similar to that conducted for adults' books: "Authors are introduced with large-scale promotional campaigns, targeting the mass market with consumer advertising, sales promotions … and digital marketing activities" (ibid. p. 190). Moreover, given the importance of adult "gatekeepers" discussed above, such marketing targets both children and adults. When targeting children, publishers must take into account the competition from entertainment provided by other media and find creative ways to make their products attractive. Marketing, therefore, is done through "multimedia synergies and merchandising", including interactive websites, social networks and TV programmes. Characters also tend to become "merchandised properties" and associated spin-offs are developed based on them, for example, toys and games (ibid. pp. 184-185). On the "gatekeepers" side, Squires notes the significant role of schools in determining children's reading matter, which makes them an important target for publishers. However, she also argues that the formal educational environment is more difficult to access, since, according to the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and the National Literacy Trust, educators tend to prefer a small number of safe options and are not generally prepared to take risks with new titles. Finally, Squires underlines the importance of British literary awards in sanctioning literary value and promoting authors and genres, and remarks on the recent trend of allowing children to take part in related decision-making (ibid. pp. 193-196).

Eastern European CL has undergone particular changes in the wake of the late 1980s political events. The most significant commonalities of CL in post-communist states are the impact of the transition from a centrally-planned to a market economy and increased contact with Western culture. Thus, Rudova (2008) points out that Russian CL publishing was financially supported by the state, during communist rule. Yet, after the political changes of the early 1990s, many important institutions, including

the main state publisher, ceased to exist, and new, profit-oriented publishers were established. Consequently, Russian CL appears to be moving towards popular fiction and away from the high literature of communist decades (pp. 19-20). Furthermore, especially in the 1990s, Russian publishers opted for safe choices, that is, already established children's classics, or Western best-sellers, rather than taking risks with new Russian authors (ibid. p. 22). Woźniak (2013) describes a somewhat similar situation in Poland, where several small, profit-oriented publishers were set up in recent decades. Moreover, as a result of massive importation of Western popular children's culture products, "… in the past twenty years Poland has caught up, at an accelerated rate, with the same tendencies that in Western Europe had begun decades earlier" (p. 97). A somewhat different situation pertains in Slovenia, where, although many small publishers have been established, the most important one continues to be the former state children's publisher (Pokorn 2012, p. 29).

The above findings point to a frequently discussed issue in CLTS regarding contemporary translations for children, namely, the imbalance in the international circulation of children's books, a characteristic which Eastern European CL has also come to share. CLT scholarship confirms Venuti's claims concerning the unequal translation activity between the Anglo-American cultures and the rest of the world (1995, pp. 12-16), and the effects of this phenomenon, namely, the production of British and American cultures "that are aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with English-language values and provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other" (ibid. p. 15). Thus, a number of studies document that Great Britain and the United States are the main exporters of children's books worldwide and that they also import the least, even from a historical perspective (O'Sullivan 2005, p. 67; Desmet 2006, p. 191; Lathey 2006c, p. 2; Ghesquiere 2006, pp. 27-32; Parkinson 2013, p. 151; Pinsent 2006b, p. 1; Bell 2006a, pp. 45, 52; Goldsmith 2006, p. 96; Hoskins 2006, p. 103; Fernández López 2006, pp. 46-9; Fornalczyk 2012, p. 40; Beckett 2003, p. 22). The figures for British and American imports of children's books are 2.5-4% and 1-2%, respectively (O'Sullivan ibid.), while in continental Europe they are much higher, often "in double figures", sometimes over 50% (Parkinson 2013, p. 151). Fornalczyk (2012) shows that Poland joined this unequal global exchange system once the politicised

state control of children's publishing ceased in 1989 (p. 40). Associated with this inequality is a continuing tradition of domestication in Anglo-American cultures and a concern that Anglo-American children cannot take too much foreignness (Lathey 2006c, p. 2; 2010, pp. 117, 196). While both Lathey (2010, p. 202) and Bell (2006a) note a slight improvement in the number of children's books translated in Britain in recent years, Bell also shows that the change is accompanied by a negative phenomenon, namely, books that foreign publishers propose to their British counterparts are written according to recipes for international success (pp. 45, 52).

Some authors also examine the relationship between CLT and globalisation. Lathey (2010, p. 202) argues that the globalisation of children's culture and book market affects CLT in several ways. For example, when best-sellers are published, they are translated worldwide more and more quickly; the worldwide commercialisation of rights is becoming increasingly important for publishers (hence the importance of international book fairs, underlined by Jobe 1996, p. 519); the common practice of co-producing picture books (the same books, in the same formats, are published in several countries and languages) may be adopted for translations of other types of books in the future. Borodo (2006) adds that large publishing conglomerates have an ever-increasing stake in CLT publishing and that a number of products are ubiquitous in many countries (pp. 140, 142, 143). Concerns are expressed regarding the quality of co-produced books and children's classics, namely, that the wish to make them acceptable in several cultures makes them culturally unspecific and non-stimulating (O'Sullivan 2006c; Jobe ibid.). Fornalczyk's analysis of Polish children's publishing provides an example of this trend, as CL classics published recently in Poland are subject to excessive reduction, simplification and "careless" translation, although the quality of their illustrations can be high (2012, p. 41).

Finally, Borodo (2006) suggests that a globalisation-based perspective, investigating the interactions between the global and the local, is better suited for the exploration of contemporary CLT. Borodo argues that the children's market in "developed countries" is dominated by a small number of titles or brands, such as *Harry Potter* or W.I.T.C.H., but strategies of both foreignisation and domestication are visible at the local level (p. 143). Furthermore, he notes that many translations for children are produced and sold by "global publishing and marketing systems" and have "a

complex multi-source and a large-scale multi-target" which require alternatives for the source-target dichotomy (p. 140).

In conclusion, CL and CLT scholarship identify several features of CL and translating for children and delineates contemporary developments. An "asymmetrical" relationship between children and adults results in the ambivalence of meaning and dual audience of CL, which translators often take into account. Like CL, translations for children are subject to literary, educational and social norms, which may clash with each other. The low status of CL may facilitate the manipulation of translations for children according to various norms and may influence the status of translators, although specific historical circumstances may ensure a high status for CL translators. Finally, the importance of visual and aural elements in CL requires translators to have specialised skills. Regarding recent developments in CL and translations for children, it is concluded that, in the Western world, new media have given rise to new forms of storytelling and there are concerns regarding children's literacy and the status of reading. The crossover genre has gained unprecedented popularity and CL is increasingly commodified. Eastern European CL publishing is coming to share some of these characteristics, due to increased contact with the West after the fall of communist regimes, while facing the transition from a centrally-planned to a market economy. One of the consequences of these phenomena is that many Eastern European countries have joined the unequal exchange of CL between the Western, Anglophone countries and the rest of the world. Finally, there are indications that translations for children are becoming a globalised phenomenon, rather than a matter of source-target interaction. In light of all this, a number of challenges associated with translating for children can be discerned in CLTS scholarship and are analysed below.

1.6. The challenges of translating children's literature

1.6.1. Extra-textual challenges

1.6.1.1. Selection of source languages and texts

The selection of particular SLs and titles for translation figures prominently among the extra-textual challenges of CLT. Current research identifies several factors which influence the selection process, including the prevailing TC ideologies, inclusion in political or cultural spheres of influence, commercial interests and aesthetic considerations.

The largest body of relevant research examines the impact of TC ideologies on the selection of SLs and STs. For example, Oittinen (2006b) argues that books translated in the USA in the 1990s were selected because they agreed with American values (p. 40). Fernández López (2006) shows that Spanish translations of controversial British works were based on early editions, rather than on more recent, ideologically purged ones, partly because the ideology of the early editions was not problematic for the Spanish audience (pp. 42-43). Simó (2008) advocates the selection of books by translators as social activists, who should choose those books which raise "children's awareness of their planetary citizenship" and alleviate "human and cultural genocide" (p. 61).

Translators' and publishers' views regarding the function of CL, often influenced by TC ideologies, are also important. For example, Lathey (2006c) shows that Wollstonecraft decided to translate a German text for children as it corresponded to her Enlightenment views on CL. However, later in the nineteenth century, Taylor founded his choice of the Brothers Grimm's tales on an opposite view, which criticised rationalism and upheld fantasy (pp. 5-8). Kruger (2012) finds that in multi-cultural South Africa, books are selected based on their functions. For example, the divertive and aesthetic functions are prioritised for imported picture books, whereas a didactic function is added for local South African picture books (p. 274). Billings (2006) explains that the British publisher Milet selects picture books for translation if the books enrich children's visual literacy by artistic techniques and alternative ways of representation (p. 102).

Other scholars explore the role of ideology and spheres of influence in the selection of books translated in Eastern Europe. Mazi-Leskovar (2006, p. 155) and Pokorn (2012, p. 18) explain that most nineteenth-century Slovene translations for children were from German and more than half were religious books, due to century-long rule by the Habsburgs, inclusion in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and denominational commonalities. Nonetheless, once ideas of nationhood gained importance, German influence was increasingly perceived as undesirable and countries seen as less threatening to national identity, such as the United States, were preferred as SCs (Mazi-Leskovar ibid.). Religious literature ceased to be translated after the country came under communist rule (Pokorn ibid. p. 37). Slovenia's relationships with the USSR and other Yugoslav states in the twentieth century determined further fluctuations in the languages selected for translation. These changed from Russian to German and English (after the early break with the USSR), and from Yugoslav languages (in the 1980s) to English (after Slovenia broke away from Yugoslavia in 1991) (ibid. pp. 20-23). Even the number of titles selected from a specific SC can be influenced by political ideology and spheres of influence. Thus, in communist-ruled Poland (1945-1989), especially in the first decades (1945-1965), translations for children were subject to a quota system which privileged Soviet texts over those coming from the Western world (Fornalczyk 2012, pp. 39-40).

The impact of communist ideology on the selection of STs in the former USSR and Eastern Bloc is investigated by several studies. Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2006) finds that the selection of texts for translation had to be justified to a censorship authority in the German Democratic Republic. While Soviet literature was particularly important in the early communist years, Western literature was accepted when it provided opportunities to criticise Western societies, foregrounded values which supported communist ethics, or was necessary to maintain business relationships and thus earn foreign currency. Along the same lines, Tarrend (2005) concludes that the Estonian texts selected for the German supplement of the Russian *Pravda* newspaper in the 1980s were mainly those which conformed to Soviet ideology, although Estonian CL was increasingly diverse and dealt with relevant contemporary topics, such as the *perestroika* (pp. 82-87).

Commercial considerations also play a significant role in the selection of particular books for translation. As translation subventions available from source countries

vary, publishers may choose titles which are better funded, or popular titles which have a lower risk of being unsuccessful (Parkinson 2013, p. 155). Moreover, the selected books must "meet the publisher's general criteria and fit well with the list" (i.e. the other books published) (ibid. p. 154). Oittinen (2000) adds that editors often select titles that have won prizes or are presented at international book fairs, and that they are unable to keep up to date with recent developments in various countries, due to "a lack of time, resources and contacts" (p. 166). A desire to establish a high reputation and aesthetic considerations also motivate publishers to select award winners (Desmet 2006, p. 192). However, an excessive interest in profits and a lack of professionalism may lead to the selection of "mediocre" books, as Fornalczyk (2012) argues with reference to the contemporary Polish children's book market (p. 41).

A related challenge is mentioned in studies based on direct contact with publishers (Parkinson 2013, Goldsmith 2006), namely, identifying titles suitable for translation. For US editors interviewed by Goldsmith, the challenge lies in their lack of knowledge of foreign languages, which makes them dependent on others' opinions about the originals (p. 93). However, Parkinson, who works with the publisher Little Island, maintains that the identification of titles is only a perceived difficulty. She lists a number of sources which can be used, including international book fairs, the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY), the International Youth Library in Munich; "national translation promotion agencies, lists of award-winning and award-nominated titles in various countries"; recommendations, sometimes by independent translators; reading translations into more accessible languages; reading summaries in English or "rough translations" provided by foreign publishers (p. 154).

To conclude, CLT scholarship demonstrates that selecting SLs and STs for translation is a significant challenge in the publishing process. This selection depends on a number of factors, including the ideologies of the TCs, of publishers and translators; commercial interests; and aesthetic considerations.

1.6.1.2. Other publishing issues

Several other challenges faced by publishers of translated CL are evident from the existing literature. These include facing political and economic changes, appointing translators, marketing the translated books and gauging reception.

That political and economic changes affect CL publishing is demonstrated in scholarship on post-communist Eastern European countries, many of which have undergone a transition from a centrally-planned to a market economy (Rudova 2008, Woźniak 2013, Fornalczyk 2012). As explained above, whereas in communist times there were few, state-supported publishers, after the fall of these regimes, more publishing businesses were established. Since they do not benefit from state financing, these new publishers tend to be very profit-oriented, which affects their publishing policies and ultimately their products. For instance, according to Woźniak (2013), in Poland the aesthetic quality of children's books has suffered due to publishers' pursuit of financial profit and particularly to the ubiquity of co-prints. The quality of co-prints is low because the texts are not professionally translated, their relationship with the accompanying illustrations is not taken into account sufficiently and the illustrations themselves are "desperately trivial and dull" (p. 97).

In fact, these publishers now share the concerns and challenges of Western publishers of translated CL. Making a profit is now a major goal and to this end several marketing strategies, including pricing and promotion, are employed. The relationship between pricing and translation is discussed by Parkinson (2013, p. 156) and Desmidt (2006, pp. 88-89) with regard to picture books. Although picture books are cheaper to translate because they have relatively little text, the overall production costs are higher. As a result, co-publishing, which reduces these costs, is commonly undertaken. However, co-publishing entails additional time pressure, as all co-produced versions must be finished at the same time. Consequently, several translators may be assigned to work on the same book, rather than just one.

Another publishing challenge is promoting the translated books and attempting to gauge reception by significant "gatekeepers". With regard to promotion, Parkinson (ibid.) underlines the importance of publishers' inclusion in award systems and of securing the authors' participation in promotional events (p. 160). Goldsmith's interviews with American editors of translated children's books reveal their concern

about how reviewers will receive the books, since American reviewers tend to criticise books that preserve foreignness or references to sexuality and violence. Reception of the books as translations is also a matter of concern, since these editors think that translations do not sell well (2006, p. 94).

Finally, the appointment of translators is discussed by Parkinson (ibid.) and Goldsmith (ibid.). The latter's interviewees thought that finding translators is challenging because of the specialised skills required of translators, namely, literary translation and a thorough understanding of the STs (p. 93). Parkinson presents several ways in which translators can be selected, for example, shortlisting through translators' associations or personal contacts before making a decision based on a sample translation of an extract (p. 155).

In conclusion, publishing translated CL involves several challenges besides selecting texts for translation. These challenges include dealing with political and economic changes, marketing the books, predicting reception and appointing translators.

1.6.1.3. Collaboration between the producers of the translated books

Several persons are involved in the production of a translated book, including the publisher, the translator(s), the copy editor(s), the ST author and the illustrator(s) of the source and target editions. The nature of their collaboration has significant effects on the translation of children's books, as discussed in several CLT studies.

Wyler (2003) explains that in Brazil, translators do not generally choose their own texts, but receive them from publishers. Dollerup (2003) shows that often it is not the translator who decides the overall translation approach and the final form of the text, but the publishers, who aim to appeal to their audience and thereby secure financial profit (p. 91). An example of the influence of publishers on translation approaches is provided by Parkinson's account of Little Island's publishing policies. As Little Island's purpose is the cultural enrichment of Irish children, they ask translators to adopt a foreignising approach. At the same time, book titles are "domesticated", to attract potential buyers (2013, pp. 157-159). Finally, Wyler also emphasises that copy editors can "mutilate" the final product, due to time pressure or lack of knowledge of the language pairs involved (ibid. pp. 5-6).

The impact of several persons' contributions to a translated book is more significant in picture books, given the importance of visual elements in such productions. Although this aspect is dealt with in more detail below, suffice it to say here that the more people involved in the creation and translation of a picture book, the greater the potential for inconsistencies or ambiguity in the verbal-visual interaction (Nikolajeva and Scott 2001, pp. 29-30). If fewer people are involved, such contradictions are less probable. For instance, Kyritsi (2006) finds a close correspondence between the text and the illustrations in Gág's translations of Grimms' tales, which Gág also illustrated (p. 206).

Translating may also be a collaborative enterprise. It has been mentioned above that, due to time pressure, several translators may work on the same co-produced book. In other cases, there may be collaboration between the translator and a native speaker of the SL, as described by Puică (2007), who translated a Romanian fantasy into French together with a French collaborator. This strategy was used in order to strike a balance between remaining faithful to the ST and making it accessible to the target audience (p. 36).

It can be seen, therefore, that the individual translator is not the only decision-maker in the translation process, which is influenced by publishers, copy editors, illustrators and other collaborators. This conclusion must be taken into account by CLTS when proposing explanations for various translation strategies visible in the TTs.

1.6.2. Textual challenges

1.6.2.1. Cultural references

The treatment of cultural references in translation has received much attention in CLTS. Although the concept is not always clearly defined, the existing literature explores various items specific to the SCs which may be difficult to transfer into the TL and culture, including food items, flora and fauna, units of measure and currency, songs and rhymes, games, cultural practices, proper names, intertextual references and humour (wordplay) (for instance, Klingberg 1986, pp. 17-18; González Cascallana 2006, p. 103; Nic Lochlainn 2013). A distinct category is cultural references in the STs which pertain to other cultures or to the TC (Minier 2006, pp.

129-130; Joosen 2006, pp. 75-76). Since intertextuality, humour and proper names are addressed in separate sections below, the discussion here explores CLTS findings regarding the general challenges and strategies involved in the translation of cultural references.

Cultural references are more challenging to translate in CL than in literature for adults, mainly due to the more limited world knowledge of the target audience and to the translators' and publishers' conceptions regarding their readers' ability to cope with the unfamiliar. Various authors advocate either domesticating or foreignising approaches for translating cultural references. Thus, Oittinen (2006b, pp. 42-43) states that choosing between domestication and foreignisation in CLT is less clear-cut than Venuti's discussion suggests, since a foreignised text may alienate children from reading. González Cascallana (2006) expresses a similar concern about children's rejection of the unfamiliar and criticises a perceived foreignising tendency in CLT which "ignor[es] contextual and pragmatic considerations and therefore caus[es] an alienation of the target reader through the presence of culture bumps" (p. 108). In contrast, other scholars claim that the preservation of SC references allows children to experience otherness and increases their intercultural awareness (Mambrini 2010, p. 250; Hoving 2006, p. 43). O'Sullivan (2005) also argues that children are used to facing the unfamiliar, since they commonly encounter new things as they grow up (p. 95).

The challenging nature of cultural references in translation is also evident from the range of strategies employed by translators. A number of studies explore these strategies, often based on Venuti's domestication-foreignisation dichotomy, and attempt to account for them. The factors which can influence translation strategies include conceptions of childhood, educational philosophies, ideas regarding the purpose of translations, commercial interests, language policy and the position of translated CL in the target literary systems. For example, Lathey (2006c) suggests that, whereas Wollstonecraft's adaptation of cultural references was determined by the moral-educational function of her translation and eighteenth-century conceptions of childhood, more recent motivations for adaptation are ensuring ease of comprehension or the commercial success of translated books (pp. 6-7). Desmidt (2006) points out that "localization" is common especially when translators prioritise pedagogical norms ("the emotional and cognitive development of the reader") and

achieving the same effect as that of the original (pp. 90-91). When the main purpose is raising cultural awareness, a foreignising approach is preferred; this can be a publisher's general policy, complied with by the translators (Parkinson 2013, p. 156). Kruger's investigation of translations for children in South Africa (2012) suggests that one of the main assumptions of polysystems theory does not apply in the South African context. According to Even-Zohar, domestication occurs frequently in peripherally-positioned translations, and foreignisation and innovation, in centrally-placed ones. Nevertheless, although CL translated into Afrikaans is peripheral because it only complements original productions, the Afrikaans translators in Kruger's study claim that they do not domesticate to a significant extent. Moreover, although translations into African languages are central because they are essential for building a corpus of reading matter for children, African-language translators feel it is necessary to domesticate (pp. 272-273). Furthermore, Kruger's textual analysis reveals that in practice translators use both strategies to various degrees, depending on the perceived functions of the books and their degree of foreignness (p. 276). A related point, regarding "marginalized languages" and language policy, is made by Nic Lochlainn (2013) with reference to Irish translations of English texts. Nic Lochlainn quotes previous research suggesting that domestication can help improve literacy among speakers of minority languages (p. 74). This concurs with the opinions of the African-language translators quoted by Kruger. Nevertheless, Nic Lochlainn also remarks that most readers of English CL translated into Irish are bilingual and therefore may be familiar with the original books and their cultural references. Consequently, a domesticating translation policy is not justified (p. 86).

References to the TC or to other cultures also entail specific challenges and strategies. Minier (2006) comments on the "Ruritania" references in *Harry Potter* (an allusion to Eastern Europe and the Balkans), which the Hungarian translator could have "corrected", by replacing them with references to Western Europe or to cultures to which the Hungarians feel superior. Minier states that the references were preserved as such, although she does not explain why (pp. 129-130). References to the TC in the ST may be received differently by the TC audience. For example, the "Hungarian Horntail" dragon may sound "exotic" to British children, but would be a reason for national pride for Hungarians (p. 130). Such references may also have a positive defamiliarising effect for TC readers, as could have been the case with the

Dutch translation of Chambers's *Postcards from No Man's Land*. Although the original is set in Amsterdam and includes explanations about the Dutch language and lifestyle, its defamiliarising potential was not preserved in the Dutch edition, which removed those explanations, considered redundant for Dutch readers (Joosen 2006, pp. 75-76).

There is little empirical research on children's reception of translated cultural references and the few published studies (Kruger 2012, Stoica 2012) suggest that further investigation is necessary. Kruger's eye-tracking experiments concerning children's and adults' reactions to domesticating and foreignising strategies indicate that the effects of such strategies (e.g. on comprehension) are neither regular, nor predictable and require further research (p. 277). Stoica's study, based on surveys and cloze tests administered to 10-14-year-old Romanian children, identifies differing attitudes to domestication and foreignisation. Furthermore, only about one third of the children had a good understanding of a largely foreignised text. Based on this, Stoica raises the issue of the degree of foreignisation that is acceptable in a translated text. She concludes that the children in her study have different attitudes to foreign cultures, depending on the context. While in real life they adopt foreign customs and use English to communicate, they are "more conservative" when they read translated texts (pp. 104-112).

To conclude, CLT research frequently deals with the translation of cultural references, whose challenging nature stems from children's limited world knowledge and adults' concern that too much "foreignness" might alienate them. There is little and generally inconclusive empirical research into children's reception of foreignised or domesticated translations, but CLT scholars advocate either domesticating or foreignising approaches and show that translation strategies are affected by commercial and ideological (including pedagogical) concerns.

1.6.2.2. Proper names

Translating proper names in CL poses challenges due to their cultural specificity, their functions in the respective texts and the characteristics of translating for children. In CLT studies, proper names are approached either as culture-bound elements, mostly within the domestication-foreignisation dichotomy, or from the perspective of the functions they serve. Translation strategies and potential explanations for their use are also investigated.

Fornalczyk's comprehensive review of relevant scholarship concludes that most studies focus on the issue of domestication-foreignisation and that many of these are prescriptive, advocating either approach. For example, Bell (1985), Nikolajeva (1996) and Tomczak (2004) argue that domestication results in a fluent translation, adapted to children's limited knowledge, whereas Yamazaki (2002), Hoving (2006) and Stolt (2006) favour the preservation of foreign names, as a sign of respect for other cultures and a way to enrich children's intercultural knowledge (Fornalczyk 2012, p. 69). There are also more descriptive-explanatory studies which do not advocate either approach (Pascua-Febles 2006, p. 116; Pelea 2007) and studies which propose a more balanced approach (Mambrini 2010, Stoica 2012). Mambrini (2010), a translator herself, states that she preserves the names which are not too difficult to understand or pronounce and translates the others, as well as those with double meanings or intertextual allusions which would be difficult to understand (p. 248). Stoica (2012), a teacher and translator, argues in favour of preserving foreignness, adjusted to the children's comprehension level (pp. 114-160).

Another approach is the functional one, which considers the role or potential effects of proper names in the STs and TTs. Fornalczyk (2012) argues that theoretical discussions should not be limited to the domestication-foreignisation debate, since proper names have a range of functions and relations with other elements in literary works, which should be taken into account by translators (pp. 68-71). Fornalczyk proposes a list of such functions, including the "locational" ("situating the plot in specific space and time"), the "sociological" ("signifying the social class, milieu or nationality"), the "semantic" ("characterisation according to factual/metaphorical meaning of the name") and the "poetic" ("related to the expressive function, may include the use of rhymes or alliteration") (pp. 61-62). Other significant

categorisations of the functions of proper names in CL are put forward by Nord (2003) and Van Coillie (2006). Nord distinguishes between the identifying function, the "descriptive" function and that of marking culture (pp. 183-184). For Van Coillie, function is the "possible effect" of proper names, including the informative, the formative, the emotional, the creative, the divertive and the aesthetic. Van Coillie also explains that different translation approaches impact on the functions of the names in the text (pp. 123-125).

Possible translation strategies and the factors which account for them are also explored by these studies, most comprehensively and systematically by Van Coillie and Fornalczyk (who draws on Van Coillie's work). The former lists ten strategies, including "non-translation", "non-translation plus additional explanation", "phonetic or morphological adaptation to the target language", "replacement by a counterpart in the target language", "translation (of names with a particular connotation)" and deletion (pp. 125-129). Van Coillie proposes a number of factors which may explain translators' choices of strategies. These include the features of the proper names (e.g. connotations, degree of foreignness, read-aloud qualities), their functions (e.g. to contribute to characterisation) and relationships with other elements (such as the illustrations) and "the translator's frame of reference". The "frame of reference" comprises the translators' personal and professional context (their specialised knowledge and skills, their ideologies and their literary environment; the age group targeted, the function of the translated text, the "influence of other actors in the literary communication process") (pp. 129-136). An important addition to this list, by Fornalczyk, is translators' awareness of earlier translations of the same work (pp. 66-67), which may influence their choices for a retranslation. This influence can be particularly strong when earlier translations are highly popular in the TC, as suggested by Constantinescu (2013, p. 161) and Pelea (2007, p. 109), who remark that Romanian retranslations of Perrault's tales preserve character names from earlier editions which are widely known in Romania. Finally, another factor which determines translation strategies, especially in widely circulated best-sellers, is children's familiarity with the original names. Several studies identify a contemporary tendency to preserve the original names and even a historical trend from domestication to foreignisation (Fornalczyk 2012, p. 164; Stoica 2012, pp. 114-160; Borodo 2006, p. 148). These phenomena are ascribed to increasing

internationalisation or globalisation, associated with the ubiquity of English language and culture and the commercialisation of CL and culture (see also Pinsent 2006a, p. 106), and to translators' awareness of recent developments in translation theory and practice (Fornalczyk 2012, p. 164).

In conclusion, CLTS ascribe the challenge posed by proper names to their cultural specificity and to the complex range of functions they may fulfil in children's texts. Existing studies approach proper names from a domestication-foreignisation perspective or from a functionalist one. A number of factors explaining translators' use of various strategies are proposed, either textual (e.g. characteristics of the proper names, their relationships with other elements of the texts) or extra-textual (e.g. translators' personal ideologies and their professional and cultural environment).

1.6.2.3. Visual elements

The challenging nature of visual elements in CLT arises from their significant role in children's books and sometimes from their culture-specific content. CLT scholarship discusses the functions of visual elements and how these change in translation, as well as the factors which influence these changes. Although most research focuses on the illustrations of children's books, a number of studies also examine other visual aspects, such as typography, format, layout and cover design (Neale 2006, Desmidt 2006, Oittinen 2008, Español Castellà 2008, Fischer 2008, Yuste Frías 2012, McKenzie 2013). Overall, this scholarship emphasises the contribution of visual elements to the books, particularly in the case of picture books. Consequently, as Oittinen and O'Sullivan argue, translators of CL must be visually literate and should have specialised training in this respect (Oittinen 2006b, p. 35; 2008, p. 6; 2000, p. 165; O'Sullivan 2010, 2006b, 2005).

Visual elements pose a number of challenges in translation. Firstly, given that in picture books some information may be provided only at the visual level, translators may be tempted to verbalise it. Oittinen (2008, pp. 12-16) and O'Sullivan (ibid.) argue against this practice, which denies the TT readers the opportunity to decipher the original text-illustration relationship and does not trust their ability to do so (based on a specific image of the target readership). Oittinen, who prioritises the child reader's enjoyment, goes as far as suggesting that, if the original text-image

relationship is defective, the producers of the translation are entitled to improve it (2000, p. 163). Examples of translated editions considered better than the originals are analysed by Neale (2006) (the English edition of Pennac's *L'oeuil du loup*) and Fischer (2008) (the Spanish edition of Nöstlinger's *Das Austauschkind*). In the former case, the English edition is considered superior because it seems made for enjoyment and it leaves room for individual reader interpretation; in the latter, the illustrations of the Spanish edition enhance the "tragicomic" character of the story, in line with the author's ironical style. This contrasts with the original illustrations, which have a more decorative function.

Secondly, the close relationship between picture book illustrations and their texts may limit the translators' options for textual manipulation (for example, the domestication of cultural references), to avoid inconsistencies between the text and the illustrations (Fischer 2008, p. 99; Oittinen 2008, p. 14; Desmet 2006). Oittinen points out that this challenge occurs more frequently in the case of co-prints and this is partly why such publishing enterprises tend to favour books which are not highly culture-specific (ibid.; see also O'Sullivan 2005, p. 103).

Thirdly, since notions of what represents acceptable imagery for children differ between cultures, publishers may feel it necessary to modify or eliminate certain illustrations. Oittinen (2008) cites the example of a book by Finnish artist, Louhi, whose cover had to be changed in a British edition because it featured the image of a naked little boy (p. 13)

Fourthly, externally-imposed limitations may entail translation challenges and impact on the translated editions. For example, Desmidt (2006) explains that Nordqvist's publisher grants translation rights on condition that the original illustrations be preserved, which means that the translated text must fit into speech balloons (pp. 91-92). Furthermore, a book's visual characteristics may be altered due to the TT publisher's decision to include it in a series and possibly target a different age group. Español Castellà (2008) finds that a Spanish edition of a Dutch comic strip picture book modifies the format, cover, title, number of illustrations and artistic style of the original, due to its inclusion in a series for use in schools, by older children, which gives the text more importance than in the original and alters the original's humour and representation of characters (p. 76).

The changes brought to visual elements in translated children's books are explained by several factors, discussed in CLT scholarship. The example analysed by Español Castellà (ibid.) shows the impact of publishers' decisions (in this case, inclusion in a specific series) on the makeup of translated editions. Other factors include the Spanish illustrator's own artistic style and the lack of collaboration between the illustrator and the publisher. Whereas the original author and illustrator were good collaborators, the Spanish publisher only gave the translated text to the illustrator, together with technical data (i.e. number of illustrations, colour, name of author). Time pressure was also a limitation on the research that the illustrator could do on the original author. Español Castellà's findings are supported by Dollerup (2003), who shows that some inconsistencies between translated texts and illustrations stem from publishing practices, rather than mistranslation, as sometimes the translators are not shown the pictures accompanying the STs (p. 88). Fisher (2008) also identifies several issues related to publishing a translated book with the original illustrations, including the acquisition of rights, profitability (which affects decisions to publish colour or black-and-white illustrations), the reception of the illustrations by target country readers, their correspondence to the general style of the publisher's books and their potentially disturbing or outdated character (p. 100).

To conclude, visual elements represent a challenge for producers of translated CL because often they are essential elements of the originals, where they have particular relationships with the text, and they may also be culture-specific. As a result, translators may verbalise information provided only at the visual level; their freedom to make textual changes may be restricted by the illustrations, or they may be compelled to produce texts of specific lengths. Visual elements in translation are also subject to extra-textual factors, such as publishing policies and the collaboration between the producers of the translated books.

1.6.2.4. Read-aloud qualities and readability

Despite the importance of aural elements in CL, this topic has not been explored by many CLT scholars. Studies by Lathey and Oittinen explain the significance of aural elements for CLT, identify several ways to make texts suitable for reading aloud and analyse specific children's texts from this perspective. Other studies dealing with "readability", which is somewhat connected with reading aloud, evidence the need for further theoretical and methodological development in the exploration of this topic.

Lathey (2006d) explains that sounds are important for young children, who listen to stories being read to them and learn language by imitating and playing with the sounds they hear (p. 182). Oittinen (2008) also stresses that texts are "performed" and "must flow while being read" to children (p. 16). The means used to give the texts aural qualities and make them suitable for reading aloud include "repetition, rhyme, onomatopoeia, wordplay and nonsense" (Lathey ibid.), punctuation, sentence and word length, alliteration and narrator address, repetition of the conjunction "and" (Oittinen ibid. pp. 7, 16). Such elements are also important when translating for children (Oittinen 2000; 2006a, p. 93; 2006b, p. 35; 2008, p. 3), if translators take it upon themselves to make the TT easy and pleasant to read aloud. This is a challenging undertaking, which requires considerable linguistic creativity (Lathey ibid.). Translators must take into account several significant aspects, such as "intonation, tempo, pauses, stress, rhythm, duration" and can guide the reading aloud by "repetition, sentence structure, line breaks, rhythm, and punctuation" (Oittinen 2006b, p. 39). Furthermore, in picture books, the verbal read-aloud qualities must be harmonised with the visual elements and the pace of page-turning (Oittinen ibid. p. 15).

That read-aloud elements are a particular challenge of translations for children is suggested by two comparative analyses of translations of the same STs, aimed at either a child audience or a less specifically juvenile one. Ciocoiu (2007) contrasts a Romanian translation of *Alice in Wonderland* for children with a French edition for a dual audience and finds that one of the distinguishing characteristics of the child-oriented Romanian edition is the frequent use of language specific for oral communication (p. 69). Pelea (2010a) compares three Romanian translations of

Perrault's tales and concludes that the only one which stays close to Perrault's style is a scholarly edition. In contrast, the other two translations, aimed at children, alter Perrault's style considerably, for instance, by adding read-aloud qualities, such as markers of oral storytelling and an audible narrator voice (pp. 108-109).

A related issue, sometimes taken up by CLT scholars, is that of "readability". Dollerup (2003) identifies two types of translation approaches, one which aims at "readability" and another, more academic one, which produces texts meant to be read silently. However, Dollerup does not provide a precise definition of "readability", but only implicitly suggests that "readable" means easy to read (e.g. p. 89), and makes no clear distinction between reading aloud and reading in general. Moreover, although Dollerup proposes a framework for analysing "readability", including the structural, the content and the intentional levels (p. 87), it is not clear how most of these levels contribute to the "readability" of a text. Puurtinen (1995) is more theoretically precise in dealing with "readability" (defined as "comprehensibility or ease of reading determined by the level of linguistic difficulty", p. 107), which, together with "speakability" ("ease of reading aloud", p. 107) determines "linguistic acceptability" (the degree to which the language structures of a translated text conform to the norms of the target CL and to the expectations of the target audience). Puurtinen focuses on one feature of linguistic acceptability, namely, finite (dynamic style) and nonfinite (static style) structures and suggests that the former have a higher degree of linguistic acceptability in translated Finnish CL. However, her discussion also underlines the challenges and limitations of this type of research, for example, assessing children's perception of the linguistic acceptability of translations and measuring readability and speakability objectively (p. 229). Moreover, she states that her findings are only indicative of *relative* readability and linguistic acceptability, since there are no absolute benchmarks for cloze tests (her testing method) and for the readability of CL (p. 221).

In summary, aural elements are important for CLT because children often listen to stories read to them and they experiment with language and sounds. CLT scholarship identifies a number of features that translators must take into account, such as onomatopoeia, alliteration, punctuation and narrator address. Studies also suggest that an emphasis on the aural qualities of texts may be a criterion for distinguishing child-oriented translations from translations aimed at a more general or adult

audience. Finally, discussions of "readability" sometimes lack a specific definition of the term, or underline the challenging nature of assessing it objectively.

1.6.2.5. Stylistic features

A number of CLT studies discuss the challenges posed by the translation of stylistic peculiarities, focusing mostly on language register and dialect. Stylistic features are a translation challenge because translators must be competent enough to perceive them, interpret them and transfer them to the TTs (Joosen 2006, p. 70). Moreover, educational and literary norms in the TC may influence the translation of stylistic peculiarities in CL towards standardisation (Fernández López 2006, p. 43; Lathey 2006e, p. 8). Finally, the reception of translated stylistic features may be influenced by educational considerations. Wyler (2003) recounts that some Brazilian parents criticised her use of colloquialisms in the translated *Harry Potter*, although most adults and children appreciated it (p. 6).

CLTS explore translation approaches to various stylistic features and sometimes attempt to account for them. What becomes evident from such studies is that stylistic peculiarities tend to be replaced by more standard language registers. They may also be altered based on pedagogical considerations (facilitating comprehension), the translators' status and the norms of the target literary system. Thus, Joosen (2006) explains that in Dutch translations of Chambers's works, his stylistic particularities were rendered by more common registers, for example, colloquialisms were transformed into standard language (p. 70). The same tendency is detected by Pascua-Febles (2006, p. 120) and Øster (2006, pp. 148-150) in English translations of Walbrecker's *Greg* and Andersen's tales, respectively. Rudvin and Orlati (2006) identify different translation approaches in the Italian and Norwegian editions of Rushdie's *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*, which they relate to the intended audience of the translation. Whereas the Italian translation uses a high register, probably aimed at an adult audience, the Norwegian one employs "syntactic and lexical clarity entirely suited for a juvenile readership" (p. 173). Borodo (2006) distinguishes an entirely different approach in domesticated Polish translations for children, that is, originally simple words are replaced with less accessible vocabulary. Borodo attributes this practice to textual factors (e.g. the significance of wordplay or

alliteration) and to extra-textual ones, such as the status of translators. More stylistic freedom seems to be allowed for prestigious translators (p. 149). Stylistic features (such as register) may also be translated by similar TL varieties to give the impression of "naturalness" for the benefit of the reader (Pascua-Febles 2006, p. 120). A middle-of-the-road strategy is discussed by Pelea (2007) in her analysis of Romanian translations of Ségur's *Nouveaux contes de fées*. Ségur's high literary style contrasts with the style of the best-known Romanian tales, in which familiar language is used in dialogues, even by characters belonging to the nobility. Most translations analysed by Pelea solved this tension by preserving the French titles, while using a Romanian polite pronoun which is mid-way between informal and formal variants (p. 117).

Another stylistic change, the emotional intensification of matter-of-fact styles, for example, through diminutives and an emotional tone, is attributed by Stolt (2006) to adult perceptions of children and translators' wish to embellish the ST (pp. 75-7). Ciocoiu (2007) sees the use of diminutives differently, as a strategy to adapt a Romanian translation of *Alice in Wonderland* to a child audience (p. 68).

The translation of dialect is also discussed in CLT scholarship, which argues that dialects are more challenging to translate than some language registers, given their direct connection with specific geographical regions. Bell (2006b) contends that replacing them with TC dialects would foster inconsistencies between the setting of the stories and characterisation and therefore it is preferable to translate them by colloquialisms (p. 233). A related aspect, the translation of language varieties which differ from the dominant one, such as Austrian German, is analysed by Henrich (2010). Because teaching German as a foreign language focuses on the variety spoken in Germany, translators are unlikely to have sufficient knowledge of other varieties. This explains why several errors occur in Italian translations of the Austrian writer, Nöstlinger.

Another translator, Hirano (2006) addresses the challenges of translating between widely different cultures and writing styles. She contrasts the linear, logical character of English writing with the circular, subtle Japanese style and explains that the complex levels of politeness (formality) in Japanese, as mirrored in the use of personal pronouns, represent a significant challenge (pp. 226, 229). Hirano also

describes her efforts to keep in touch with the language spoken by children and young people in Japan and the United States (p. 230). This concern is shared by other translators, such as Ardizzone, who familiarised herself with the slang spoken in the Algerian and Afro-Caribbean communities in France and Britain, respectively, for her translations of French books featuring a large amount of slang (Lathey 2010, p. 191).

As can be seen, translating stylistic features in CL is a challenge due to the professional competence it requires of translators, the pressure of TC educational and literary norms, the close association between dialects and geographical regions, the need to be familiar with language varieties and to stay in touch with the language of children and young people in the SC and TC, and the widely different writing styles of various cultures.

1.6.2.6. Humour

The general difficulties of translating humour, for example, its cultural specificity, are complicated in CL by concerns regarding children's ability to understand it and their more limited intercultural knowledge. CLT studies discuss various approaches to the translation of humour and ascribe them to adaptation to the purpose and intended audience of the translation.

Thus, Hirano (2006), declares that humour is "one of the trickiest" translation challenges and that, while "slapstick and situational humour" are often easy to translate, "culture specific jokes and puns" entail higher difficulty (pp. 230-231). Xeni (2006), a translator and researcher, adds that translators need to assess if the original humorous situation would function as such in the TC and if it would be understood by the target readers. She identifies a number of related challenges, including "text type, style and register", "poetry, colloquial speech … and figurative language (proverbs, metaphors, irony, idioms, fixed expressions, similes)" (p. 64). Beckett (2003) underlines the difficulty of translating wordplay, especially between languages belonging to different branches of the same language family, such as French and English (pp. 16, 19). Tabbert (2002) mentions "intertextual humour", analysed by O'Sullivan (1999), as involving both verbal and visual references to

other texts. Finally, Øster (2006) remarks that disagreement regarding children's ability to understand irony is an "eternal issue" in CL (p. 147).

Translators facing the challenges above have adopted various approaches, described in several studies. Hirano (ibid.) states that her strategies go from deletion to substitution; for example, a humorous mention of a Japanese historical figure unlikely to be known by American children was replaced in English translation by a reference to Buddha, based on a physical characteristic essential for the respective humorous situation (p. 231). Xeni (ibid.) argues that translators must take significant liberties with the ST if they want the translation to have a similarly humorous effect on the target audience. For example, although her approach to humorous slang in Townsend's *Secret Diary of Adrian Mole* was to preserve it as much as possible, Greek equivalents were sometimes difficult to find. Therefore, she opted for reducing the translation's slang, rather than making poor lexical choices. Øster's (ibid.) and Pelea's (2010a, pp. 108-109) analyses of English translations of Andersen's tales and Romanian translations of Perrault's works, respectively, suggest that elimination or attenuation of irony is specific for translations for children.

In summary, discussions of humour in CLTS tend to focus on the general challenges of translating it, although sometimes they also show that translation strategies are adapted to ideas regarding children's comprehension abilities and knowledge of the SC.

1.6.2.7. Intertextuality

Intertextuality has been defined as the "infus[ion]" of a text with "echoes from a variety of sources" (Desmet 2006b, pp. 122, 125) and "the production of meaning from the complex relationships that exist between the text, other texts, the readers and the cultural context" (González Cascallana 2006, p. 98). Studies of CLT discuss why translating intertextual references is challenging when translating for children and identify a number of factors which determine different translation approaches.

Thus, Desmet argues that the identification of intertextual references represents a challenge for translators, readers and translation scholars. In the case of CL, the translation of intertextual references is further complicated by the different reading

experiences of children and adults, which result in different (but also shared) areas of intertextual knowledge (ibid. p. 124), to which translators may wish to adapt their strategies. Moreover, given the importance of visual elements in CL, "intervisuality" can enhance a book's intertextual character. Finally, when deciding how to approach intertextual references, translators also need to establish their significance in specific texts (ibid. pp. 126-127). Desmet (ibid.) proposes two main strategies to translate intertextual references. If translators are not greatly concerned with them, they may choose to reproduce such references. On the other hand, if translators want to preserve the intertextual character of a work, while making the references accessible to the target audience, they may use substitution and compensation (pp. 126-127).

Intertextuality, therefore, appears to be challenging in CLT because children and adults may have different and shared areas of intertextual knowledge, and because it may be further complicated by "intervisuality", due to the significance of visual elements in CL. Translation approaches may be influenced by the significance of specific references in a text and the importance granted by translators to a text's intertextuality.

1.6.2.8. Verbal paratexts

Paratexts are usually defined, following Genette (1997), as the verbal and non-verbal elements which accompany a book's verbal text. CLT scholarship about verbal paratexts focuses on the insertion of paratexts in translated editions (e.g. explanatory notes) and on the translation of paratexts (e.g. book titles).

Several studies explore the particular uses of added verbal paratexts in translated CL, sometimes in comparison with literature for adults. O'Sullivan (2005) notes that paratextual material (footnotes, glossaries, forewords and afterwords) is more frequently added to translated CL, based on the assumption that children need more explanations (p. 111). However, Nord (2003) analyses several translations of *Alice in Wonderland* and finds that only the editions targeting an adult audience have notes (p. 195). In contrast, Ciocoiu (2007) compares a child-oriented Romanian translation and a dual-audience French edition of *Alice* and argues that the notes have different functions and positions, depending on the target audience. Whereas the French edition features endnotes, mainly of a critical nature and written by the editor, the

Romanian edition has explanatory translator's footnotes regarding the meaning of challenging Romanian words or English phrases in the text (p. 70). Kyritsi (2006) notes a similarly explanatory use of paratexts in Gág's translation of the Brothers Grimm's tales, which has an afterword in which various German words in the stories are explained (p. 209). Nevertheless, the provision of explanations to help comprehension is but one of the functions of verbal paratexts in translated CL. Translators may also use them to give information about the ST and the translation and to express their educational and translation philosophies (Lathey 2010, 2006c; O'Sullivan 2005, p. 112; Kyritsi ibid.). Finally, given the potential of paratexts to guide interpretation, they may be used to support or subvert political ideologies. For example, Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2006) explains that in the former GDR, books were more easily approved for publication by the censorship authority if they had afterwords providing an ideologically-correct interpretation.

The insertion of paratexts in translated CL represents a challenge for translators and publishers due to sometimes contradictory assumptions about children and their reading experiences. For example, it is commonly accepted that children need more explanations, but, at the same time, there is a concern that verbal paratexts might disturb the reading experience (O'Sullivan 2005, pp. 110-111). Other voices argue that footnotes are a way to preserve the cultural specificity of the ST and enrich children's knowledge, a proof of trust in the child readers and a way to guide them to a more adult enjoyment of the text (Pederzoli 2010, p. 184). A confirmation of Pederzoli's argument is provided by one of the few empirical investigations of children's opinions regarding paratexts in translations, Stoica's survey of more than one hundred 10-14-year-old Romanian children (2012). Stoica concludes that the children surveyed generally do read explanatory verbal paratexts (notes, prefaces, postfaces and glossaries) and, contrary to existing assumptions, most of them consider footnotes useful, rather than distracting or boring (pp. 95-101).

Other studies of CLT explore the changes undergone by paratexts, such as book titles or verbal elements on book covers. Parkinson (2013, pp. 157-8), Desmet (2006a, pp. 193, 195) and Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2006, p. 57) show that titles are adapted to the tastes of the target audience in order to attract their attention, and that most often the originators of the changes are the publishers. Book titles can also be translated according to the overall translation approach. For example, in a translation which

often uses explicitation, the title can also be more explanatory than the original one (Desmet ibid.). Finally, an interesting point is raised by Parkinson (2013) regarding translator visibility and attitudes to translations among English-speaking audiences. Parkinson recounts that the first two translations published by Little Island featured the name of the translator on their covers. However, the books did not sell well and they were told that one of the possible causes was the word "translated" on the cover. In contrast, subsequent books, which did not include the translator's name on the cover, sold better (p. 159).

In conclusion, CLTS explore two main aspects of verbal paratexts, namely, their insertion in translated children's books and the changes they undergo in translation. Paratexts added by translators or publishers can serve several functions, for instance, aiding comprehension or suggesting a certain interpretation. Their use in translated CL is challenging due to contradictory assumptions regarding their necessity, on the one hand, and children's attitudes to them, on the other. However, empirical investigations of children's responses suggest that inserting verbal paratexts may not be as problematic as assumed. Explorations of translated verbal paratexts focus mostly on book titles and show that often publishers consider them an important marketing tool and adapt them to attract potential buyers.

1.6.2.9. Retranslating

Retranslating represents a challenge for translators of CL because the specific circumstances which prompt the retranslation impact on translation strategies. CLT research identifies a range of such circumstances and explains their influence on translation approaches.

Retranslations may be initiated when the language of earlier editions is considered too archaic for children, whereas scholarly retranslations of children's classics may be published for academic use. Other educational, literary and commercial factors may also play a significant part. For example, changes in educational philosophy may trigger retranslations of books used in schools; professionals who deem existing translations unsatisfactory may initiate new ones; publishers may decide to issue inexpensive or gift editions, or to compete with translations by other publishers (Lathey 2010, pp. 161-162, 173-174; Pokorn 2012, p. 39; Borodo 2006, p. 146). In

addition, retranslation may be prompted by the increasing popularity and canonical status of an author in the TC (Joosen 2006, p. 67) and changes in the political situation and prevailing ideologies in the target country (Pokorn 2012, pp. 42-112).

These motivations for retranslating children's books are shown to impact on translation strategies. For instance, whereas the historically-specific elements of a book may be modernised in a child-oriented retranslation, they will be preserved in a scholarly edition (Lathey ibid. p. 162). Furthermore, if the retranslation is done for ideological reasons or to reflect changes in the TC, particular features of the early translations, considered problematic, are bound to be altered. A case in point are religious elements, reduced or eliminated in Slovene translations published in early communist times (Pokorn 2012) and in contemporary Finnish translations (Rossi 2003, pp. 145-147). Previous translations may exert an indirect influence on translation strategies, if they achieve considerable popularity among the target audience. Constantinescu (2013, p. 161) and Pelea (2007, p. 109) show that Romanian retranslations of Perrault's tales preserve the names of characters in earlier editions, due to their widespread popularity, which, according to Pelea, has fostered expectations among the reading public amounting to a translation norm.

To summarise, CLT scholarship regarding retranslations identifies several circumstances in which new translations are conducted, for example, when the language or historical realities in earlier editions are deemed too archaic or incomprehensible and when ideological changes in the TC make existing translations undesirable. Such circumstances are shown to influence the choice of translation strategies. Furthermore, the very existence of previous translations may impact on translation strategies, if certain translation solutions are popular with the target audience.

1.6.2.10. Narrative tenses and grammatical gender

The translation of narrative tenses and grammatical gender has not been extensively investigated to date. The challenging nature of translating narrative tenses in CL is identified by Bell (2006b) and Lathey (2006b), who explain that different literary traditions use different tenses in children's narratives, for instance, the English Past and the French and German Historic Present. Bell opines that the Historic Present is

perceived as more stylistically peculiar in English and is therefore problematic in translations for British children, which should use the more common Past Tense (p. 232). Nevertheless, Bell's argument seems based on the assumption that British children cannot deal with more unusual stylistic devices, or, more generally, with the unfamiliar. Her strategy can be deemed as domesticating, the type of translation approach which is coming under increasing criticism at present with regard to Anglo-American translations for children. Moreover, Lathey also shows that the Historic Present used in some European languages is particularly suitable for English translations of picture books, given their performative nature, since it carries the suggestion of immediacy (pp. 135-141).

Translating between languages which have grammatical gender for nouns and languages which do not have it is a challenge which occurs more frequently in CL, because of the common use of personified or anthropomorphised characters, especially animals (Bell 2006b, p. 234). Grammatical gender may also impact on the translation of proper names. Stoica (2012) shows that the gender of the animals in several Romanian translations of *Alice in Wonderland* differs. Moreover, inconsistencies occur within the same translations, between the names and the gender of the animal characters (p. 142).

1.6.3. Conclusion

The challenges posed by CLT, which may be relevant for Romanian translations of Potter's tales, are categorised, in line with the research question of this study, into extra-textual and textual. According to the literature reviewed, extra-textual challenges include selecting source languages and texts, facing political and economic changes, marketing the books, predicting reception, appointing translators and ensuring good collaboration between the producers of translated books (translators, publishers, copy editors, illustrators). Textual challenges include translating cultural references, proper names, visual elements, read-aloud qualities and readability, stylistic features, humour, intertextuality, verbal paratexts, narrative tenses and grammatical gender. The implications of retranslating children's texts are also considered. Overall, these challenges appear to arise due to the subjecting of CLT to educational and social norms or, in other words, to the ideologies of the TCs

or of various individuals; to the influence of TC literary norms, possibly enhanced by the low status of CL; to commercial interests and publishing policies; and to the importance of specific textual features, such as visual and aural elements.

CHAPTER 2

THE SOURCE CONTEXT: BEATRIX POTTER'S LIFE AND TIMES

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 analyses the context in which Potter's books were originally written and published, and its influence on her life and works. More specifically, it discusses relevant aspects of Victorian and Edwardian Britain and contextualises the writer's life within her family and cultural environment, identifying links between her life and her work.

Potter's career as a published children's writer began in 1902, with the publication of *Peter Rabbit*. At that time, Britain had entered its "Edwardian era", as Queen Victoria had died in 1901 and her son, Edward, had become king. Nevertheless, a discussion of the context of Potter's life and works focusing only on Edwardian times is unnecessarily restrictive and less likely to yield valuable insights. This is because it was during Victorian times that Potter was educated, her artistic tastes and skills developed, and her personal and professional choices influenced by social factors. Moreover, her books became part of a tradition of literature for children flowing from Victorian to Edwardian times, to which they related in various ways. Thus, nineteenth-century economic, political, social, educational, artistic and literary developments are ultimately relevant to Potter's books and to a discussion of the challenges posed by their translation.

The analysis of the source context in section 2.2. is based on published research in historical, cultural, literary and gender studies. Due to the focus and scope of this thesis and to the nature of social and cultural studies research, the discussion is necessarily subject to certain limitations. Firstly, the topics included are selected and prioritised based on their relevance for this study. Consequently, more attention is given to conceptions of childhood and CL, than to political and economic developments. Secondly, literary and translation researchers wishing to draw on the findings of the social sciences and of cultural studies should be aware of the limitations of these findings. The "truth" about a cultural context cannot be

guaranteed by human knowledge and research can only aim at obtaining as accurate a picture as possible, being aware of personal researcher biases, of cultural biases embedded in research methods and in language itself, and acknowledging the limitations of specific research methodologies and of the data available. Notwithstanding such limitations, the material presented here and the analysis in Chapter 3, which draws on it, make a meaningful, though not exhaustive, contribution to scholarship on the translation of Potter's books, in particular, and of CL in general, across historical periods and cultural spaces.

Section 2.3., which presents Potter's life against the backdrop of Victorian and Edwardian times, draws on primary and secondary sources, namely, Potter's diary and correspondence, and scholarship regarding her life and work. This mixed-source approach aims to provide a reliable and nuanced account of Potter's life and work, and is justified by the potential limitations of the data sources available. Direct research into her correspondence, although desirable, is not feasible within the time frame of this research project, which therefore relies on published collections of selected letters. As the selection criteria for the letters published are likely to vary, the findings may be channelled towards a certain interpretation by the letters available. In addition, Potter biographies and studies including biographical data, although undoubtedly written in good faith, cannot be taken as absolutely objective accounts of her life. Such studies are influenced by their writers' personal interpretations, which represent Potter's character in different, sometimes contradicting, ways. For example, Carpenter and Pritchard claim that her diary shows a "determined and independent mind" (1984, p. 420), while Sale, referring to the same document, maintains that she had no opinions of her own and merely echoed those expressed by her father (1978, pp. 130-32). Consequently, it is necessary to confront these interpretations with each other, as well as with a first-hand examination of her diary and available correspondence.

Potter's diary records her teenage and early adult years (15 to 31) and was written in a code she devised herself. The code was deciphered by Linder, who published her *Journal* in 1966. Linder's *History of the Writings of Potter* (1971) contains all her early picture-letters, while Taylor's *Beatrix Potter's Letters* (1989) comprises

approximately 400 letters[1]. Biographies of Potter include Lane's *Tale of Beatrix Potter* (1946), Taylor's *Beatrix Potter: Artist, Storyteller, Countrywoman* (2002), and Lear's *Beatrix Potter: The Extraordinary Life of a Victorian Genius* (2008). This study draws on the latter two, in particular Lear's work, as it is the most up-to-date and comprehensive account of Potter's life.

2.2. Potter's times

2.2.1. Victorian and Edwardian Britain

The Victorian and Edwardian periods are significant times in British history, characterised by the industrialisation and urbanisation of the country, accompanied by a surge in technological development and changes in social structure; alternating periods of economic booms and slumps, of social turbulence and quiet; imperial expansion and decline; the growth of modern science; religious unrest; and specific ideologies regarding gender, children and education. These developments in British history are explored below. Where there were regional variations between England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, the discussion focuses on England, as the context most relevant for an analysis of Potter's life and works.

2.2.1.1. Economic, social and political developments

In the first half of the century, Britain underwent a process of industrialisation, accompanied by a dramatic population increase (particularly in the urban population). According to Harvie (1996), the British population more than doubled from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, reaching 27.39 million in 1851. Moreover, in 1801, 30% of the mainland British population was urban, a percentage unequalled by any other European country, and, by 1901, 80% of the British population lived in towns (Matthew 1996, pp. 464-481). Industrialism was driven by the textile industry, particularly cotton manufacturing, which encouraged technical innovation and led to the development of numerous industries, including the machine-tool industry (Harvie ibid. pp. 423, 425, 436). This facilitated the

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[1] Taylor also published *Letters to Children from Beatrix Potter* (1992). Another collection comprises letters to her American correspondents (Crowell Morse 1982).

production of sophisticated machines and is also likely to have supported improvements in printing techniques, such as trichromatic printing, which enabled the reproduction of Potter's watercolours, an essential feature of her art (see Whaley and Chester 1988, p. 248; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 170).

Industrialisation led to increasing prosperity for people running industrial businesses, and thus contributed to the rise of the middle classes. The British middle classes had a considerable influence on social reforms and their values shaped Victorian culture to a great extent. According to Butts (1995), the middle-class ideology, centred on "modesty and moderation, prudence and self-help, respectability and thrift", drove the progress-oriented trend (p. 77). The increasing influence of the middle classes is visible from the reforms that they prompted, such as the repeal of protectionist laws and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. It has been pointed out, however, that from the 1860s onwards, once these reforms were accomplished and the social prestige of the middle classes had increased, they distanced themselves from more radical social reform. For example, they were not prepared to tackle issues such as women's rights or state intervention in education (Gilmour 1993, p. 15). Potter's family is a good example of this evolution. Her parents' families became wealthy by trading cotton and her grandfather, Edmund Potter, developed a successful calico-printing business before becoming a Liberal MP. Nonetheless, as Lear (2008) explains, while her paternal grandparents held radical political opinions, her father became increasingly conservative in the 1880s (pp. 11, 69, 137).

The unprecedented urbanisation, manifested in the increase of the urban population and the growth of industrial cities (Harvie 1996, p. 446), had several effects on British society and culture. Urbanisation worsened conditions for children and women, as visible in the growing numbers of street children, whose plight became a recurrent topic of nineteenth-century CL (Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 132), and in the dramatic increase of prostitution (Gleadle 2001). Furthermore, according to Matthew (1996, p. 480-481), as a reaction to the large-scale urbanisation, there was an emphasis on countryside images and traditions in British life. This may help explain the habit of well-off middle-class people buying countryside properties, where they spent their leisure time. Potter's family was typical of this tendency to be drawn back to the countryside, where they rented properties for the summer. Potter's

countryside holidays had a profound effect on her life and work, by fostering a love of nature and rural life which she later represented in her books.

Britain's economy fluctuated throughout the nineteenth century and British society was also alternately troubled or quiet. Social unrest ultimately lead to the adoption of several reforms by the British government, some of which were directly linked to children and education. Child labour was regulated by a law in 1833 and also, according to Matthew (1996), legislation was passed regarding education in England and Scotland by 1874 (pp. 468, 471). Political debates and events were topics of discussion in the Potter household, to which young Beatrix could listen. Her awareness of political issues is reflected in some of her tales, which have been read as representing the social tensions at the time.

The British Empire also expanded greatly at this time, although by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it began to decline and came under increasing public criticism (Matthew 1996, pp. 507-511). The initial public enthusiasm about British exploits abroad was reflected in CL written at the time, by the creation of the adventure story genre. Nevertheless, in the wake of the Crimean War (1850s) and the Boer Wars (1880-1881, 1899-1902), this enthusiasm subsided into an awareness that the Empire was badly managed (Matthew ibid.). A concern for the future of the British Empire impacted on education policies, aimed at encouraging children's loyalty and at educating girls in child-rearing skills that would ensure healthy citizens and soldiers.

2.2.1.2. Religious life

Religious life in nineteenth-century Britain was characterised by revival, social activism, fragmentation and a great crisis of faith. The Established Anglican Church benefitted from the spiritual revival brought by Evangelicalism and the Oxford movement, while losing many of its political privileges by the end of the century. Nonconformism, or Dissent, had a strong following in urban, industrial areas and its ethos was important for the religious and political life of the time. Both Anglicanism and Nonconformism, however, were challenged by the crisis of faith starting in the 1840s, which led some of their members towards other religious orientations or agnosticism.

The Oxford movement inspired a spiritual revival in the Anglican Church, by their reconsideration of Anglican spirituality and ritual, which looked back to the origins of Christianity and the Church Fathers (Gilmour 1993, pp. 79-81). The movement influenced CL authors of the time, such as Yonge (Briggs and Butts 1993, p. 134). Significant spiritual revival was also brought by Evangelicalism. Gilmour (1993) explains that Evangelicalism had been initiated in the eighteenth century by John and Charles Wesley's simple, gospel-based, preaching. John Wesley's theology revived spirituality among Anglicans and Dissenters alike and influenced many people raised in middle-class homes, which were "the nursery of Victorian values", particularly by imprinting a lasting moral scrupulousness. Evangelicalism encouraged social activism, such as the campaigns against child labour (pp. 73-74). It is also significant for Victorian CL due to the wealth of writing it inspired, for example, works by Trimmer, Moore, Sherwood, Charlesworth and Smith, reprinted throughout the nineteenth century. As a child, Potter owned a copy of a story by Trimmer, although she stated that she did not like it.

Nonconformism, or Dissent, had a large following in mid-nineteenth century Britain, especially in the urban industrial areas in the north and midlands of England and in Wales, according to Gilmour (ibid. pp. 68-69). The 1851 census indicated thirty varieties of dissenters, including the Presbyterians, from which Unitarianism arose (Gilmour ibid.). Unitarianism, Potter's family's denomination, rejects the Christian belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ and, more generally, Christian "historic creeds and doctrines" (Reed 2010, pp. 143, 160). Moreover, it claims that "scientific inquiry is the close ally of progressive religion", it foregrounds independence of thought and accepts the validity of all religions (ibid. pp. 143-144). In many British cities, Unitarian families became prosperous during the Industrial Revolution and then politically influential, and were also involved in patronage of the arts (ibid. pp. 151-152). Unitarians believed in "total education" for girls and boys, including subjects not usually taught to girls, such as science (ibid. p. 152). As explained below, Potter's family shared many of these characteristics.

Anglican and Nonconformists alike were affected by a spiritual crisis which began to manifest itself in the 1840s. Although the Victorians' loss of faith in Protestant Christianity has traditionally been justified by the impact of developments in geology and in the scientific-historical study of the Bible, Gilmour (1993) argues that science

only offered "a rationalisation and justification" and that the main cause of their spiritual crisis was a moral or ethical rejection of Christian doctrines as they were interpreted then. Gilmour also explains that after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), the apparent plausibility of scientific views on reality, together with the blurring of the distinction between humans and animals, made many feel "resentment at the biological trap mankind now finds itself in". Consequently, some Victorians became agnostics, while others turned to pantheism or humanistic religious practices (pp. 86-103). As explained below, this spiritual crisis partly explains Victorians' idealisation of the family and children, to compensate for the spiritual losses resulting from their crisis of faith.

2.2.1.3. The development of science

The growth of science is possibly the main intellectual event in nineteenth-century Britain (Kucich 2005, p. 119). Gilmour (1993, pp. 114-115) and Kucich (ibid. pp. 120-121) show that the development of science was visible in the establishment of specific disciplines, such as chemistry, geology, embryology, and of numerous scientific societies. It was also evident in the widespread interest in science, manifested in the consumption of science popularisation works and of those describing the natural world. Moreover, many Victorians became amateur scientists, collecting specimens of fossils, seashells, insects, plants, which they studied at home. This preoccupation with science influenced the production of CL, as a number of children's books and magazines offering scientific information were published (Butts 1995, pp. 83, 100; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, pp. 221, 335, 407). Scientific interest was also manifest in Potter's life. As a child, she drew, in accurate detail, plants and animals. When the opportunity arose, she also dissected small animals, or boiled them to study their skeletons. Later in life, she became interested in fossils and fungi, and even wrote a paper about her research, presented at the Linnean Society in London (1897). All this influenced the style of her books' illustrations, characterised by scientifically precise representation of flora and fauna.

2.2.1.4. Gendered discourses and practices, and the situation of women

The history of women in the nineteenth century is the subject of numerous studies in the past decades, whose findings yield a complex, sometimes contradictory, picture. On the one hand, it appears that the prevailing middle-class discourse emphasised an ideal of domestic and pure womanhood, "the angel of the house", and one of strong, protective manhood, which, when experienced personally, proved untenable for many Victorian women and men. On the other hand, this discourse and its associated practices were interpreted differently by individuals, who assigned it different values, used it for their own professional or political purposes, challenged it, and even opposed and subverted it. Finally, although considerable advances in the status of women occurred during Victorian and Edwardian times, some old attitudes persisted and influenced their personal, professional and public life.

According to Burstyn (1984), the dominant Victorian discourse regarding gender was based on the "separate spheres" concept, according to which men and women had different and complementary qualities and should therefore engage in activities suitable for these qualities. The women's "sphere" was the home, the men's, the outside world. This separation, Burstyn argues, was caused by the middle classes' desire to imitate the aristocratic lifestyle. Consequently, the degree of leisure of their female members, expressed in not undertaking any paid work, became a measure of social status. Moreover, women's relative seclusion was thought to preserve their moral sense, and to enable them to offer advice to their husbands and a good education to their children (pp. 30-31). Nevertheless, Burstyn also maintains that this ideal did not hold in reality. Middle-class women's lives often proved to be boring and meaningless, since household work was done by servants and children's upbringing was entrusted to nannies, governesses and schools. Moreover, due to women's lack of education and exposure to the world, their opinions were not respected and they could not exert much moral influence on their families. Burstyn also argues that men were under pressure to provide for their female relatives and sometimes failed to do so. Young women were pressured to find good matches, but many were unable to marry, thus becoming financial burdens on their families. Like widows or deserted wives, they struggled to support themselves financially, because they had not been properly educated (pp. 19-21, 152-172).

Gleadle's findings (2001) partly contradict Burstyn's account, by depicting Victorian women as more active and involved in social and professional life. However, her own argument can explain the differences between her findings and Burstyn's, as she claims that gender-specific discourses and practices were not uniformly applied in society. It is therefore possible that some women lived according to the prevailing ideal, while others challenged and subverted it. According to Gleadle (p. 153), in the first half of the nineteenth century, middle-class and aristocratic women were not only involved in household management and caring for the children, but also in social work, estate management and family businesses. In the second half of the century, there were educational reforms and new employment opportunities, especially in education, retailing and clerical positions. Also, ideas about women's "benevolence and gentility" enabled them to work as doctors and nurses. Nevertheless, the prevailing gender-related ideologies of the time were still visible, for example, in the lower pay granted to women and the separation of male and female work areas. Gleadle (ibid. pp. 154-169) also argues that women's involvement in public life was manifested in philanthropic activities, political activity and morality campaigns, for which women used the discourse of female domesticity. The women's rights movement also developed, aiming to reform voting rights and becoming involved in campaigns for temperance, morality and peace. Gleadle therefore emphasises women's influence on Victorian moral values, such as respectability. In domestic life, it is apparent that not all women internalised the subordinate role assigned to them by contemporary ideologies; rather, they gave their domestic role political, religious and social meanings. Later in the century, although the traditional organisation of married life was mostly preserved, many middle-class and aristocratic women seem to have been able to accommodate their needs and new conceptions within these structures (p. 185).

Gleadle also provides evidence that working-class women were far from the middle-class ideal of femininity, although some patriarchal structuring was also present in their families. They worked both at home and outside it, and were responsible for managing their families' finances and taking family-related decisions. Moreover, they were generally the main carers of the children and had a higher degree of authority over them than their husbands. Working-class women were also involved in public life, especially in the first half of the century.

To conclude, there are indications that nineteenth-century gender-related discourses emphasised purity and domesticity for women, but they were not applied uniformly in British society. Many women invested this ideal with personal meanings and either challenged it or used it for their own purposes, for instance, to support morality campaigns. Women's situation improved in time, but earlier mentalities persisted to a certain degree in the late nineteenth century. As explained below, gender-based discourses and practices also influenced education and CL, and Potter's life. For instance, she was expected to participate in household management, even when she had other professional pursuits, and she always tried to act as a dutiful daughter.

2.2.2. Children and education

2.2.2.1. Children and images of childhood

Childhood, identified as a specific and important phase of human life, was invested with an intense emotional charge during Victorian and Edwardian times. Scholars have pointed to the Victorians' preoccupation with childhood, as manifested, for example, in the frequent occurrence of childhood-related topics in Victorian literature (Mills 2000, p. 45; Roberts 2005, p. 354). Childhood was represented from various perspectives, including the socially-aware and the evolutionist, the Evangelical and the Romantic, the nationalist and the gender-based.

The population growth and social changes, urbanisation and industrialisation influenced the situation of children in Britain. According to Gubar (n.d.), the population increase meant that approximately thirty percent of the British population in Victorian times was less than fifteen years old. Nevertheless, as Cunningham (2006) explains, there was a sharp contrast between the protected childhoods of upper and middle-class children and the hardships endured by working-class children (p. 140). Consequently, an image of childhood during Victorian times foregrounded the realities of child labour, poverty and exploitation (Roberts 2005, p. 355). Children were expected to contribute to the well-being of their families by helping in the house or by taking up (poorly paid) employment (Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 132). They worked as chimney sweeps (boys) or servants (girls), in cotton factories and coalmines, and in agriculture (Cunningham 2006, pp. 154-160). Moreover, numerous

homeless or orphaned children roamed the streets, were sent to workhouses or to the British colonies and many of them became criminals or died. The attitudes of the middle and upper classes towards these realities varied. Some of them accepted child labour undertaken by "lower" class children and economic factors were used to justify it as late as the second half of the nineteenth century (Midwinter 1970, p. 31). There was also a more sympathetic awareness of children's plight, reflected in efforts to provide education, in the establishment of institutions such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and in literary works, including CL by Stretton or Castle Smith (Carpenter 1985, p. 5; Roberts 2005, p. 362; Cunningham 2006, pp. 160-169).

Conceptions of children were also influenced by evolutionist theories, according to which children were in a state of biological, intellectual, or social primitivism and needed education to become civilised (Briggs 1995, pp. 168-169). Briggs explains that street children in particular were considered similar to criminals, in their possession of "degenerate elements". Gradually, these ideas led to the increasing popularity of the concept of "recapitulation", that is, "the idea that childhood was a process during which different stages of animal or human development were progressively transcended, eventually reaching the evolutionary summit of fully formed adulthood".

Possibly the two most influential images of childhood were the Evangelical and the Romantic, which saw children as originally sinful or innocent, respectively. The Evangelical view emphasised the corruption of human nature, and thus of children themselves, by Original Sin. According to Roberts (2005), for Evangelicals, childhood was a significant period in the process of personal redemption, hence the need for discipline and religious education (p. 355). The Romantic image of the child, as presented in the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, was one of complete innocence and closeness to the divine, of free and lively imagination. By contrast, adulthood was perceived as a state of loss or fall from that condition (Briggs and Butts 1995, pp. 131, 137).

The Romantic image of childhood has been associated with a tendency to idealise children in the nineteenth century (Briggs 1995, pp. 167-168). This tendency may be explained by the Victorians' increased focus on family life, due to a decrease in the

number of children they had, but not in child mortality, to the instability and pressures of their contemporary world (Carpenter 1895, pp. 16-19) and to the crisis of faith of many Victorians, which may have found a replacement for the relationship with God or for the family of the Church in their own families (Briggs ibid.). Briggs also argues that the spiritual significance invested in marriage imparted a problematic character to its "disruptive" sides, especially sexuality. Since children were not influenced by sexual impulses, they were associated with a pre-lapsarian state and childhood was seen as an Eden-like space of innocence, lost once people moved into adulthood. Hence the re-occurrence of the garden motif in children's books of the time, for example, in Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Kipling's *They*, and Burnett's *Secret Garden* (1911) (ibid. pp. 167-168). A related association, that between childhood and rural environments set in an idealised past, is explained by Cunningham (2006) as the representation of childhood as a space from which adults could draw strength to face the challenges of their lives, but in which they could also escape from these challenges (p. 149).

In Edwardian times, children were also represented from a nationalistic perspective. Cunningham (ibid.) explains that, as the deficiencies of the British Empire became visible, there was increasing concern for its future. Consequently, the health, education and "sense of citizenship" of children, Britain's future citizens, became dramatically important issues. Nevertheless, often the prevailing concern for "nation and empire" resulted in children being seen less as individuals and more as a collective problem (p. 178). As explained in the next section, such views were linked to educational philosophies, particularly by the dominance of behaviourist principles, aimed to foster obedience and discipline.

Finally, ideas about children were influenced by gender-based conceptions. Children were seen according to the different masculine and feminine characteristics specified in the "separate spheres" discourse and their education and literature reflected these views.

To summarise, childhood was perceived as a discrete and highly precious age in Victorian and Edwardian England, when there was a tendency to idealise children. Children were represented from different perspectives, which were socially-oriented,

evolutionist, Evangelical, Romantic, nationalist and gender-based. These views influenced the educational philosophies and practices and the CL of those times.

2.2.2.2. Educational philosophies and practices

Early nineteenth-century English educational philosophies were mainly influenced by the views of Locke (1632-1704) and Rousseau (1712-1778) (Avery and Kinnell 1995, p. 54). Both philosophers were revolutionary for their times, according to Barnard (1961), in pointing out that education should be adapted to children and not the other way round (pp. 32-33). Locke argued that instruction should be combined with entertainment and, significantly for nineteenth-century debates about the suitability of fairy tales and fantasies for children, he advised that no stories of "Sprites and Goblins" should be read to children until they became old enough not to be frightened (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, pp. 323-324). Carpenter and Pritchard (ibid. p. 166) also discuss Rousseau's philosophy of natural education, which represented human beings as being innately good, but corrupted by social forces, and advocated the necessity of facilitating children's learning through experience, considered the path to authentic rationality. Rousseau's work had an impact on British educationalists, for example, Richard Edgeworth (1744-1817), whose works were reprinted throughout the nineteenth century.

Richard and Maria Edgeworth wrote *Practical Education* (1798), which, according to Curtis (1977), was popular at the time and influenced many of its educated readers (pp. 396-398). Curtis explains that the Edgeworths were to some extent influenced by Rousseau, but also opposed some of his ideas and developed new ways of thinking. For example, they shared Rousseau's (and Locke's) concern with the developmental and individual characteristics of children and their emphasis on intelligent learning, but they disagreed that everything should be taught through play. The Edgeworths also had a negative attitude to developing the children's imagination and were disdainful of fairy tales (Barnard 1961, p. 41). Their attitudes were reflected in the children's stories written by Maria Edgeworth, some of which were enjoyed by Potter as a child.

Educational thought in Victorian and Edwardian times also proceeded along gender-based lines. Cunningham (2006) points out that the blurring of gender differences

was recommended for a short while in the early nineteenth century, but thereafter, educational principles were differentiated based on gender (p. 141). Cunningham sees this differentiation as a result of the "feminization of the home", itself a consequence of the ideology of the separate spheres discussed above. As the home became the domain of women, it was thought that boys risked becoming effeminate if they stayed there. Consequently, boys had to be sent away to school to "become men" and schools were expected to prepare them for a life of rough struggle (p. 143).

Cunningham also explains that in the first half of the twentieth century, educational philosophies in Britain were mostly influenced by behaviourism, until the 1930s, when a more individualised approach gained ground, due to the impact of Freudian psychology. Thus, in the first decades of the century, child-rearing professionals advocated science-based principles for children's physical care and psychological development. According to behaviourists such as Watson (1878-1958) or Dr. King (1858-1938), children had to be educated into regularity of habits and obedience from as early an age as possible, by methods which allowed parents almost no manifestation of affection towards their children. However, under the influence of Freudian psychology, such thinking was gradually replaced by ideas that children's behaviour problems were better solved by understanding their individual psychological characteristics, rather than by strict rules (pp. 198-200). Such changes, according to Cunningham, were also visible in the advice offered regarding corporal punishment. At the beginning of the twentieth century, such punishment was widely accepted as an educational method; yet, by the 1930s there was widespread agreement among child-rearing experts that corporal punishment was not beneficial for children and its incidence declined (p. 201).

The educational philosophies above influenced Victorian and Edwardian educational practices, which were also class-based. Research indicates that in the working-class home, children were mainly educated by their mothers (D'Cruze 1995, p. 64). D'Cruze provides evidence that home education implied the teaching of proper behaviour and, indeed, the use of corporal punishment (ibid. pp. 62-63). D'Cruze also explains that children helped with the domestic work and contributed to the family budget by working outside the home. This implies that their education included the acquisition of practical, real-life skills from an early age. Moreover, according to Cunningham (ibid. p. 199), in the first half of the twentieth century,

working-class mothers tended to ignore the behaviourist precepts advocated by child-rearing professionals. Their child care practices were less rigid; for example, they picked up their babies when they cried, despite the prevailing advice that children should not be cuddled in such instances.

Formal education for working-class children was provided almost exclusively on a voluntary basis, mostly by religious bodies, in the first half of the nineteenth century. The state began to intervene in the second half, when the provision of state education increased gradually and several Acts enforced compulsory education and limited children's working hours. Empire-related concerns resulted in educational policies aimed at increasing attachment to the British Empire, enhanced, in Edwardian times, through an entire promotional industry (Cunningham 2006, pp. 179-182). School education for working-class children was also organised according to gender. McDermid (1995, p. 108) and Gleadle (2001, p. 106) explain that the curriculum for girls, in both voluntary and state schools, included domestic-skill subjects, for example, sewing, domestic economy and housewifery. "Mothercraft" was added in the early twentieth century, to address concerns about the health of children (Cunningham 2006, p. 190).

Middle-class children were educated at home for their first years. Child care and education were generally to be done by women, although there is no consensus among researchers on whether the primary educational role was fulfilled by mothers or by other women, such as nurses and governesses. On the one hand, Gleadle (2010) shows that many mothers took their task seriously and some consulted educational works and professionals (pp. 82-83). Cunningham (2006, p. 199) also suggests that later, in the first half of the twentieth century, middle-class mothers were more likely to abide by the advice of child-rearing experts. On the other hand, there are indications that in rich middle-class and aristocratic families, young children did not have much contact with their parents, remaining in the nursery for most of their time and only briefly meeting their parents every day. Potter's early childhood was spent in the same way, in the nursery, under the supervision of a nurse. According to Taylor (2002a), her mother visited her and her brother only occasionally (p. 19). Gender patterns were sometimes strict as far as children's family life was concerned. In the words of a late-Victorian girl, "My father's slogan was that boys should go everywhere and know everything, and that a girl should stay at home and know

nothing…" (qtd. in Cunningham 2006, p. 141). In many cases, after their first years together, the boys were sent to school, while the girls remained at home and were educated by governesses, or sent to private schools for short periods, to perfect their social skills.

For middle-class boys, education was a means of acquiring professional qualities and social status (Burstyn 1984, p. 18). The educational philosophies of boys' schools varied in time. As Cunningham (2006) explains, whereas for Arnold, the reformer of Rugby School, a "man" was "a Christian gentleman, upright, truthful, sensitive and with a sense of obligation to serve", in the latter half of the nineteenth century, manliness was emotionally repressed and more physical (hence an emphasis on field games) (p. 144). Nevertheless, as Briggs and Butts (1995) argue, Arnold's reforms exerted a great influence on other public schools and made a deep impression on one of his pupils, Hughes, who later wrote one of the best-known nineteenth-century British school stories, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) (p. 155).

Middle-class girls do not appear to have attended school as often as boys. Cunningham (2006) cites an 1860s report according to which the girls were educated at home until they were ten and then in a local day school. Upper-middle-class girls might also have gone to a boarding school until they were seventeen and then possibly to a finishing school (p. 146). However, academic school education for girls was not favoured, as it was feared that it might foster intellectual ambitions and hence estrange girls from the domestic feminine ideal (McDermid 1995, p. 107). Furthermore, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century, many girls did not feel compelled to undertake such education in a serious manner (Burstyn 1984, p. 39) and lower-middle-class girls would often miss school to help their mothers (Cunningham 2006, p. 147). McDermid (1995) shows that initially girls' schools focused on social skills, but by the end of the century, they had adopted a liberal curriculum (p. 107). Formal educational opportunities improved to some extent late in the century, including access to higher education, although, according to Burstyn, at its end the prevailing ideal of womanhood had not been abandoned and women's education was considered acceptable only because it would make them better wives and mothers (ibid. pp. 39-41). Potter herself was educated at home by governesses, while her brother was sent to boarding school. She also benefitted from a liberal education, which may have been favoured also due to her family's Unitarian background, since

Unitarians generally believed that girls and boys should study the same subjects (see above, p. 49).

2.2.3. Children's literature

The discussion below establishes the literary context of Potter's tales and describes the types of literature to which Potter was exposed as a child, which may have influenced her work. Although the greatly varied body of CL written during this period makes it difficult to make meaningful general statements regarding it, any such attempt must consider several important characteristics. CL developed greatly during this period, when an impressive number of works belonging to a wide range of genres were published. Furthermore, CL oscillated between instruction and entertainment, rationality and fantasy (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 221). The times in which it was written also influenced it in specific ways. For example, political and social developments led to the creation of genres such as the adventure tale, the school story and the family story; technical advances enabled significant improvements in book illustrations; and contemporary ideas about children and their education influenced the content and form of CL. These characteristics are illustrated in the following discussion of several genres popular during Victorian and Edwardian times. Due to the significance of animal characters and visual aspects in Potter's work, this section also considers the animal story and book illustration during the period investigated.

2.2.3.1. From moral tales to fantasies

Moral tales, fictions of a didactic nature which became the most common CL genre in the early nineteenth century, were reprinted and had a wide readership throughout the Victorian age (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, pp. 358-360; Roberts 2005, p. 361). Such tales were often opposed to fairy tales; as Carpenter and Pritchard (ibid.) explain, authors such as Maria Edgeworth and Trimmer advocated rational, realistic depictions and frequently expressed their disapproval of the more fanciful fairy tales. Edgeworth's stories in *The Parent's Assistant* (1796), *Moral Tales* (1801) and *Early Lessons* (1801) are characterised by Carpenter and Pritchard (ibid. p. 163) as realistic

and entertaining and visibly aimed to transmit a moral message. The stories were popular during the nineteenth century and many children who would later become writers, including Potter, took pleasure in them (ibid.). Due to their overtly didactic nature, such tales were linked to educational concerns; they were also related to specific images of childhood, for example, the Evangelical, the Romantic and the socially-oriented. Thus, Carpenter and Pritchard argue that, as a consequence of the Evangelical revival, moral tales took on a more religious tendency, visible in Trimmer's and Sherwood's works. Nevertheless, as Briggs and Butts (1995) explain, changing attitudes towards children around the mid-century caused a change in the tone of moral tales, which became less reprimanding and instead offered inspiring child models, based on Romantic-inspired ideas of children's natural virtues (pp. 130-133). Moreover, due to an increasing concern for the hardships of poor children, religious writers thematised this social reality in their works, encouraging sympathy for the plight of the poor and making such children exemplary figures, superior to the adults around them (ibid.).

Moral and religious writing focusing on the home and on the importance of the family from a spiritual perspective gave rise to the family story, which gradually became more preoccupied with social issues and the maturation process of the (usually female) protagonists. Such stories were mainly destined to be read by girls, while boys had their own "character-building" literature, such as school stories (Roberts 2005, p. 365; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 180). According to Roberts (ibid.), one of the early authors of family stories was Yonge. A follower of Keble, the Oxford movement leader, Yonge based her works on his ideals, namely, that people should strive to improve themselves spiritually and serve their communities (Briggs and Butts ibid. p. 134). Another author who focused on the middle-class family, without, however, including the girls' maturation process, was Molesworth. Her family stories include *Carrots – Just a Little Boy* (1876), whose protagonist is the youngest sibling among many, protected by an affectionate sister from a persecuting older brother (ibid.). *Carrots*, illustrated by Crane, was one of Potter's favourite books (Lear 2008, p. 33).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the boys' school story emerged against the backdrop of the social and educational developments in England at that time, such as an increase in the number of pupils and schools, and school reforms. As

already mentioned, Arnold, the reformer of Rugby School, made a profound impression on one of his pupils, Hughes, who established the school story genre with *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). The story describes the protagonist's maturation into a responsible Christian, deals with relevant aspects of boys' lives, such as adult authority, peer groups, and friendship, but also reveals negative aspects of public schools (Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 155; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, pp. 531-533). Briggs and Butts (1995) state that, although such school stories were aimed primarily at boys, they were also read by girls. Yet, along with the development of girls' secondary education in the second half of the nineteenth century, came a number of girls' school stories. Meade's *A World of Girls: The Story of a School* (1886) includes stories of upper-class girls who go to small boarding schools run by gentle headmistresses and focuses on relationships between the pupils. Her characters' development includes intellectual pursuits, but is more oriented towards becoming wives and mothers, which, according to Briggs and Butts, may reflect the Victorians' uneasiness with women's desire to be educated and more independent (pp. 158-159). Brazil also wrote numerous girls' school stories, among them *Bosom Friends* (1909) and *A Fourth Form Friendship* (1911). Her use of slang led to a ban being imposed on her works in several girls' schools (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 81).

Another popular genre was the adventure story, for instance, Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841-1842), Mayne Reid's *Desert Home* (1852), Ballantyne's *Coral Island* (1858) and Henty's *With Clive in India* (1884) and *With Buller in Natal* (1901) (Briggs and Butts 1995, pp. 151; Butts 1995, p. 98; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 295). These stories of adventures in far-away places are clearly related to Britain's overseas expansion. Briggs and Butts (1995) explain that, as the British Empire grew dramatically and news of imperialistic events was made available to the public, emigration to the colonies was a common phenomenon, and an empire-related career in trade, the army or public services was an option for Victorian boys. Besides advocating "honesty and loyalty, pluck and resourcefulness", adventure stories had a particularly imperialistic ethos, in their "belief that the British possession of such virtues was unequalled, and that the British Empire was an unrivalled instrument for harmony and justice" (pp. 149-151). There is no indication that Potter ever read adventure stories, but, given she had a brother to whom she was close, it is possible that she did.

The Victorian and Edwardian periods also witnessed the increasing popularity of fairy tales and fantasy literature. Fairy tales were subject to criticism in the early nineteenth century, by those who feared their potentially negative effects on children. However, as Butts (1995) points out, despite the proliferation of moral tales, fairy tales survived into the century. This may be explained by an incipient relaxation in attitudes to children, which regarded children's enjoyment more favourably than before (pp. 78, 86-87, 101). The widespread acceptance of fairy tales was encouraged by Taylor's 1823 translation of the Brothers Grimms' fairy tales, *German Popular Stories*, illustrated by Cruikshank, and the work of Cole and Thoms in the 1840s. Butts explains that Cole published *The Home Treasury* (1843 onwards) and Thoms, *Gammer Gurton's Story Book* (1845 onwards), a series of visually pleasing booklets of fairy tales (pp. 88-90). Many translations or retellings of fairy tales enriched English CL from the 1840s onwards, such as those of Andersen's works, *Fairy Tales of All Nations* (1849) and the anthologies of folk-tales published by Lang (*Fairy Books*, 1889-1910) (Bottigheimer 2004, p. 268; Briggs and Butts ibid. p. 140). Andersen's works prompted other writers to take inspiration from traditional and nursery stories. For example, Ewing's *Amelia and the Dwarfs* (in *The Brownies and Other Tales*, 1870) is based on an Irish legend and Molesworth adapted a Scottish story, *The Brown Bull of Norroway* (1879) (Briggs and Butts ibid. p. 138).

Fantasy literature was almost non-existent in the early nineteenth century, unless one includes the animal story, which was common at the time and may be considered a type of fantasy. However, from the 1820s, the Victorian taste for fantasy literature grew. Carpenter and Pritchard (1984, p. 181) and Butts (1995, p. 90) outline several possible causes for this, such as the renewed interest in fairy tales, the Romantic rejection of the dominance of rationalism, the popularity of Gothic novels and the constant popularity of animal fantasies. Ruskin's *King of the Golden River* (1850) is one of the first examples of a fantasy written for a specific child, of which Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) is perhaps the most famous. Carroll's best-known fantasies, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* (1871), were revolutionary in their use of nonsense. They also seemed to have been aimed at a double audience, children and adults, as they are entertaining, but, as Carpenter and Pritchard remark, can also prompt reflections on power relations

between children and adults, and the rules of logic and language. Carpenter and Pritchard also note that fantasies sometimes included social considerations (Kingsley's 1863 *Water Babies* and MacDonald's 1871 *At the Back of the North Wind*) or were written in parody mode (Thackeray's 1855 *Rose and the Ring* and Lang's 1899 *Prince Prigio*). Nesbit's work (*The Story of the Treasure Seekers*, 1899; *The Wouldbegoods*, 1901) inspired many later fantasies by using a highly successful formula, namely, the appearance of magic elements in the real world, with worrying but comic consequences (p. 181). According to Potter's biographers, her childhood reading included Kingsley's *Water Babies* and Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and she was particularly fascinated by Tenniel's illustrations for the latter. No doubt, both fairy tales and fantasies helped develop her imagination and thus contributed to her growth as a creative children's writer.

Early twentieth-century fantasies reveal nostalgia for an idealised childhood, sometimes associated with a longing for a rural past, expressed by the trope of the garden or "the enchanted land". This is visible, for instance, in Grahame's *Wind in the Willows* (1908), Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1911) and Burnett's *Secret Garden* (1911) (Sampson 2000, p. 62). Cunningham (2006) agrees that late nineteenth and early twentieth-century CL is escapist in its focus on a "world of fancy" which is actually "an escape from the facts" (pp. 151-152). Potter's tales, set in rural and natural environments, may appear to share this escapism. Nevertheless, as explained in Chapter 3, they combine fantasy with realism, for example, by depicting the harshness of nature.

2.2.3.2. The animal story

Early nineteenth-century animal stories featured animal protagonists as narrators of their own life-stories or as the main heroes and, according to Carpenter and Pritchard (1984, p. 24), served several purposes: describing and commenting on human behaviour; transmitting a moral teaching by using animal characters; presenting animal behaviour; and teaching children to behave well towards animals. Such books include Kilner's *The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse* (1783), Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* (1786), and Ludlow's *Felissa* (1811). Animal stories were used even by writers of rational moral stories, despite their general distrust of imaginative

literature. This proliferation of animal stories can be explained by a "peculiarly English commitment to animal welfare" (Avery and Kinnell 1995, p. 72) and, more significantly, by the view that animals were appropriate subjects for children's books, since they would attract and maintain children's attention (Thwaite 1972, p. 181). No doubt, this is what convinced rationalist moralists to use animals in their books, although some were careful to warn children that the talking animals should not be understood as real.

Relatively few animal stories were published later, until the late nineteenth century, with the notable exceptions of Ballantyne's *The Dog Crusoe* (1861), Parr's *The True, Pathetic Story of Poor Match* (1863), Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877) and Gatty's *Parables from Nature* (1855-1871) (Briggs 1995, p. 180; Thwaite 1972, p. 185). Gatty's stories illustrate moral messages with examples from the worlds of plants and animals (Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 135). Furthermore, as Thwaite (1972) argues, they exemplify the impact of the development of the natural sciences on nineteenth-century fiction for children. Gatty was a naturalist whose *Parables from Nature* integrate the accuracy of her specialised knowledge with the fable form (p. 185). Such realistic tendencies are also visible in the literature written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when several animal stories of note were published, including Jefferies' *Wood Magic* (1881) (Thwaite ibid.) and Potter's own books, which show animals in accurate anatomical detail. Animal stories from the United States were also published in Britain. Among them, Harris's *Uncle Remus* (1880), which featured the conflict between a fox and a rabbit, is of particular relevance for Potter. Potter enjoyed Harris's book as a child, created her own illustrations for it later and found inspiration for the language of her tales in Harris's vocabulary.

Considering this tradition of animal tales in English CL, it can be claimed that much of Potter's originality lies in her portrayal of anthropomorphised animal characters, many of whom display an ambiguous combination of realistically depicted human and animal features. Perhaps even more importantly, the lack of a clear-cut moral message in many of her tales distances her from the mainly didactic English animal story tradition.

2.2.3.3. Book illustration

The techniques and art of children's book illustration developed dramatically in Victorian and Edwardian times. While an increasing emphasis on children's enjoyment of their books heightened the quality of book design and illustrations, significant improvements in the techniques of illustration reproduction allowed for more detailed and complex pictures and a wider variety of media. In addition, remarkable artists contributed to children's books, bringing influences from the artistic movements of the time and creating works which were significant for later children's books' illustrators or writer-illustrators, such as Potter.

A major technical advance was the invention of colour printing from woodblocks in the 1830s, which eased the process of colour picture reproduction, previously done by hand (Salisbury and Styles 2012, p. 14). Cole's carefully designed *Home Treasury* (1843), which did much to popularise fairy tales among the Victorian readership, was among the first to use this technique (Butts 1995, pp. 88-89). Another important title, published around the mid-nineteenth century, is Lear's *Book of Nonsense* (1846), enjoyed by Potter, in which Lear's own illustrations played an important role.

Due to further developments in printing technology and the contributions of outstanding artists, the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century have been named the "golden age of children's books" (Salisbury and Styles ibid. p. 18; Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 163). Perhaps the most significant name in relation to printing techniques is that of the printer Evans (1826-1905). As Salisbury and Styles (ibid. p. 17) and Carpenter and Pritchard (ibid. p. 170) explain, Evans perfected the processes of colour wood engraving, thereby obtaining results which contemporary artists considered superior to those of chromolithography, commonly used at the time. All three renowned artists of this period, Caldecott (1846-1886), Greenaway (1846-1901) and Crane (1845-1915) worked with Evans. These artists are dubbed "Britain's great children's illustrators" (Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 165), because of their significant contribution to the development of children's book illustration in the Victorian period and afterwards. According to Salisbury and Styles (2012, p. 16), Caldecott, considered the creator of the modern picture book because of the complementary text-illustration interaction in his work, influenced the work of many later artists, including Potter. Crane's style drew on Japanese art and the

Aesthetic movement, and emphasised the visual, rather than the conceptual connection between word and image (ibid. p. 17). Taylor (1989, p. 64) claims that Potter greatly admired Crane's style and indeed there is evidence in Potter's correspondence that her childhood reading included books illustrated by Crane (see Letter to Fish, in Taylor 1989, p. 369) and that when considering publishing a nursery rhyme book, she projected it to be "in a style between Caldecott's & [Crane's] the Baby's Opera" (Letter to Norman Warne, in Taylor 1989, p. 66). Greenaway achieved popularity with her books *Under the Window* (1879) and *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* (1888). Potter seems to have appreciated her work, though not to the same extent as Caldecott's and Crane's, stating that the "pictures are charming, but compared to Caldecott's – [Greenaway] could not draw" (Letter to Overton, in Taylor 1989, p. 441). Although it has been claimed that until the late nineteenth century, nothing of equal value to these three artists' works was published (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, pp. 411), children's books in the second half of the nineteenth century benefitted from the work of many other accomplished artists. These included Tenniel, the illustrator of Carroll's *Alice* books (1865, 1871); Cruikshank, who had illustrated the 1823 English edition of the Brothers Grimms' tales and also illustrated his own versions of fairy tales; Thackeray, who drew the pictures for his *Rose and the Ring*; Doyle, the illustrator of Ruskin's 1851 *King of the Golden River*, and Arthur Hughes, associated with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, who illustrated works by Christina Rossetti, Thomas Hughes and MacDonald (Briggs and Butts 1995, p. 163; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, pp. 137, 157, 263, 461, 521).

From 1890 to 1914, developments in colour printing allowed artists more freedom in their choice of medium and effects, which resulted in remarkable works. According to Whalley and Chester (1988), the reproduction of watercolour painting (Potter's preferred medium) was made possible by the half-tone colour printing process (also known as trichromatic, or four-colour printing process). Lavishly illustrated gift-books were produced using this process (p. 248) whose detailed pictures, for instance, by Rackham and Dulac, challenged children to examine and interpret the images, and not only the texts, of their books (Briggs 1995, p. 182). Other illustrators of note include William Heath Robinson, who illustrated Andersen and his own *Adventures of Uncle Lubin* (1902) and Charles Robinson, who illustrated the first edition of Burnett's *Secret Garden* (1911) (ibid. p. 184).

Another phenomenon in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century children's book design, the increasing popularity of small-format books, is particularly relevant for an analysis of Potter's works. Stevenson (2003) explains that throughout the nineteenth century the most common format was the large quarto, as a small format was associated with cheap reading material and therefore considered less prestigious by the middle-class readership. However, these attitudes changed in the 1890s, particularly due to the publication of a series of small, beautifully-bound books for children by Kelmscott Press, which showed that such books may be not only inexpensive to produce, but also "fashionable" (pp. 13-15). Several small-format series of children's books were published then, including *The Banbury Cross*, *The Little Folks' Favourite Library* and *The Dumpy Books for Children*. The latter, published by Richards, is especially relevant in relation to Potter because it included Bannerman's *Little Black Sambo* (1899). *Sambo* featured the layout that Potter was to use for her own books, namely, a short amount of text and an illustration facing each other on each double spread. It also used the artistic device of surrounding the images with "unstructured" white space, introduced by the Uptons' "Golliwog" series (1895-1909). *Sambo* sold well and was followed by numerous similar book series, including *The Bairn Books* (1901 onwards), *The Oogley Oo Books* (1902), *The Little One's Library* (1902), *The Rosebud Series* (1902) and *The Children's Gem Library* (1902) (ibid. pp. 17-18, 24). This popularity of small-format books was remarked upon by Potter, who later stated: "… there began to be a vogue for small books, and I thought "Peter" might do as well as some that were being published" (qtd. on p. 12). This no doubt contributed to her choice of format for her books, a decision which Stevenson characterises as "solid business sense" (p. 26).

In conclusion, the Victorian and Edwardian times witnessed a significant development of CL. The impact of contemporary ideas about children and their education is visible in the content and form of CL, for instance, in the debates regarding the proportion of instruction and entertainment, or rationality and fantasy, to which children should be exposed. Moreover, political and social developments influenced the creation of particular genres, such as the adventure tale, the school story and the family story. Finally, technical advances and the increasing emphasis on children's enjoyment of their books enabled great improvements in book illustrations. This section relates to Potter's life and works, firstly, in terms of the

influence of CL on her as a child. Her creativity and imagination were no doubt developed by her contact with imaginative literature, such as fairy tales and fantasies, and her artistic sensibility was shaped by the illustrations in the books she read. Secondly, Potter drew on the tradition of the animal tale to create an original type of story. Thirdly, technical advances in colour printing techniques ultimately enabled the reproduction of her watercolours in her books, and these constitute an essential part of her creative output. Finally, the recognisable format and layout of her books can be related to contemporary developments in book design.

2.3. Potter's life

2.3.1. Childhood and education

2.3.1.1. Family background and early childhood

Potter was born in London in 1866, into an upper-middle-class family with northern roots. Her parents came from Lancashire families which had made their fortune, like many other nineteenth-century industrialists, from the cotton industry. According to Lear (2008), their Unitarian religious orientation was combined with radicalism in political opinions and a taste for the arts (p. 9).

Potter's father, Rupert Potter, was educated at the Unitarian Manchester New College, went on to become a barrister and in 1863 married Helen Leech, daughter of John Leech, a wealthy Unitarian Stalybridge cotton merchant. According to Lear (ibid.), both the Potters and the Leeches had "a deep commitment to Nonconformity and education, as well as to the promotion of science and art in Manchester" (pp. 14-15). The commitment to patronage of the arts was, as Reed (2010) explains, a common feature of wealthy Unitarians (pp. 151-152). This fondness for art, manifested in John Leech's and Edmund Potter's collecting British art, was transmitted to their children, Helen Leech and Rupert Potter, and ultimately to their granddaughter, Beatrix. Potter grew up in a home where the visual arts were appreciated and practised. Several researchers (Lear 2008, p. 47; Taylor 2002, p. 2; Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 420) explain that Potter's mother drew and painted, and her father liked drawing. Moreover, he was a friend of the painter Millais and an art collector with a particular interest in acquiring Caldecott's work. Rupert Potter

also became involved in photography, an emerging art form at the time. Therefore, Potter had artistically talented parents, who engaged actively with the visual arts. As explained below, she inherited this talent and her parents supported her development as an artist.

Potter's early childhood was similar to that of many other nineteenth-century children of well-off parents, who saw their mothers and fathers for a limited time during the day and spent their time in the nursery, cared for by a nanny. Carpenter and Pritchard (1984) state that the first years of her life were mostly spent in the nursery at Bolton Gardens, under the care of Nurse Mackenzie (p. 420). Taylor (2002a, pp. 17, 19) also places Potter's childhood within Victorian norms:

> Much has been written about the strictness of her childhood, but the Potters were no more overbearing than any other middle-class parents of the time. Children were seen and not heard; they were looked after almost exclusively by their nannies and governesses and were brought downstairs to see their parents only on special occasions or to say good-night. Occasionally Mrs. Potter would climb the long staircase to the nursery, but it was a rare occurrence and much went on there that she knew nothing about. It was, after all, "nanny's kingdom".

Taylor also claims that Beatrix favoured her father as she grew older, as suggested by the frequent correspondence with him, written when he was away from home. She was also fond of both her grandmothers, Jessie Potter and Jane Leech (pp. 25-26, 34). When she was five, her brother Bertram was born and when he became old enough to join her in her playing, they became good friends. Apart from Bertram, however, she did not have other children as friends, as her parents were concerned about possible contagious diseases or negative influences (ibid. p. 34).

2.3.1.2. Relationship with children's literature

Potter's Scottish nurse told her folk tales which Potter remembered even in her later years. The nurse believed in "witches, fairies and the creed of the terrible John Calvin"; of these, only the former would have a durable effect on Potter: "the creed rubbed off, but the fairies remained" (qtd. in Taylor 2002a, p. 19). Potter was exposed to a range of literary works, apart from Scottish tales. As she confessed later, the books that she liked most were "trash, from the literary point of view – goody-goody, powder-in-the-jam, from the modern standpoint! I liked silly stories

about other little girls' doings" (qtd. in Taylor 2002, p. 20). Lear (2008) hypothesises that Potter was referring to didactic tales written by the Unitarian Barbauld; these books were specifically designed for young children and had a small format which was to become important for the design of Potter's books (p. 34). Other didactic works were Maria Edgeworth's stories, of which Potter especially liked *Simple Susan*, part of *The Parent's Assistant* (1796) (Lear ibid.; Taylor 2002, p. 28). Taylor also explains that Potter did not have a good opinion of Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*, which she later characterised as "a stodgy fat book … I know I hated it". She also owned Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Old Testament stories (p. 19). Potter was therefore exposed to religious and moral CL, but it is difficult to infer a particular influence of this on her, especially given her later dismissal of these books, a criticism which she did not direct at other genres, such as fantasies. However, her early Bible reading continued into her youth and its influence on her writing style is visible in the structure and rhythm of her sentences.

Lear (2008, p. 30), Taylor (2002a, pp. 20-21) and Carpenter and Pritchard (1984, p. 420) list other books that Potter possessed as a child. The nursery library included fairy tales and fantasies, such as those by the Brothers Grimm and Andersen, Kingsley's *The Water Babies*, Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, which she liked very much, together with Harris's *Uncle Remus*, Lear's poetry and Scott's Waverley novels. She also had *Aesop's Fables* and her nurse read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to her. As she became older and began to develop her interest in drawing and painting, she became more acutely aware of the pictures in her books (Taylor ibid. p. 24). This interest coincided with the dramatic development in children's book illustration after the mid-nineteenth century (Lear ibid. pp. 32-33). Potter's childhood library included books illustrated by some of the most appreciated artists of her times, including Molesworth's books illustrated by Crane, Lear's *Book of Nonsense*, illustrated by Lear himself, Ewing's *The Brownies* with Cruikshank's illustrations and issues of the American *St. Nicholas* magazine, illustrated at the time by Birch and Pyle. She was "absorbed with Tenniel's illustrations" for *Alice's Adventures* (qtd. in Taylor 2002a, p. 25). According to Lear, she was also exposed to the work of Doyle and the French artist Doré. The importance of all this childhood reading for Potter's later artistic career cannot be underestimated. It is difficult not to agree with

Lear (2008) when she states that these books contributed to developing Potter's imagination and writing style, as well as her visual sensibility (pp. 33, 35).

Potter also had books of a more educational and scientific nature, such as Blackburn's *Birds Drawn from Nature* (1862), which presented birds in minute anatomical detail, and Sowerby's *British Wild Flowers* (1882), which featured hand-coloured illustrations by accomplished botanical illustrators. The books, given to her by her father and grandmother, respectively, may have influenced her interest in natural history and her drawing and painting style. Their presence in the Potters' nursery can be explained by her father's interest in nature and drawing and by the upsurge of interest in science in Victorian times. As many Victorians became amateur scientists, parents no doubt wanted their children to be well-informed, by works such as the above.

2.3.1.3. Education

> Thank goodness my education was neglected, I never went to school I am glad I did not go school; it would have rubbed off some of the originality (if I had not died of shyness or been killed with over pressure). I fancy I could have been taught anything if I had been caught young; but it was in the days when parents kept governesses and only boys went to school in most families.

Potter's statement, published in the 1929 *Horn Book* magazine (qtd. in McKellips 2003, p. 124), places her education firmly within the Victorian middle-class practice of educating girls at home. Nevertheless, as explained above, private schools were also available and, in the late nineteenth century, higher education was becoming accessible to women. Potter's home-based education, then, may have been the result of her parents' conservatism in this regard and an early manifestation of their controlling tendencies in relation to their only daughter. Furthermore, it appears that there were few Unitarian girls' schools at the time (Reed 2010, p. 152), which may have contributed to the Potters' decision. Potter's claim that her education had been neglected can be understood as referring to her not going to school, as she did receive (mainly liberal) instruction. This can be attributed to Unitarians' belief in a "total education" for both boys and girls (ibid.) and to general educational developments in the late nineteenth century, when a liberal curriculum was accepted in girls' schools. Her *Journal* entries show that she studied Latin, French and

German, history and geography, arithmetic and grammar (pp. 46, 148). Governess-based schooling is also related to Potter's career as a children's author. Potter formed a long-lasting friendship with her last governess, Carter, whose children were to receive the first versions of Potter's most famous stories, in the picture letters that she sent them. In addition, it was Carter who first suggested that these stories could be made into books.

Potter also received art lessons as part of her education. Her parents encouraged her artistic inclinations and her education with her first governess included drawing and painting. When she was twelve, she had her own drawing teacher. Potter drew and painted everything around her, particularly landscapes, buildings, objects, plants and animals. She also copied illustrations from her books and drawing books, such as those by Caldecott, some of whose illustrations were bought by her father (Lear 2008, p. 47). In addition, Rupert Potter took her with him to art exhibitions and galleries and to visit the painter Millais. When she was seventeen, Potter took a series of painting lessons with an art teacher, but did not enjoy them much and her study did not last long (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 420; Taylor 2002, 40-41; Lear 20078 p. 46). Another influence on her artistic education was her father's passion for photography. Rupert Potter would take photographs in the Scottish countryside during their holidays, often accompanied by his daughter, who learned how to photograph and used pictures as records of things she later drew. As Lear argues, it is very likely that Potter's realistic style was shaped by the perspective offered by the camera and this manner of working (i.e. drawing based on photographs) (pp. 35-36).

Her range of interests was also enlarged by discussing politics and current affairs with her father and listening to the political discussions in her parents' and grandparents' homes. Potter's grandfather, Edmund Potter, was a Liberal MP and the Potters' guests included significant political figures of the times, such as the anti-protectionism activist, Cobden. Potter's awareness of the political debates of her times is evident from her *Journal* entries and surfaces in her tales, some of which can be read as portraying the tensions in British society (see Kutzer 2003). When she was sixteen, she met the Revd. Rawnsley, an active campaigner for the preservation of the Lake District and a founder of the National Trust. Rawnsley convinced Potter of the importance of conservation, which eventually led to her involvement in Lake

District environmental and cultural preservation, a cause of the reduction in her writing activity.

Throughout her life, Potter nurtured a love of learning by studying and experimenting, which supported her development from an amateur scientist into a successful children's author, and, finally, an experienced farmer, land manager and conservationist.

2.3.1.4. Relationship with the natural world, science and visual art

A strong influence on Potter's later work as a children's writer and illustrator was exerted by her early interest in the natural world, science (especially natural history) and visual art. Potter first became aware of the charm of natural landscapes on frequent visits to her paternal grandparents' house, Camfield Place, in Hertforshire. She also enjoyed extended summer holidays in Scotland and the Lake District, because, like other wealthy Victorian families, the Potters rented a countryside property for the summer. From 1882, there began a long series of Lake District holidays, some of which were spent at Lakefield, a property close to the village of Near Sawrey, where, in later years, Potter bought her first farm, Hill Top. Both Near Sawrey and Hill Top feature prominently in her books, in accurate, recognisable details. There were several ways in which the time that she spent in nature influenced her development, and ultimately her literary and artistic career. During the summer holidays, she went alone (or with her brother) on adventurous expeditions into the countryside. There she was allowed a freedom of movement that she did not have in London, which may have enhanced her courage and strength and thus enabled her to deal with challenging situations in her adult life. In addition, she became aware of the beauty of nature and thus developed her aesthetic sensibility, which influenced her artistic achievements. She perceived details, shapes and colours with an artist's eye and described them in her journal with an already skilful pen. And lastly, she had the opportunity to encounter a great variety of plants and animals, which encouraged her interest in natural history. As Lear argues, both Camfield Place and Dalguise, the Potter's Scottish summer residence, nurtured her inclination towards natural history and influenced her artistic outlook (p. 25).

Potter's delight in the natural world was bound up with drawing and painting and a more scientific interest in nature. According to Carpenter and Pritchard (1984, p. 420) and Taylor (2002a, p. 29), during her expeditions she found plants and animals that she then studied, drew and painted. Moreover, she and her brother caught small animals, which they sometimes took back to London, where they already had several pets in their nursery. The children were fond of their pets, but if the animals died, they were capable of dissecting and stuffing them, or boiling them until only the bones remained, so that they could study and draw the skeletons. It can be concluded, therefore, that Potter's fondness for nature was combined with aesthetic and scientific interests, and this was reflected in the detailed precision of her drawings and paintings, which later became a distinguishing feature of her book illustrations.

Despite this scientific bent and the realism of her early drawings, her childhood also had a more imaginative side. Childhood memories recorded in her *Journal* suggest that, influenced by Nurse Mackenzies's stories, she perceived the natural world as populated by characters from Scottish folk tales (p. 422). Nourished by the imaginative literature that Potter was exposed to, her artistic imagination also produced more fanciful drawings, for example, sketches of clothed rabbits on ice-skates, mentioned by Lear (ibid. p. 31). Therefore, it can be claimed that, as she developed as an artist, she merged these two orientations, (scientific) realism and fantasy, in her work, and this became one of the defining features of her style as a children's book author. The genre that she adopted, the animal fantasy, can also be linked to her interest in animals and her delight in imaginative literature.

2.3.2. Adulthood

2.3.2.1. Gendered experiences in late Victorian and Edwardian times

As explained above, the times during which Potter became an author of children's literature were characterised by particular conceptions of gender roles. Her attitude towards them is discussed below, as well as how they influenced her career.

Potter's opinions on gender roles were either expressed directly in her *Journal*, or can be deduced from her actions. In general, they offer a complex picture which combines traditional and modern ideas, also identifiable in her works. Potter believed

in marriage, but did not altogether embrace the "separate spheres" ideology, which relegated men and women to different domains of activity in the family. Thus, on the one hand, in an 1894 *Journal* entry she noted that "a happy marriage is the crown of a woman's life" (p. 313). When she did marry, it appears that it was she who undertook the domestic chores, such as cooking, housekeeping and mending clothes, although her husband also sometimes cooked (Lear 2008, p. 264). On the other hand, she was far from being a perfect housekeeper, because she was so busy with her work on the farm, and her active life outside the home shows that she did not embrace the domestic sphere as her only field of activity. The relationships that she had, first with her fiancé, Norman Warne, who died in 1905, and later with her husband, William Heelis, were of a companionable nature, in which both man and woman were professionally active and contributed their personal skills to a successful partnership.

What prompted Potter to start a writing career and then to become a farmer was a wish for independence and for a useful purpose in life. This desire is clearly linked to several phenomena occurring in Victorian society at large and in Potter's life. Lear (2008, p. 60) argues that many Victorians girls were confronted with "the spectre of uselessness", which was also the case with Potter, who suffered from bouts of depression because of this. Moreover, Potter's marriage prospects were hampered by her shyness and her dislike of the process of husband-searching, by her family's relative social isolation, due to their Unitarian and northern background, and by her mother's exaggerated expectations regarding the social status of any prospective husband. Becoming aware that she might never marry intensified her determination to achieve something in her own right, according to Lear. Her desire for financial independence can also be regarded as a reaction to the Victorian practice of not educating middle and upper-class girls to qualify for paid employment, as a result of which the girls were financially dependent on male relatives. Celebrating her first earnings and the prospect of independence, Potter stated: "One must make out some way. It is something to have a little money to spend on books and to look forward to being independent…" (Linder 1966, p. 402; see also Taylor 2002, p. 66; Lear 2008, p. 102).

A role in which Potter tried to balance her own wishes with what was expected of her was that of dutiful daughter. Her wish to be a devoted daughter can be seen in her

efforts to comply with her parents' demands, especially those of her mother, who was a protective yet domineering person. Potter's loyalty to her parents was challenged when they opposed her projected marriages and tried to secure her presence at home as much as possible. She made various compromises to satisfy them and did not cease to take care of them, even when she was advancing in years and extremely busy on her farm. This sense of duty, however, did not prevent her from having independent opinions and distancing herself to a certain extent from her parents' authority. For example, when referring to her father in a letter to her publishers, she is respectful, mildly critical and assertive all at the same time (qtd. in Taylor 2002a, p. 76):

> If my father happens to insist on going with me to see the agreement, would you please not mind him much, if he is fidgetty about things. I am afraid it is not a respectful way of talking and I don't wish to refer to it again, but I think it is better to mention beforehand he is sometimes a little difficult; I can of course do what I like about the book being 36. I suppose it is a habit of old gentlemen; but sometimes rather trying.

This tension between her wish for independence and her loyalty to her parents, aggravated by their controlling tendencies, is reflected in Potter's tales, which have been interpreted as "complaints against hierarchy, authority, and power" (Kutzer 2003, p. 12) or at least as ambiguous regarding "the importance and limits of order and stability versus the importance and risks of disobedience and self-assertion" (Mackey 1998, p. 12).

Potter's literary career can also be viewed in light of gendered practices in her times. The relationship between the start of her career and her wish for independence and a purpose in life has already been discussed. In addition, it can be claimed that she would not have been so successful, had she not had an appropriate education to develop her potential. Even though she was educated at home, Potter was not discriminated against, in terms of the educational opportunities she was offered. Nevertheless, sometimes her professional life was impeded by her mother's demands, some of which were the result of personal idiosyncrasies, others, related to contemporary cultural practices. For example, she had to endure the embarrassment of refusing an invitation to the Warnes' home to sketch a doll house for one of her tales and to stay for lunch, because of a conflict with her mother, who opposed her spending time with Norman Warne (Lear 2008, pp. 176-178). Moreover, she was

constantly expected to make holiday arrangements and be involved in household management in London, no matter how busy she was with writing and sketching for her books. Despite this, Potter's success as a children's writer was supported by the professional, non-discriminatory attitude of her publishers. The Warne brothers dealt with her tactfully and respectfully, making constructive suggestions and allowing her to become involved in the books' production process. Somewhat ironically, the decline in her creative endeavours can be linked to her initial success and subsequent involvement in occupations which had not been traditional for middle-class women. The earnings from her first books enabled her to buy Hill Top Farm, which was the beginning of her career as a farmer, sheep breeder and land conservationist. These activities gradually absorbed her interest, time and energy, so that she had little left to invest in her writing.

2.3.2.2. Scientific activity

Potter's childhood interest in science developed in her youth and continued to be coupled with her artistic activities. Due to this interest, she did not cease to develop her knowledge of the natural world and to improve her drawing and painting, which ultimately benefitted her later children's books. In her twenties, she was preoccupied with fossils and insects, which she studied and drew or painted in watercolours, as accurately as possible, and tried to identify at the Natural History Museum in London. She also painted and drew Roman archaeological finds that had been discovered in the City of London, and subsequently became interested in fungi and lichens, which she studied under the microscope, painted and tried to reproduce. As Taylor (2002a) explains, helped by her uncle, the chemist Sir Henry Roscoe, she obtained permission to study at the Kew Royal Botanical Gardens. Potter presented her attempts at germinating spores to the scientists there, but her ideas were not favourably received. Consequently, she wrote a related paper, delivered in 1897, during a meeting of the Linnean Society of London, the most important British natural science society. As women were not allowed to present at Society meetings, Potter's paper was read by a Kew principal assistant, Massee. Her ideas were again rejected, although later research was to vindicate them (ibid. pp. 66-67).

As Lear argues, Potter's interests in science and art were never separate. Her interest in fungi is a case in point, as she was first attracted to them for their aesthetic qualities (p. 78). Similarly, her paintings of Roman artefacts are of a high artistic quality and a good example of this merging of science and art (ibid. pp. 98-99), which was also reflected in her books.

2.3.2.3. Artistic and writing career

Potter's work first gained professional recognition in 1890, when, aged twenty-four, she succeeded in selling her drawings to a card-publishing firm, Hildesheimer and Faulkner. Lear explains that these drawings, for which she had used her pet rabbit, Benjamin Bounce, as a model, were first published as Christmas and New Year Cards, and then illustrated *A Happy Pair*, a booklet with verses by Weatherly. Potter also sent some of her watercolours to Warne, who liked her work and told her that they would consider any books that she might present to them (p. 74). In 1895, the children's publisher Nister published her drawings in a children's annual (Taylor 2002a, p. 66; Lear 2007, pp. 101-2). According to Lear (pp. 127-128, 131-132), between 1892 and 1896 Potter produced many illustrations for children's stories and rhymes, such as *Cinderella*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, *The Owl and the Pussy-Cat*. She also continued to produce picture letters, cards and even tried to make toy books. Lear emphasises the importance of Potter's picture-letter writing, which provided her with the opportunity to practise the form of story-telling in which she would later excel.

Carpenter and Pritchard (1984, p. 421) explain that in 1900, Potter rewrote in book form the picture letter she had sent to Noel Moore, the son of one of her former governesses, containing the story of Peter Rabbit, and sent it to six publishers. However, as none of them accepted it, Potter decided to publish it herself and the privately-printed edition was ready in December 1901. In 1902, Warne decided to publish the book, having obtained Potter's agreement to redo the illustrations in colour. After the success of *Peter Rabbit*, Warne also published *The Tailor of Gloucester* and *Squirrel Nutkin* (1903), *Benjamin Bunny* and *Two Bad Mice* (1904). Potter collaborated closely with her publishers, in particular with Norman Warne, whose suggestions improved the quality of her books. Moreover, she was actively

involved in the book production process. Lear mentions that Potter commented on the print type and size, the quality of the colours on the printing blocks, of the paper and the bindings (p. 152). Another feature of her working style was that she took great pains over her texts and illustrations, re-working them whenever she thought they needed improvement and making careful choices in the words she used and their place in the text (Lear 2008, pp. 180-181; Kutzer 2003, p. 1). Furthermore, Potter always sketched during her countryside holidays, drawing landscapes and gardens which she used in her books. Her biographers underline the close connection between Potter's art and writing and the places of which she was so fond. For example, Hill Top Farm, in Near Sawrey, which she bought in 1905, features in several of her books, published between 1905 and 1913, such as *Jemima Puddle-Duck* (1908), which presents her tenants, the Cannons, working on the farm, and *Mr. Tod* (1912), which shows the scenery around the village (Lear ibid. pp. 223, 243).

Potter also published two books in a different format and for a younger readership in 1906. *The Story of a Fierce Bad Rabbit* and *The Story of Miss Moppet*, originally published as folded panoramic sheets, were later republished in the common format. A draft similar book, *The Sly Old Cat*, however, was never finished and only published as late as 1971. Other books written in the early twentieth century included *The Flopsy Bunnies* (1909), *Mrs. Tittlemouse* (1910) and *Timmy Tiptoes* (1911) (Carpenter and Pritchard 1984, p. 422).

Thus, the period 1902-1913 is the most prolific in her literary career. After that, Potter married and became increasingly involved in farming and land conservation work. As Lear states, demands were also made on Potter by her family, namely, her father's illness and death in 1914, which forced her to travel frequently to London (pp. 265-267). Consequently, far fewer books were written after 1913. According to Lear, in 1914 she began work on *Kitty-in-Boots*, which was never published, partly due to lack of time, partly because of her publishers' unenthusiastic response, as the story was reminiscent of Perrault's *Puss in Boots* and contravened the convention of not using traps in children's animal stories. *Apply Dapply's Nursery Rhymes* (1917) and *Johnny Town-Mouse* (1918) were published in an attempt to save her publishers from financial ruin (pp. 267-268, 284-293). Both were successful, although Potter's increasingly failing eyesight made it difficult for her to work on the illustrations for the latter (ibid. p. 293). In 1919 Potter proposed another book, *The Tale of Jenny*

Crow, based on several Aesop fables, but was disheartened by Fruing Warne's rejection, motivated by what he perceived as lack of originality. In addition, she was tiring of creating tales and wrote to him (qtd. in Lear 2007, p. 301):

> … you don't suppose I shall be able to continue these d…d little books when I am dead and buried!! I am utterly tired of doing them, and my eyes are wearing out. I will try to do you one or two more for the good of the old firm; but it is quite time I had rest from them.

In 1926, *The Roly-Poly Pudding*, initially published in a large format, was reissued as *The Tale of Samuel Whiskers*, in the usual small format of the other books, but Fruing Warne's subsequent requests for new material did not receive a positive answer. Lear further explains that Potter's last books were created due to encouragement and demands from her American acquaintances, such as Anne Carroll Moore, the Superintendent of Children's Work for the New York Public Library, Mahony, co-founder of *The Horn Book*, the first journal dedicated to CL, Mrs. Coolidge and her son, Henry P. and McKay, a Philadelphia publisher (pp. 312-316). These last books included *Cecily Parsley's Nursery Rhymes* (1922), *The Fairy Caravan* (published in 1929 in the United States, with a dedication for Henry P), *Little Pig Robinson* (1930, published in two slightly different versions in Britain and the USA), *Sister Anne* (1932) and *Wag-by-Wall* (1944), part of a second group of Caravan stories (pp. 312-316, 409, 438). Among them, only *Cecily Parsley's Nursery Rhymes* and *Little Pig Robinson* are widely known today, having been included in the list of Potter books published by Warne.

2.3.2.4. Publishing-related business

Potter's pragmatism and creativity were visible in her business activities, some of which were directly related to her literary career. She was careful about securing copyrights for everything that she produced and was also a resourceful creator of merchandise related to her books.

The significance of copyrights became especially important to her after the publication of *Peter Rabbit* (1902). As Lear recounts, neither Potter nor her publishers had remembered to register its copyright in the United States. Consequently, pirated copies were published there from 1903. Afterwards, Potter always took care of copyright registration and of the related matter of securing

possession of the printing blocks of her book illustrations. All her Warne interests, including copyrights, were left to her husband, and after his death, to Frederick Warne Stephens, Norman Warne's nephew. Ultimately, they were given over to the Warne publishers, acquired by Penguin Books, in turn owned by Pearson, in 1983 (pp. 164, 443). Pearson continues to jealously guard the copyrights to Potter's works and merchandise, by renewing them when reissuing the books with new reproductions of the illustrations (1987, 2002) (see Mackey 1998, pp. vii, 4; Fraser 2013, n.p.), although legally Potter's works should have been in the public domain since 2013, seventy years after the author's death.

Potter's merchandising activity began as early as 1903, one year after the publication of *Peter Rabbit*, when Potter created and patented a Peter Rabbit doll. During her lifetime, Potter created a wide range of merchandise, including wallpapers, painting books, tea sets, handkerchiefs, slippers, wooden puzzles, children's stationery and bookcases. This already extensive list has been further developed by Warne, particularly since its acquisition by Penguin Books (Pearson). As Mackey (1998) explains, one of Pearson's core businesses is entertainment and they own several TV channels. Consequently, the increase in merchandising activity is especially visible in the field of animation (pp. xviii, 112).

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the relationships between Victorian and Edwardian Britain, Potter's life and her works. Victorian and Edwardian Britain were characterised by unprecendented industrialisation, urbanisation and population growth, changes in social structure, turmoil in religious life, the development of science, imperial expansion and decline. Industrialisation enabled many owners of industrial businesses, including Potter's parents' families, to rise in power and wealth, so that Potter was born into an upper-middle-class family which shared middle-class mentalities and practices to some extent. Industrialisation also encouraged technological innovation, which is likely to have enabled improvements in printing techniques. This, in turn, contributed to the development of illustrations for children's books, to which Potter was exposed as a child and which she later created. Urbanisation worsened the condition of children, whose plight was reflected

in the CL of those times. In addition, as counter-reactions to the large-scale urbanisation and industrialisation, there was an emphasis on countryside imagery and the practice of well-to-do Victorians, including Potter's family, of spending their leisure time in countryside properties. Potter's rural holidays fostered a love of nature and the countryside, reflected in her books. At the same time, science developed greatly and many Victorians became amateur scientists. This interest was shared by Potter, who, as a child, owned educational books which represented natural life accurately, studied, painted and drew plants and animals. This ultimately influenced her artistic style, which presents flora and fauna in an accurate, true-to-life manner.

British religious life was influenced by the spiritual revival to which Evangelicalism and the Oxford movement contributed, whose ideas are also manifest in CL produced at the time. It was also fragmented between the Anglican Church and Dissent, including Unitarianism, to which Potter's family belonged. A widespread crisis of faith made many attach increased importance to their families, which contributed to an idealisation of childhood also visible in children's literature. Childhood was regarded in Victorian and Edwardian times as an important phase of human life. It was represented from several perspectives, most of which were reflected in educational practices and children's literature. These included a socially-aware view, which foregrounded the hardships of poor children, and the Evangelical and the Romantic views, which saw children as innately sinful or innocent and imaginative, respectively. Images of childhood were also influenced by conceptions of gender. Dominant gender discourses in Victorian times, which continued in the Edwardian period, emphasised purity and domesticity for women, although it is possible that they were not uniformly applied. Potter's life was influenced by such views, for instance, her artistic activity was prompted by her wish for financial independence and a purpose in life. Furthermore, her wish for independence often conflicted with her loyalty to her parents, and this tension surfaces in her works.

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century education in Britain was class- and gender-based. In many middle-class families, such as Potter's, boys were sent to school, while girls were educated at home by governesses. Possibly due to her Unitarian background, but also to changing ideas about education for women, Potter, although educated at home, received a liberal education. An interest in art was also characteristic of wealthy Unitarians and Potter's family was no exception, so that

Potter's natural talents for drawing and painting were encouraged and developed in her early years.

Potter's art and imaginative faculties were also influenced by her encounters with Victorian children's literature. Her creativity and imagination were no doubt developed by her contact with imaginative literature, such as fairy tales and fantasies, and her artistic sensibility was shaped by the illustrations in the books she read. Potter also drew on the tradition of the animal tale to create an original type of story, featuring accurately-represented anthropomorphised characters and sometimes lacking a clear-cut moral message. Technical advances in colour printing techniques ultimately enabled the reproduction of her watercolours in her books, which constitute an essential part of her creative output. Finally, the recognisable format and layout of her books can be related to contemporary developments in book design.

As an author-illustrator, Potter was deeply involved in the book production process and took great pains to re-work her illustrations and texts until she was satisfied with them. She was an astute business woman, careful about securing copyrights and resourceful when creating merchandise related to her books. These two trends have been continued to date by her publisher, Warne, particularly since its acquisition by the media conglomerate Pearson.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOURCE TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATION

3.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the main features of the source texts, which may pose challenges for Romanian translators and publishers. It also establishes the extent to which Potter's work has been translated to date, identifies the challenges of translating the tales into languages other than Romanian and discusses Potter's own perception of the challenges posed by the translation of her works.

Given the significance of visual elements in Potter's books, the analysis of the tales considers both their verbal and visual texts, and the interaction between them. Therefore, the works are discussed in the context of current scholarship on picture books. Although many studies of picture books have been published to date, there is yet no widely accepted definition of a "picture book". What most scholars appear to agree on is that picture books usually involve the co-existence of two modes of representation, or, in semiotic terms, of two sign systems, the verbal and the visual (Sipe 1998, p. 97; Anstey and Bull 2004, p. 329; Nodelman 2004, pp. 154-155; Nikolajeva and Scott 2006, p. 1). The interrelationship between the verbal and the visual elements of picture books is variously characterised as "plate tectonics" (Moebius 2006, p. 313), "synergy" (Sipe 1998, p. 98), or "irony" (Nodelman 1988, p. 223). For the purposes of this analysis, picture books are defined, following Hallberg, as "books with at least one picture on each spread" (qtd. in Nikolajeva and Scott 2006, p. 11). A distinction is therefore made between books in which the significance of the visual component is suggested by its frequent occurrence (picture books) and books which feature it only occasionally and hence grant prominence to the verbal text (illustrated books). In light of this definition, most of Potter's works can be considered picture books.

The visual and verbal characteristics of Potter's picture books are analysed in three steps, prefaced by a terminological proposal. Because most often in Potter's tales there is a meaningful relationship of interdependence between visual and verbal elements, the term "syntext" is suggested to refer to the various components of

Potter's works, other than the main body of text, usually referred to as "paratexts" by literature and translation studies scholars. The analysis then proceeds, firstly, by identifying the main features of Potter's illustrations and the nature of their relationship with the verbal texts. Secondly, the significance of other visual elements, such as layout or typography, is explored. Thirdly, several features of the verbal texts are analysed and their connections with visual elements are indicated.

The editions used in this analysis are the 2002 and 2011 ones, although, whenever necessary and possible, comparisons have been made with the originals[2]. As these two editions are widely available at present, they are most likely to be familiar to a contemporary audience and possibly to be used for new Romanian translations. The 2002 edition was published to mark the centenary of the publication of *Peter Rabbit*. On this occasion, Warne reset the text and produced new reproductions of the illustrations, sometimes restoring previously discarded pictures. The 2011 edition differs little from the 2002 one (for instance, in the background colour of the covers) and the differences are addressed in the discussion.

The investigation into translation-related aspects of Potter's work first explores the connection between her tales and translation. Potter-related translations, in the widest sense, comprise a great variety of products, including translations of the tales proper, published either individually or in collections; translations of related books published by Warne, such as simplified versions and colouring books; print translations of animation based on Potter's tales; adaptations; and even Potter-related merchandise. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, a working definition of "translations of Potter's picture books" is adopted, namely, TTs based directly on the original tales (i.e. not on simplified versions or animation), which are approximately the same length as the originals (i.e. not abbreviated or simplified foreign-language versions).

The data sources used to establish the extent to which Potter's work has been translated to date include the online Index Translationum, a UNESCO database providing information on translations published in approximately 100 UNESCO member states, from 1979 to present; WorldCat.org, a worldwide library database run by the library cooperative Online Computer Library Center; the Hathi Trust Digital Library, a partnership of world universities and libraries; Potter scholarship

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[2] Pictures of the originals are available online, for example, on websites of firms which sell rare books, such as Peter Harrington.

(Linder 1971; Taylor 1989, 2002b; Lear 2007); and Warne's list of international publishers of Potter's tales (peterrabbit.com). Warne was also contacted, but declared that they do not have a definitive list of Potter's translations to date (Lovett, personal communication, July 2013). To identify Romanian translations, other sources used were the online catalogues of the National Library of Romania, the Central University Libraries in Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Iaşi (the main Romanian university cities) and Romanian children's literature scholarship. Keyword internet searches were also conducted.

Establishing what translations exist is not an altogether straightforward task. Firstly, none of the data sources above are comprehensive; nevertheless, combining the data provided by all the sources aims to provide as accurate a picture as possible. Secondly, it was not always possible to establish whether all the published texts conform to the working definition of "translation of Potter's works" established above, or are simplified versions or translations based on derivative texts. Sometimes the titles or descriptions of the texts clarify their nature, but this is not always the case. Further research has been undertaken, such as searching for additional information about editions that appeared problematic. However, establishing a completely accurate picture would require knowledge of many languages and a level of research not feasible within the time limits of this discussion. What this study does, therefore, is to establish the languages into which Potter's tales have been translated and offer examples of early and recent editions. It also identifies translations published in Eastern European countries during communist times, to compare with the apparent lack of Romanian translations in that period. The results of this research are presented in Appendix B, "Translations of Potter's tales".

Having established the connection between Potter's work and translation, the challenges which emerge from the experience of Potter's translators to date are discussed. The analysis shows which features of the tales have posed translation challenges and therefore are likely also to do so in a Romanian translation. The discussion draws on Potter's correspondence with her publishers (Taylor 1989), her correspondence with a French translator of her tales, cited in Potter scholarship, and relevant CLTS scholarship. Translation challenges are identified based on statements by Potter, her publishers and translators of the tales; they are also deduced from

differences in translation strategies discussed in Potter-related translation scholarship.

3.2. Potter's picture books[3]

3.2.1. Re-conceptualising "paratexts"

In the discussion of the main features of Potter's tales below, the contribution of visual and other so-called "paratextual" elements to the books will be pointed out repeatedly. It will be shown that such elements, in particular the illustrations, work together with the main verbal text to construct the books as entities with a specific profile. For this reason, a new term is necessary refer to them, which better expresses this relationship. Genette (1997) explicitly includes illustrations in his list of "paratexts" (p. 406) and clearly ascribes a secondary role to "paratexts", both verbal and visual, stating that "the paratextual element is always subordinate to 'its' text" (p. 12). Nevertheless, several studies show that in children's picture books many (visual and verbal) "paratexts" are as important as the main body of text (Higonnet 1990, Yuste Frías 2012, Nikolajeva and Scott 2006). Despite this acknowledgement, such studies continue to use Genette's term, "paratext", apparently unaware of the contradiction between the important role of such elements in CL and the connotations of the word (the Greek prefix "para-" means "beside", but also connotes something deviant or of lesser importance). For this reason, a new term is necessary, which better expresses the verbal-visual interdependence in Potter's tales and possibly in many other picture books. This term is "syntext". I believe that the prefix "syn-", meaning "together with", is better suited to express the "together-ness", the unity and equal importance of the main body of text, the visual elements and at least some other verbal elements (e.g. titles of stories) in Potter's picture books, as shown by the analysis below.

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[3] This section develops some of the points made in Cocargeanu 2014a and 2014b. Appendix A, "Sample analyses of the source texts", contains further exemplification of the features of Potter's tales.

3.2.2. Potter's illustrations and their relationships with the verbal text

The study of children's book illustrations challenges CL scholars to use "visual grammars", sets of specific tools which differ from their usual methodological apparatuses. Several studies propose such "grammars", for instance, Moebius (2006), Doonan (1993) and Nodelman (1988). While an exhaustive investigation of Potter's illustrations, using most categories specified by the above scholars, is not feasible within the limits of this study, several important characteristics are outlined below. These include layout, framing, media and colours.

The layout of a book comprises the "shape, size and arrangement of the illustrations and the placement of the text" (Doonan 1993, p. 85). "Framing" refers to the borders placed around the illustrations (and possibly the text), while "media" are the materials used, such as watercolours, crayon, or pen and ink. Colours have several characteristics, for instance, saturation ("the measure of the purity of a colour") and tone ("a measure of light and dark of an area") (Doonan ibid. pp. 30-31).

Potter's books have different types of layout, on the basis of which they can be grouped into three categories. Firstly, the layout and the features of the illustrations in most of the books are identical to those in *Peter Rabbit* (*PR*)[4] (1902). More precisely, each double spread includes a colour illustration on a page (either verso or recto), facing a short text on the opposite page. Most illustrations are vignettes, that is, they are not clearly framed, as their edges fade off into the white space surrounding them. The medium used is watercolour and the colours are unsaturated. To this category belong *Squirrel Nutkin* (*SN*) (1903), *Benjamin Bunny* (*BB*) (1904), *Two Bad Mice* (1904)[5], *Mr. Jeremy Fisher* (*JF*) (1905), *Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle* (*TW*) (1905), *Tom Kitten* (*TK*) (1907), *Jemima Puddle-Duck* (*JPD*) (1908), *The Flopsy Bunnies* (*FB*) (1909), *Mrs. Tittlemouse* (1910), *Timmy Tiptoes* (1911) and *Johnny Town-Mouse* (*JTM*) (1918).

These features have several implications, which should be considered when translating Potter's work. This type of layout, the most "formal and traditional" layout in picture books, creates a specific "visual rhythm, a series of strong beats" (Doonan ibid. p. 85). The narrative is given a similar rhythm and, as Sale (1978)

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[4] Abbreviations are used for the titles of tales which are referred to repeatedly in this study.
[5] *Two Bad Mice* is the only book in this group which features framed, rectangular and square illustrations.

argues, a specific reading pace and a concentration on the text and image on each double spread are encouraged (pp. 127-128). The shortness of the text, the large amount of white space surrounding it and the fact that each short text has a corresponding illustration emphasises the importance of both, therefore encouraging readers to pause and consider them carefully. A different type of layout, for instance, with running text on the entire double spread, would hasten the reading process and the events would not carry the same weight. The type of framing used can foster reader involvement in the story, to a certain degree. It is generally agreed that framing creates a sense of detachment in readers, while the lack of frames invites readers inside the picture and therefore intensifies their involvement (Nodelman 1988, pp. 50, 53; Nikolajeva and Scott 2006, p. 62). The irregular shapes of Potter's pictures are marked, somewhat hazily, by white space. The impression this gives is that of a window into another world, and therefore, of separation, but the distancing effect is not as strong as that accomplished by clear borders. Finally, the unsaturated watercolours create an impression of softness and a dreamy, fantasy-like atmosphere.

The second type of layout is that of *The Taylor of Gloucester* (*TG*) (1903), which features one framed, colour illustration per double spread, with running text on the entire opposite page. In this case, the frames serve at least two functions. As Nikolajeva and Scott observe, they emphasise the historical distance between the readers' times and the temporal setting of the story (ibid. p. 63). In addition, they serve to balance the size of the text on the opposite page and to make the snow in the outdoor pictures appear white, in contrast to the black line of the frame (Potter, letters to Norman Warne and to Frederick Warne & Co., in Taylor 1989, pp. 77, 79).

The third layout category includes five books with both colour plates and black-and-white, pen-and-ink illustrations, and various text and picture arrangements and sizes. To this category belong *The Pie and the Patty-Pan* (*PPP*) (1905), *Samuel Whiskers* (1908), *Ginger and Pickles* (*GP*) (1909), *Mr. Tod* (*MT*) (1912) and *Pigling Bland* (1913). Potter first suggested a mixed, colour-and-black-and-white book to Warne in 1905 (*PPP*), arguing that it would enable her to meet their deadline, since black-and-white illustrations can be quickly processed (Letter to Norman Warne, in Taylor 1989, p. 112). The potential effect of black-and-white illustrations on readers changes over time. In Potter's times, such pictures were common in children's books and were used by well-known artists such as Rackham and William Heath Robinson.

Since at present they are no longer common, they may signal specific intentions on the part of the illustrator. Possible connotations, according to Nodelman (1988, p. 67) include seriousness, objectivity, or "making a special point" (p. 67). *MT* is the only book in which the black-and-white illustrations are framed (and smaller). They are placed diagonally on double spreads, or one occupies half a page, while the other half and the opposite page are filled with text. As Kutzer (2003) argues, framing the black-and-white pictures gives them the appearance of woodblock prints and more weight than in the other books. It also creates a visual connection to the framed colour plates (p. 137), which face a page comprising both text and a small black-and-white picture. As can be seen, there is more variation in the layout than in the previous two categories. However, the layout remains balanced and symmetrical.

Potter's illustrations, which include the features outlined above, interact in specific ways with the verbal text opposite them. The interaction between the verbal text and the illustrations in children's picture books has been categorised by several scholars. While such categorisations use different terminologies and make various distinctions, many indicate, as O'Sullivan (2010) observes, two main types of relationship: either the visual and the verbal texts offer approximately the same information and therefore they are "congruent" or "symmetrical", or they offer different information and thus interact in "interdependent, ironic or contradictory" manners (p. 134) (see also Oittinen 2008, p. 12; Sipe ibid.; Nikolajeva and Scott 2006, pp. 6-8). To analyse this relationship in Potter's tales, the categorisation by Nikolajeva and Scott (ibid. pp. 8-21) is adopted and slightly amended. The two scholars identify several types of text-illustration interaction, placed along a continuum between two extremes, "word" ("a text without pictures") and "image" ("a wordless picturebook") (ibid. p. 8), including "symmetrical", "complementary", "enhancing", "counterpointing" and "sylleptic". Despite the nuanced distinctions made between the various categories, Nikolajeva and Scott's discussion lacks clarity at times, in defining and exemplifying them. For instance, it is virtually impossible to establish the difference between symmetrical picture books (i.e. where the text and the pictures offer the same information, which implies that the text can be read even without the images) and a non-picturebook category posited in the summary on p. 12, "narrative text with at least one picture on every spread (not dependent on images)". Furthermore, although "counterpointing" and "sylleptic" are presented as two distinct categories in the

summary, later on "sylleptic" is considered a variety of "counterpoint" (p. 25), and the same examples (Burningham's *Shirley* books) are given when discussing either "counterpoint" (p. 17) and "counterpoint by juxtaposition" (i.e. syllepsis) (p. 25).

Despite such problematic aspects, Nikolajeva and Scott's framework can be applied to Potter's picture books productively, provided that their categories are defined more clearly. This is especially because the two scholars relate their typology to narrative elements such as characterisation and setting, and show how these elements are built through the verbal-visual interaction. Consequently, an exploration of Potter's tales from this perspective is likely to offer valuable insights about the contribution of verbal and visual elements to the narratives. The slightly modified version of Nikolajeva and Scott's typology used for the analysis comprises the following categories.

- Symmetrical: the text and illustrations offer the same information;

- Complementary: the text and illustrations "fill each other's gaps" (p. 12);

- Enhancing: either the text, or illustrations, offer more information;

- Counterpointing: the text and illustrations contradict each other to various extents;

- Sylleptic: there are two or several narratives, independent of each other, in the text and illustrations (p. 12).

The analysis below uses these categories and explores how the text and the illustrations interact to build setting and characterisation, two narrative elements of relevance for Potter's tales.

Setting elements fulfil various functions in narratives, for instance, establishing their context (time and place), creating mood and genre expectations and contributing to characterisation (Nikolajeva and Scott ibid. p. 61). These functions can also be discerned in Potter's books and are fulfilled through complementary, enhancing or counterpointing text-illustration interaction.

The context for Potter's stories comprises temporal references related to plot development and cultural references which generally locate the tales in nineteenth-century Britain. Temporal references, including the time of the day, the days of the

week or the seasons, occur in either the verbal text or the illustrations. For example, the passage of time is marked in *SN* by precise mentions in the text, such as "in the evening" (p. 19), "next morning" (20), "on the third/fourth/fifth/sixth day" (pp. 28, 32, 36, 43). Sometimes time is suggested in the pictures, for instance, the time of day (i.e. early morning) is implied by the colours used (*SN*, p. 13). Potter's stories are also located in a particular historical period and cultural space by a range of visual and verbal cultural references. These include flora (foxgloves, robin's pincushions) and fauna (blackbird, jay); measurement units (yard, groat, penny); clothes (poke bonnet, coat-tail pocket); food items (currant buns, sponge cakes); games (ninepins, marbles); rural landscape, buildings and tools (cucumber frame, gig, cart road); house furnishing and household items (dresser, pipkin, willow pattern plates); building elements (wainscot, skirting board); rhymes, riddles and carols (*Humpty Dumpty lies in the beck*; *Dame, get up, and bake your pies*); religious feasts and associated practices (Christmas dinner); cultural practices (afternoon tea, spring cleaning).

Setting elements also create mood and genre expectations. Nikolajeva and Scott characterise Potter's setting as "idyllic" and "nostalgic", since it "depicts a simplicity of life" and the characters' manners and clothes are outdated by one generation. In their view, Potter's settings are idealistically pastoral, because most of the stories are set in the countryside and, even if terrible events do occur, "the whole is presented with the cozy veneer of domesticity that makes it acceptable, and in keeping with the country life" (ibid. pp. 68-9). Their claim about idealisation may be supported by a trait of Potter's settings, namely, the diffuse, dream-like atmosphere suggested by visual elements such as subdued hues and the vignette-like illustrations. From this perspective, Potter's tales might be considered similar to other "escapist" fantasies of the Edwardian age. However, this claim can be contested on two counts. Life in Potter's stories is not simple, nor is their social environment outdated. Potter's characters experience challenges that can make life complex, such as being single parents, running a business, dealing with unruly children or living together with in-laws. Furthermore, the social world Potter depicted was generally inspired by her life and the people she knew in the countryside, who were sometimes included in her books. The acceptability of terrible events is also debatable when one thinks, for

example, about some passages and black-and-white pictures in *MT*. The hatching[6] used in the depiction of Mr. Tod's house, where the little rabbits are in danger of being killed and eaten, is more intense than that for other, more benign scenes and transmits the same impression of darkness and danger as the following paragraph (p. 34):

> The sun had set; an owl began to hoot in the wood. There were many unpleasant things lying about, that had much better have been buried; rabbit bones and skulls, and chickens' legs and other horrors. It was a shocking place, and very dark.

Thus, the dreamy atmosphere in Potter's picture books exists alongside stark descriptions of the harshness of nature. This combination can be explained by Potter's own attitude to such realities, since, both in her childhood and in later years, she was fond of animals, but also realistic and matter-of-fact about their death (see Lear 2008, p. 422; O'Connell 2014, pp. 40, 44).

Expectations relating to genre, fostered by the setting in Potter's books, are also ambiguous, especially when considering the combined effect of setting and other narrative elements, such as characterisation. Generally, the expected genre could be that of fantasy, because Potter uses the narrative convention of anthropomorphised animal characters and her tales suggest a "dreamy" mood. However, the accuracy of the animals' anatomy, of plants and the built environment tends towards realism. This tension, enhanced by her realistic presentation of nature's harshness and her satire of human flaws, constitutes one of the specific features of her work.

Setting elements also contribute to the characterisation of Potter's protagonists. For example, a significant element in Potter's portrayal of anthropomorphised animal characters is the human-animal tension, that is, characters have both accurate animal features and realistic human traits. Nikolajeva and Scott (2006) point this out, noting, for example, that Peter Rabbit is drawn in accurate anatomical detail, but his posture is human (p. 94). The story settings contribute to this tension by showing the characters wearing human clothes, living in human-built environments and using human tools, while retaining animal-specific anatomical details and behaviour.

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[6] Hatching is the technique of "shad[ing] (an area) with closely drawn parallel lines" (online Oxford Dictionary).

The setting elements which fulfil the functions above are generally built through complementary, enhancing or counterpointing text-picture interactions. The most frequent type of relationship is the complementary one. For example, in *TG* (pp. 14-15), the verbal text establishes the location of the story (the city of Gloucester, where there is a hidden mouse world) and contributes to characterisation (animal-human duality), since the animals' world is said to have human elements (staircases, trap doors). On the visual level, distinct architectural elements place the story in a certain cultural space. As Nikolajeva and Scott (2001) point out, a sense of historical distance is reinforced by the frame around the picture (p. 63). The colours and blurred contours suggest a dreamy, nostalgic mood. Finally, the double spread creates conflicting genre expectations, as both the text and the illustration contain a mixture of realistic and fantasy elements.

The verbal and the visual texts can also interact in an enhancing manner to construct setting. For example, in *SN* (pp. 6-7), the limited verbal description "a wood at the edge of a lake" is expanded in the picture, where the lake appears to be large, due to the lack of clear framing, the trees are quite specific and the colour of their leaves suggests that it is autumn. Setting elements can also be counterpointing. In *SN* (pp. 54-55), there is a contradiction between the words used to refer to the owl's "house", which pertain to a human dwelling space (e.g. house, staircase, attic, window), and the picture which shows the tree and the hollow opening, which belong to the natural world. The counterpoint serves to underline the human-animal tension mentioned previously and thus also contributes to characterisation.

Characterisation is achieved through the same three types of interaction. Verbally, information about the characters is provided by the use of proper names and personal pronouns to refer to the anthropomorphised characters; narrative description; narrator intrusions in the form of moral judgements or endearing adjectives like "little" and "poor"; narration of characters' actions, typical behaviour, including typically animal behaviour; characters' speech, including verbalised inner monologues ("talking to oneself"); setting elements; and focalisation. Visually, characterisation is achieved by the depiction of physical appearance; setting elements; actions, including human actions carried out by animal characters; body language and stance; characters' grouping and position in relation to each other; and perspective.

As in the realisation of setting, for characterisation the most common type of verbal-visual relationship is the complementary one. For example, in *TG* (pp. 16-17), both text and picture contribute in different ways to the human-animal duality. In the text, Simpkin, the cat, is referred to by the personal pronoun "he", is addressed by the tailor like a human being and sent to buy things. Yet, he does not speak like a human, but repeats "Miaw?" and is attributed a typical cat characteristic, namely, he is "fond of mice". The illustration clarifies the double meaning of "fond of mice" by showing Simpkin trapping mice. Furthermore, in the picture, he is not wearing clothes and has accurate anatomical details of a cat, but he uses human-made objects as if he were human.

An example of the enhancing type of interaction occurs in *SN* (pp. 26-27), where both the verbal text and the illustration describe Nutkin playing marbles, but the text offers more information by mentioning that, at the same time, the other squirrels are busy gathering nuts. The two sentences are connected by the conjunction "but", forming a dual structure which occurs repeatedly throughout the story, in order to emphasise the difference between the naughty Nutkin and the good squirrels.

Finally, the counterpointing relationship can be illustrated with examples from *JPD* (pp. 28-29). Mr. Tod is characterised in the text by narrative description, as "the hospitable gentleman" and "the gentleman", and by his very polite speech. However, the picture shows his facial expression and body language, which suggest that he is not what the text presents him to be. This contrast is even stronger on pages 34-35, where he is referred to as "the foxy gentleman", but in the picture he looks like a wild fox, not dressed or walking on hind legs.

3.2.3. Other syntextual elements

3.2.3.1. Covers, jacket and endpapers

Although the covers of Potter's books have undergone some changes over time, several elements have remained identical to those of the early editions. The front cover generally features the story title at the top, a framed picture of the story protagonist(s) in the centre and the author's name, sometimes also the publisher's, at the bottom. The main functions of the covers appear to be creating expectations

regarding the stories inside and focusing attention on the protagonists. Thus, with few exceptions, the titles follow the pattern "The Tale of", followed by the protagonists' names, usually a combination of animal and human elements (e.g. Jemima Puddle-Duck). Such titles create expectations regarding the genre and content of the books, that is, short narratives centred on anthropomorphised animal characters. The framed pictures of the respective characters, placed underneath the title, reinforce the protagonists' importance and confirm their anthropomorphic nature, by their clothes or stance. Additionally, in some editions, such as the 2011 one, the focus on the protagonists is increased by the cover background echoing one of the colours in the pictures, and sometimes a related element. For example, the cover of *JPD* has a pink background, similar to the duck's shawl in the cover picture, with a pattern of feathers. Focus on the central character is also enhanced by the font size, which is larger than that used for the author's name, and in recent editions, than that for the initial words of the title ("The Tale of").

The cover design, jacket and endpapers are also influenced by publishing policies, mainly by signalling the inclusion of the books in a series, a marketing ploy employed since the books began to be published in the 1900s. A series of books encourages purchase because potential buyers are aware that there are more books of the same type as those they already own and they are encouraged to collect all of them. This strategy is used for other children's products, such as toys or collectible cards. In Potter's case, all the "little books" have a uniform cover design and title structure (and format, as discussed below). This strategy is reinforced in the 2002 edition by the use of the same colour for the cover background and (in both the 2002 and the 2011 editions) a number on the spine of each book, indicating their original order of publication. Book jackets reinforce the uniformity of the 2002 edition, by reproducing the design of the cover, this time against a white background. They also integrate the books in a series, since the back jacket flap features a numbered list of Potter's works. Moreover, the front jacket flaps serve as "biographical" and "bibliographical summaries" (Genette 1997, p. 115), as they first give information about Potter and then about the respective tales, and thus contextualise them. The endpapers also have an intratextual and marketing function, since they feature characters in Potter's other tales, thus potentially arousing interest in and prompting purchase of further titles. Warne's concern to secure exclusive ownership of Potter's

books and related products is signalled on the covers, with "The original and authorized edition" placed underneath Potter's name and the "TM" (trademark) sign placed next to the characters featured on the cover. Finally, the back cover includes the logo for The World of Beatrix Potter/Peter Rabbit spin-offs, thus indicating to the potential buyer that a range of related merchandise is available. While a concern for securing copyright, marketing the books and merchandising has existed since Potter's lifetime, it has increased, as Mackey (1998) explains, since Warne was acquired by Penguin, in turn owned by the conglomerate Pearson. Mackey shows that the exploitation of copyright and the back catalogue are essential for Pearson's business (p. xx) and that, having stronger financial support, Warne could afford to spend more on promotion (p. xvii).

3.2.3.2. Front and end matter

The front and end matter of a book include those pages outside the text of the work proper, including, at the beginning of the book, the half-title page (the first page, featuring only the title), the frontispiece (an illustration opposite the title page), the title page and the copyright page. At the end of the book, there can be notes or glossaries. Since Potter's books have no back matter, only significant aspects of the front matter are discussed below.

The half-title page not only presents the book title, but also refers to other tales by Potter, through a decorative frame featuring characters holding or sitting on visibly-titled books. Taylor (2002b) shows that these frames were created by Potter, at Warne's request, beginning in 1903, when *SN* was published. They were originally placed on the endpapers of the books, although Potter thought this would be too "heavy" for small books. In 2002, when the books were reprinted, Warne decided to replace the endpapers, but preserved Potter's decorative frames by moving them to the half-title pages, where they border the titles (ibid. pp. 101-102).

The frontispiece usually contains a colour illustration related to the stories, but not included in them. This illustration sometimes has verbal elements, such as those in *BB*, whose frontispiece includes a sign describing Mrs. Rabbit's business ("Josephine Bunny. Licensed to sell tea and tobacco"). The title page, placed opposite the frontispiece, foregrounds the name of the protagonist, through larger, bold type. The

other verbal elements (remaining title, Potter's name, Warne's name) are printed in decreasing font size. A black-and-white picture of one of the story characters (not always those in the titles) is placed between the title and Potter's name. Together, the frontispiece and title page illustrations introduce several characters and hint at possible events in the stories, thereby increasing curiosity and creating expectations regarding characterisation and plot.

Other elements in the front matter of recent editions are related to specific interests of the publisher, Warne. More precisely, the title page of the 2011 edition mentions it is "A Peter Rabbit 110th Anniversary Edition", thereby suggesting its special nature and encouraging purchase. The copyright page of both editions includes, besides the common publisher information, facts about the publishing history of the books. The 2011 edition even adds a "Publisher's Note" with details about the original edition or about the novelty of the 2002 edition, for example, restoring illustrations which had been removed since the original publication.

The addition of this note, however, displaces Potter's dedications, initially alone on the respective page, to the top of the copyright page, thereby reducing their importance. The dedications, therefore, appear to be treated by the publisher as a proper "paratextual" element, that is, one of secondary significance. Indeed, their importance may have changed and possibly diminished over time. Dedications generally "proclaim a relationship" (Genette 1997, p. 135), in Potter's case, her affection for the children to whom she dedicated particular tales. However, this relationship may not be as relevant a century after the publication of the tales and the dedications may have only a documentary value. At the same time, they may have become an integral part of Potter's books to such an extent that Warne felt they could not omit them from "the original edition". These two factors can account for the preservation and displacement of the dedications. Moreover, the dedications are not only personal, but also culture-specific, as they include English proper names and toponyms, such as "Norah" or "Sawrey". As discussed below, Potter herself believed that they could pose problems in translated editions.

3.2.3.3. Format

A book's "format" refers to its "size and … shape" (Doonan 1993, pp. 84-85). All Potter's books recently republished by Warne (i.e. 2002 onwards) have a vertical rectangular shape and small dimensions (11.5x 4.8 cm). This was the format that Potter proposed for her first book, *PR*, and in her dealings with potential publishers, she insisted on preserving the small size, which ensured a lower price (Taylor 1989, pp. 52-53). Moreover, as explained above, small-format books were popular at the time, so Potter may also have capitalised on this phenomenon. Most of her other books were printed in the same format and became known as the "Peter Rabbit" books. Several other books were originally published in different formats and later converted to the "Peter Rabbit" one. *PPP* (1905), *The Roly-Poly Pudding* (1908, later renamed *Samuel Whiskers*) and *GP* (1909) were originally a larger size (14x18 cm). One of the reasons for reducing their size, no doubt, was to associate them with the "Peter Rabbit" series and thus ensure their popularity. *The Story of Miss Moppet* and *The Story of a Fierce Bad Rabbit*, published in 1906 as single horizontal strips, which could be opened and folded back, were also republished in the "Peter Rabbit" format in 1916.

A small format is one of the formats commonly considered suitable for young children, together with the large one (Nodelman 1988, p. 44). This format may be easier for children to hold and thus foster involvement with the books. Moreover, as Nodelman explains, it can create reader expectations and impose technical limitations on the illustrator. For instance, it may be associated with delicate stories and require "restraint" on the illustrator's part, to avoid over-charging (pp. 44-45). A small format also appears particularly suited to Potter's characters, which are generally small animals, and Potter's illustrations and their layout seem purposely adapted to it. The verbal text and the illustrations are sized and placed so as to fit the small pages and often the visual perspective is low, close to the characters. Potter herself thought that enlarging the illustrations would be inappropriate, as it would show their "imperfections" (qtd. in Taylor 2002b, p. 80). Publishing the books in a different format, therefore, would have consequences for the size and quality of the illustrations, or for the number and placement of units of text and illustrations. This is evident in recent Warne editions such as *The Complete Adventures of Peter Rabbit*, on which the most recent Romanian edition is based.

3.2.3.4. Typography

Potter's use of typography (font size and type, line breaks) indicates that she intended it to serve specific functions in her tales, particularly to suggest how the texts can be read aloud and to clarify elements of the narrative.

Thus, font type or capitalisation can suggest intonation and emphasis while reading aloud, as in "The houses were not always empty when Mr. Tod moved *out*; because sometimes Tommy Brock moved *in*; (without asking leave)." (*MT*, p. 9; italics in original); or "'Simpkin', said the tailor, 'where is my TWIST?' … if Simpkin had been able to talk, he would have asked – 'Where is my MOUSE?'" (*TG*, pp. 28, 31; upper-case fonts in original). Furthermore, the unusual arrangement of the text on the page suggests a certain reading rhythm. For instance, in *PR* (p. 7), where Peter and his sisters are introduced, the line breaks and distance from page margins indicate reading with equal pauses between the rabbits' names. Font type also contributes to the narrative, as in *SN*, in which the answers to Nutkin's riddles, integrated in the narrative, are pointed out to readers by being italicised, for instance "[Nutkin] bobbed up and down like a little red *cherry*, singing – … A little wee man, in a red red coat!..." (p. 16, italics and different font size in original).

3.2.3.5. Modified editions of Potter's tales

Besides the small-format books which remain close to Potter's originals, Potter's tales are also published by Warne in editions whose syntextual elements differ from the originals. Such editions include collections of stories, for example *The Complete Tales* and *The Complete Adventures of Peter Rabbit* (henceforth *Adventures*), on which the recent Romanian translation of Potter's tales (2013) is based.

Adventures contains the four tales featuring Peter Rabbit (*PR*, *BB*, *FB* and *MT*). It has a large, rectangular format (21cm x 28cm) and each page contains several double spreads of Potter's original small-format books. This change has consequences for the narrative and the reading experience, since each double spread offers more information than originally provided, which potentially diminishes the suspense of the tales and the importance of both text and illustrations, in comparison with the

originals. The rhythm of the narration and of the reading experience is also potentially changed, as the interval of page-turning is prolonged.

The 2013 edition of this book has a jacket on whose flaps the book and its author are promoted. Its endpapers feature a "Map of Beatrix Potter's World", which relates Potter's characters to places where she lived. *Adventures* eliminates Potter's dedications and adds a table of contents and running heads giving the title of each story throughout the respective tale. Running heads serve as reminders for readers (Genette 1997, p. 316), since several stories are included in the same book. This mnemonic function is supported by a black-and-white picture of a character from the respective tales, in the outer upper corner of each page. Finally, another important characteristic of this edition is a closer connection between verbal and visual syntextual elements, as pictures are inserted on the copyright and contents pages, and next to the running heads. The stories are also introduced by a page reproducing the original cover (recto) and frontispiece.

As can be seen, in this edition several important elements differ from the originals, which implies a modification of the reading experience. This underscores the significance of visual elements in Potter's books, which must be taken into consideration by translators and publishers of translated editions. This significance is further emphasised by the examination of other, apparently more verbally-based features of Potter's books, which shows that visual elements actually contribute to many of them.

3.2.4. Verbal characteristics

3.2.4.1. Read-aloud qualities and readability (comprehensibility)

Potter's texts are particularly suited to being read aloud and listened to, and a variety of means give them oral and aural qualities. These include typography and punctuation. As discussed above, typography (font type, text layout) can guide the reading aloud, for example, by marking emphasis, as in "*I* have never felt sleepy after eating lettuces; but then *I* am not a rabbit" (*FB*, p. 43). Punctuation is used for similar purposes. In particular, dashes and semi-colons are frequently used, signalling interruptions or pauses, as in "As there was not always quite enough to eat

— Benjamin used to borrow cabbages from Flopsy's brother…" (*FB*, p. 11) and "He had … a great many cousins; they lived in a wood…" (*SN*, p.7).

Sound effects are achieved by alliteration and assonance, for example, "The little rabbits smiled sweetly in their sleep" (*FB*, p. 47). Onomatopoeia is also used, including onomatopoeic verbs and adjectives ("pattering feet", *JPD*, p. 48) and animal sounds ("quack", *JPD*, p. 20). Potter's tales also include more uncommon onomatopoeia, some apparently the result of her creativity, for example, "scufflement" (*SN*, p. 48), others inspired by her childhood reading, in particular by Harris, whose "lippity-clippity, clippity-lippity" she adapted to "lippity-lippity" (*PR*, p. 48) (Lear 2008, p. 131). Harris's inverted structure may also have been the inspiration for such rhythmical phrases as "the drip, drop, drop drip of water" (MT, p. 64), "scr-r-ritch, scratch, scratch, scritch" (PR, p. 55). Interjections enhance the oral qualities of the texts, for instance "'Ah! is that so? indeed!'" (*JPD*, p. 24).

The read-aloud quality of the texts is increased by several devices which suggest oral storytelling. Inserting narrator's comments gives a voice to the author of the stories and recreates an oral storytelling context by the use of the first person singular, of the interjection "now", of exclamatory sentences and qualifying adjectives which express the narrator's affective attitude to the events in the tales and of the deictic Simple Present Tense, which actualises the narration every time it is told. *TG* in particular contains such devices, for instance: "Now all day long … Simpkin kept house by himself" (pp. 15-6); "I think that they were bats, because they always have very small voices…" (p. 40). *JPD* begins by "Listen to the story of Jemima Puddle-duck …" (p. 7), thus reinforcing the storytelling context. Stories like *SN* and *TG* feature traditional British songs and riddles, which, being originally created for oral production, add to the read-aloud qualities of the tales.

Potter's syntax also frequently evokes storytelling in oral cultures. Ong (2002), in his discussion of "orally based thought and expression" of non-literate cultures, emphasises that such thought and expression do not operate according to the rules of formal logic and are "additive rather than subordinative" (pp. 36-38). Moreover, in oral cultures, due to the importance of easily memorisable structures for storing knowledge, "thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances…" (p. 34). Ong also points

out that orality can persist in high literature and in literate societies, where there are even situations characterised by orality, such as telling fairy tales to children (p. 69). The syntax of Potter's tales suggests that she exploited several orality features. For example, the most frequent type of syntactic relationship in the sample of tales analysed is coordination, by juxtaposition (through punctuation) and by additive or adversative conjunctions. Such conjunctions are, most frequently, "and" (sometimes followed by "then") and "but". Characteristically for Potter, "and" occurs even when it is not absolutely necessary, in enumerations (cumulative "and"), as in "… they all came back again to Owl Island; and Twinkleberry and the others brought a fine fat mole, and laid it on the stone in front of Old Brown's doorway, and said – …" (*SN*, p. 20). Other connectors, used for subordinate clauses, are less numerous and show a low degree of lexical variation. For example, in *PR*, "and" occurs twenty-eight times and "but", fourteen times, linking finite verb clauses, whereas "who" and "that" are used four times, and "for", "as" and "till", only once. This relatively simple, additive or adversative, syntactic structure and the limited range of connectors point to orality. Additionally, the repetitions, balanced (parallel) structures and antitheses mentioned by Ong also occur in Potter's tales. For example, the verb "get" occurs three times in *FB*: "So Mr. McGregor did not get his tobacco, and Mrs. McGregor did not get her rabbit skins. But … Tittlemouse got a present …" (p. 57). Parallel structure and antithesis are combined in "Flopsy, Mopsy and Cotton-tail, who were good little bunnies, went down the lane …; But Peter, who was very naughty, ran straight away to Mr. McGregor's garden …" (*PR*, pp. 14-15), and they are used repeatedly in *SN* to emphasise the contrast between the naughty Nutkin and the other good squirrels ("The other squirrels hunted up and down …; but Nutkin gathered robin's pincushions …" p. 35; "The squirrels filled their little sacks …. But Nutkin sat …" p. 40). Only *TG* deviates from these characteristics to some extent, as it features more subordinate clauses, particularly adverbial clauses of cause. Moreover, the sentences are more developed, due to the addition of determiners and adverbials, including Gerund forms. Nevertheless, the story retains other read-aloud qualities, due to onomatopoeia and songs. Like many other texts for children, therefore, Potter's tales have a range of read-aloud qualities, which may prove challenging in translation, for example, because they require translators to be aware of the specific uses of typography and to be linguistically creative.

As regards readability, understood here as ease of comprehension, as explained in Chapter 1, this is a research topic which poses complex methodological challenges, as yet unsolved. Consequently, it is not possible to undertake an exhaustive analysis of Potter's tales from this perspective, nor to make definite statements regarding their readability level. Rather, several potentially problematic aspects are indicated next. One is the syntax of Potter's sentences and their level of logical explicitness. As mentioned above, many sentences have a simple structure, which may also be an attempt to achieve higher readability. However, coordinating sentences by punctuation and the conjunction "and", even when the logical relationships between them are not merely additive, may require readers (and listeners) to deduce those relationships for themselves. This may involve more cognitive processing than sentences in which those relationships were clearly expressed by appropriate logical markers. For example, in "The window was too small for Mr. McGregor, and he was tired of running after Peter. He went back to his work" (*PR*, p. 44), the cause-effect relationship between the two sentences could be clarified by inserting "consequently" or "so". Nevertheless, Ong's discussion of contemporary non-literate people shows that their mental makeup is considerably different from that of literate people. For example, non-literate people do not think in formal logic terms; such thinking is a result of the introduction of writing and the accompanying development of formal logic (2002, pp. 49-57). It is possible, therefore, that the mental make-up of pre-literate children may not require clarification of logical relationships and that they may have an intuitive grasp of the stories. Nevertheless, adults, and particularly translators of children's stories, may deem that the sentences need clarification.

Another type of reading challenge is Potter's vocabulary. Although this is often simple and straightforward, she sometimes uses more challenging words, for instance, specific movement verbs, rather than more generic alternatives ("wriggle out", "twitch", "scutter", *PR*, pp. 39, 52, 55*)*. There are numerous references to agricultural practices, flora and fauna, which might not be familiar to town children. There are also less common words, the "fine words" which Potter thought children "occasionally like" (qtd. in Lear 2008, p. 181), for instance, "soporific" (*FB*, p. 7) (O'Connell 2003, p. 120) and "alacrity" (*MT*, p. 14). These words stand out among Potter's generally simple, standard English, and serve various functions, such as achieving humourous or euphonic effects, or intriguing the readers and therefore

making the story more interesting and appealing, or possibly enriching children's vocabulary. Finally, Potter uses formal language which Victorians would have used in the most polite of circumstances, as in "My Uncle Bouncer has displayed a lamentable want of discretion for his years" (*MT*, p. 24). The apparent difficulty of such words has prompted critics to surmise that Potter trusted children's intelligence by not talking down to them, and also that she invited them to infer the meaning of the words from the context, either verbal, or visual, or both (Luce-Kepler 1994, p. 144-145; Hollindale 2006, p. 9; Carpenter 1989, p. 280). Nevertheless, given that translating for children is often subject to pedagogical considerations, translators may feel it necessary to make the texts more accessible by simpler lexical choices.

3.2.4.2. Stylistic features

Potter's distinctive writing style is characterised by concision and reserve, a particular combination of language registers and specific sentence structure and punctuation.

Her writing is generally concise and reserved, a feature which has been ascribed to the influence of Austen's style (Hollindale 2006, p. 12), said to set Potter apart from common Victorian verbosity (Carpenter 1989, p. 281) and consequently characterised as "pre-modern" (Chandler 2007, pp. 294-302; Carpenter 1989, pp. 296-297). Dramatic situations and characters' feelings are described in few words and there is no excess of sentiment even when these words are emotionally charged. For example, Peter Rabbit is succinctly described as "most dreadfully frightened" (*PR*, p. 31) and the painful loss of Jemima's eggs is recounted in a similarly concise, almost dry, manner: "Unfortunately the puppies rushed in and gobbled up all the eggs before he could stop them. … Jemima Puddle-duck was escorted home in tears on account of those eggs." (*JPD*, pp. 52, 54). The illustrations sometimes compensate for this concision, by showing characters' facial expressions, gestures and stances and by the visual perspective adopted, which, as Scott (2002) demonstrates, encourages identification with the protagonists. Descriptions of setting are likewise concise, while the illustrations again compensate, by providing more details. Understatement is used, often with humorous effect, as in "Inside the stick house somebody dropped a plate, and said something" (*MT*, p. 19). *TG* deviates from

these general characteristics, as the descriptions of setting and character are more developed and there are more narrator intrusions which make the overall style less reserved. Narrator intrusions include qualifying adjectives such as "little", "poor" and "rude", and an abundance of exclamation marks which express the narrator's emotional attitude to the events and characters in the tale. Finally, Potter does not shy away from dealing with harsh realities. The animal world of predators and preys, and humans' killing and using animals for their own benefit are ever present in her tales, sometimes hinted at through understatement ("Your Father had an accident there" *PR*, p. 11), or portrayed bluntly ("skulls, chicken legs and other horrors", *MT*, p. 34; "I shall skin them and cut off their heads", *FB*, p. 48).

Potter's writing is also characterised by a particular combination of language registers. The language in her tales is generally standard English, with mostly simple vocabulary. Informal language is not used very often, but there are more frequent occurrences of dated language, such as vocabulary ("most dreadfully frightened", *PR*, p. 17; "a great many", *BB*, p. 32), hyphenation ("fir-tree", *PR*, p. 13), capitalisation ("Cousin Peter", *MT,* p. 63), syntactic structures ("Peter's coat and shoes were plainly to be seen", *BB*, p. 31) and word order ("too much surprised", *BB*, p. 38). Some of them may now come across as formal and there are also formal elements still in use today ("he observed several things which perplexed him", *BB*, p. 39). Formality is increased in the squirrels' and the fox's speech in *SN* ("Old Mr. Brown, will you favour us with permission to gather nuts upon your island?" p. 15) and *JPD* ("Madam, I beg you not to trouble yourself with a bag; I will provide oats" p. 36). Finally, Potter uses archaic verb forms ("hath", "sufficeth") and interjections ("alack") in *TG*, set in Regency England.

Potter's sentence structure and use of punctuation, discussed in the previous section, owes a debt to the King James Bible. Carpenter (1989) notes that her sentences are often divided by a caesura, like the Psalms, and that the second half brings "a disarming qualification, or some nuance" (p. 284). The caesura also contributes to characterisation, as in the parallel structures mentioned above, which contrast Peter Rabbit and his sisters, or Nutkin and the good squirrels. As Hollindale (2006) notes, such pauses are also used for comical effect and are often achieved by semi-colons (p. 10). Indeed, as noted above, Potter uses semi-colons (and dashes) frequently, which serves both reading aloud and stylistic purposes. Hollindale comments that

Potter's punctuation "enact[s]" events, rather than simply recounting them, and that replacing the semi-colons by commas or eliminating Potter's cumulative "and" would destroy the original stylistic effects (ibid. p. 15). Such changes are likely to occur in translation, given the challenges posed by stylistic idiosyncracies and the tendency towards standardisation among translators of CL, discussed in Chapter 1. Potter's reserved style may also be challenging for translators who may wish to enhance the emotional effects of the texts.

3.2.4.3. Humour

In Potter's tales, humour is achieved on the verbal and visual levels, and sometimes through their interaction. It is also related to other features of her works.

Verbally-expressed humour is achieved by the use of understatement, which creates a humorous effect through the contrast between what is said and the actual situation, which can be inferred from the context. Besides the famous "Your Father had an accident" (*PR*, p. 11), examples of understatement in Potter's stories include "Now Tommy Brock did occasionally eat rabbit-pie; but it was only very little young ones occasionally, when other food was really scarce." (*MT*, p. 10), "At home in the rabbit hole, things had not been quite comfortable" (*MT*, p. 75). "Quite" and "rather" are also used to tone down, in contrast with the actual situation, as in "Jemima was rather in awe of the collie…" (*JPD*, p. 40). The verbal understatements are sometimes counterpointed to the accompanying illustrations, which suggest what the actual situation is. Thus, the statement "One of the rotten marrows … hit the youngest Flopsy Bunny. It was rather hurt" (*FB*, p. 52) faces an illustration showing the rabbit being thrown off the window sill by the hurled vegetable.

Potter's particular combination of language registers also fosters humor, by the contrast between the prevailing simple, standard English and the formal, exaggeratedly polite or poetic language sometimes used. For example, Mrs. Tittlemouse "apologize[s] profusely" to Benjamin Bunny for having woken him up (*FB*, p. 23). Contrasting registers can also create an ironic tone, as in "… [the Flopsy Bunnies] were overcome with slumber… Benjamin was not so much overcome as his children. Before going to sleep he was sufficiently wide awake to put a paper bag over his head to keep off the flies" (*FB*, p. 19). Here the use of poetic language

("overcome with slumber") is emphasised by the repetition of "overcome" and irony is achieved by the contrast between the expectation created by the initial mention of Benjamin's being not as sleepy as his "children", on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the petty, self-centred action of the careless father.

Humour is also achieved by the combination of human and animal features in the portrayal of characters, either verbally or visually. Potter combines these two types of features in playfully unexpected ways, drawing on the contrast between readers' expectations regarding characteristically human and animal behaviour. Examples include the self-referential use of "people" by the rabbit Benjamin, in "'It spoils people's clothes to squeeze under a gate; the proper way to get in is to climb down a pear-tree.'" (*BB*. p. 23), or of the reporting verb "said" for lines such as "Quack?" (*JPD*, p. 20) or "Miaw?" (*TG*, p. 16); the description of animal characters in terms of human features (Mrs. Rabbit is a "widow" who supports her family by selling the goods she produces, *BB*, p. 11), or human-animal wordplay (the rabbit Flopsy wrings her "ears", rather than her hands, *MT*, p. 16). Finally, the use of anthropomorphised animal characters is a common literary strategy in satires. Potter implicitly criticises human flaws by attributing them to her animal characters, for instance, naivety in *JPD*. At the visual level, the humour arises out of the juxtaposition of accurate anatomical features with human gestures and posture, clothes and accessories, for example, the illustrations showing Benjamin Bunny strolling among Mr. McGregor's lettuces, or Mr. Bunny's appearance of a self-important elderly Victorian gentleman (*BB*, pp. 30, 46, 53).

Wordplay can be found in the tales, generally based on double meanings, but also on homophones, such as "This is a tale about a tail…" (*SN*, p. 7); "… accused Mr. Tod of poaching [eggs]" (*MT*, p.14); "… [Simpkin the cat] also was fond of the mice though he gave them no satin for coats!" (*TG*, p. 16). In the latter example, the illustration provides a clarification for the pun, showing Simpkin at work, catching mice. Repetition and intentional grammar mistakes can contribute to the humour in the tales. Such repetition includes "… he always went to bed in his boots. And the bed which he went to bed in, was generally Mr. Tod's." (*MT*, p. 52). Intentional grammar mistakes, although rare, enhance the comical effect, as in "… killed him dead" (*MT*, p. 65), "the most beautifullest coat" (*TG*, p. 52). Furthermore, several

euphonic elements are potentially humorous, for instance, "bumpetty bump" (*MT*, p. 77), "a flutterment and a scufflement" (*SN*, p. 48).

Another type of humorous effect arises out of the visual-verbal relationship in Potter's books. For example, in *JPD*, the identity of the fox is never explicitly mentioned in the verbal text, which refers allusively or vaguely to him as a "foxy gentleman", or "the gentleman with sandy whiskers", whereas the illustrations clearly show that the "gentleman" is a fox. While in *JPD* this text-illustration interplay creates humour throughout the story, in other tales there are more isolated instances. In *FB*, after the readers find out that Benjamin and Flopsy live "improvidently" and hence need to borrow cabbages from Peter Rabbit's garden, they are told that "Sometimes Peter Rabbit had no cabbages to spare" (p. 12). The illustration, however, suggests that Peter Rabbit and his mother are exasperated by their relatives' frequent requests and hide whatever cabbage they have left, denying that they have any. This is suggested by Mrs. Rabbit's gesture of unfolding her skirt to hide a cabbage in front of which she is standing, by an upright basket behind which another cabbage is slightly visible and by Peter's hand gesture, possibly pointing to some cabbage stalks, to indicate that nothing is left.

As can be seen from the above, Potter's humour is often ironic and satirises human behaviour. This feature, also noted by Kutzer (2003, p. 2) Chandler (2007, pp. 294-297) and Avery (1994, pp. 189, 195, 197), may prove particularly challenging in translation, given the debates regarding children's ability to comprehend such humour (see 1.7.2.6.). Such considerations may also apply to understatements. Furthermore, translators would need to pay close attention to the verbal-visual interaction, to make decisions regarding the translation of register and to be creative in their rendition of wordplay.

3.2.4.4. Intertextuality and intratextuality

Potter's books include both verbal and visual intertextual references. In the verbal text of the tales there are echoes of Potter's favourite reading, including English and Scottish rhymes, riddles and songs, the King James Bible and some of Harris's phrases from *Uncle Remus*, such as "rabbit tobacco" and "lippity-clippity, clippity-lippity" (Schafer 1998, p. 45). Visually, Potter's style alludes to Caldecott's works.

As already mentioned, Potter used to copy Caldecott's drawings in her childhood. Later, she based her collection of drawings *A Frog He Would A-Fishing Go* on Caldecott's picture book *A Frog He Would A-Wooing Go*, ultimately publishing them in *JF*. She acknowledged her indebtedness to him in her correspondence, stating that the drawings she liked best "were done in imitation of Caldecott", but "did *not* achieve much resemblance" (Letters to Fruing Warne and to Arthur Stephens in Taylor 1989, pp. 268, 455). On another level, Potter's visual allusions take on new meanings in the context of her tales. For example, Kutzer (2003) suggests that the illustration showing Mrs. Rabbit crossing the woods, carrying a basket and wearing a red-hooded cloak (*PR*, p. 14), is a reference to *Little Red Riding Hood*. Although in the original tale Little Red Riding Hood is in danger because she disobeys her mother and strays off the path, the implication of Potter's allusion may be that not even well-behaved adults who keep to the safe path, such as Mrs. Rabbit, are safe (p. 40). On other occasions, the entire story may allude to another tale. For instance, *JPD* bears some resemblance to *Little Red Riding Hood* (Kutzer ibid. pp. 107-108).

Intratextuality, "the authors' allusions to their own texts" (Nikolajeva and Scott ibid. p. 232), is also a feature of Potter's tales, in that the same characters feature in more than one book and events in previous books are mentioned in later ones. For instance, *BB* continues where *PR* left off and is continued in *FB* and *MT*. Such intratextual references are built mainly through symmetrical or complementary text-picture interaction, since the characters are both named in the text and shown in the illustrations, as in *BB* (symmetrical), or, if their visual representation changes (due to change of age, as in *FB*), the verbal text clarifies their identity. In other situations, the intratextual references are present only either verbally or visually. For example, in *FB*, Mrs. Tittlemouse states that she knows Peter Rabbit (p. 23), which implies that she is the mouse Peter met when he was lost in McGregor's garden (*PR*, p. 51). In *GP*, well-known characters appear in the illustrations, although unmentioned in the text (pp. 18-19). While the translation of intertextual references in Potter's tales would depend much on the target audience's familiarity with the texts alluded to, intratextuality must be taken into account for consistency across several stories.

3.2.4.5. Proper names

As shown in Chapter 1, proper names are a significant feature of children's books featuring animal characters and often a significant challenge for their translators. Potter named her pets and farm animals and most of the proper names in her books are assigned to animal characters. Other, less frequent, types of names include names of human characters and toponyms. The names are either real English names or names created by Potter and serve various functions. Below, the types of proper names are outlined, and their functions explored, based on Fornalczyk's categorisation (2012), which comprises the "locational" ("situating the plot in specific space and time"), the "sociological" ("signifying the social class, milieu or nationality"), the "semantic" ("characterisation according to factual/metaphorical meaning of the name") and the "poetic" ("related to the expressive function, may include the use of rhymes or alliteration") (pp. 61-62).

Many toponyms in Potter's tales are real British toponyms, for instance, "Oatmeal Crag" (*MT*) and "Gloucester" (*TG*). Their main function is locational, as they position the stories in a specific geographical space. There are also toponyms created by Potter, such as "Owl Island" (*SN*), whose function is semantic rather than locational, as it identifies the island by association with the main character living on it and therefore contributes to the owl's characterisation by suggesting his importance on the island. Names of human characters are also real British names, sometimes accompanied by titles, as in "Mr. McGregor". Such names, therefore, serve a locational and a sociological function, as they suggest the characters' nationality. Other characters are named by their occupation, for example, "the Tailor of Gloucester" and "the Mayor of Gloucester" (*TG*). In this case, the nouns "tailor" and "mayor" are given proper name characteristics by capitalisation. Their main function is still sociological, as the names indicate the characters' occupation and social class.

The numerous animal character names display a variety of creative techniques, which almost defy attempts at generalisation and categorisation. Most of them, however, are created in line with the animal-human duality in Potter's tales and therefore contain both human and animal elements. Moreover, many imitate the

structure of real English names, being composed of first and last names, sometimes with titles. A tentative grouping and description is provided below.

- Both first and last names are animal: Vixen Tod (*MT*), Cock Robin (*TW*).

- The first name is human, the last name is the name of the animal species, sometimes with additions, for instance, Peter Rabbit, Benjamin Bunny, Jemima Puddle-Duck, Tommy Brock, Thomasina Tittlemouse.

- The first name is human, the last name suggests an animal body part or characteristic, for example, Mr. Benjamin Bouncer, Jack Sharp (*JF*), Samuel Whiskers.

- The first name is the name of the animal species: Squirrel Nutkin.

- The name is related to a feature of the animal or particular character: Cotton-tail, Ribby Ribston (*PPP*), Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle (*TW*).

- The name is a human form of address: Mopsy (dated "pretty child"[7]), Pickles ("pickle" a dated affectionate form of address to a mischievous child[8]) (*GP*), Duchess (*PPP*).

- The entire name is human: Simpkin, Timmy Willie (*JTM*).

Many names of animal characters in Potter's tales, therefore, offer information about the characters' species or characteristics and hence have a semantic function. The names also fulfil sociological and locational functions, indicating the nationality of the characters by containing English proper names and through the order of the first and last names, which is not universal (in some languages the family name comes first). Finally, the names also serve a poetic function. For example, they create humour through wordplay ("Isaac Newton", *JF*), or they combine humour with euphonic qualities, such as alliteration ("Thomasina Tittlemouse", *FB*; "Tabitha Twitchit" *TK*, *PPP*) and rhyme ("Sally Henny-Penny", *GP*, *TW*). Translators would need, therefore, to make decisions regarding preservation of the names in their English versions or creation of TL versions, while being aware of the effect of these changes on the functions of the names in the texts.

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[7] According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (online).
[8] According to the Oxford Dictionay (online).

3.2.5. Ideological aspects

While there are many ideological issues that may be discussed in relation to Potter's tales, the analysis below explores two of particular relevance for the stories and their translation, namely, the representation of children, adults and their relationship, and gender. Potter's portrayal of these matters involves an ambiguity which stems from her personal experiences and personality, and raises questions of interpretation and reception in translation.

Child-like characters in Potter's tales are represented as cute and vulnerable, and are either "good" or display various degrees of naughtiness or disobedience. Clothes, and the entire human-animal duality, are sometimes central to the representation of such characters, for instance, Peter Rabbit, Tom Kitten, or their sisters. Critics point out that Potter's approach to young characters is a reflection on the interaction between the individual and society, "animal nature and civilized behaviour" (Scott 1992, p. 192), or children and adults, a reflection stemming from Potter's family and social experiences (Carpenter 1989, Bruscini 2008, Scott 1992, Scott 1994). Clothes and other human behaviour, such as walking on hind legs, are often a symbol of the civilising – and restricting – adult world. For example, very young animals, such as the Flopsy Bunnies, are not given any human features except for an occasional neck ribbon. When the young characters move closer to the adults' world, they must wear clothes which are sometimes uncomfortable and obstruct their free, natural movements. For instance, Peter Rabbit escapes Mr. McGregor only when he sheds his coat and shoes and runs on all fours, and Tom Kitten, Moppet and Mittens play comfortably once they lose their clothes. This view of the relationship between children and adults has been linked to Potter's restrictive family environment, Victorian child-rearing practices and the more general social emphasis on self-restraint and civilised behaviour, visible also in the rigidity of clothing (Scott, Bruscini, ibid.). Nevertheless, it has also been pointed out that clothes can be interpreted as a symbol of growing individuality and identity-building, for example, in Peter Rabbit's experiences throughout *PR* and *BB* (Mullins 2009).

Similarly, it is not possible to claim that Potter had a clear, consistent approach to representing adults' attitudes to children and adult educational practices. Adults are generally shown as caring for the children, but their attitudes range from offering

verbal advice, being indulgent and forgiving (Mrs. Rabbit in *PR* and *BB*) to administering corporal punishment (Mr. Bunny in *BB* and Potter herself, in *Pigling Bland*) and the narrator's attitude to these practices is neutral. In addition, many of the tales seem to advise children to be well-behaved and obedient to their parents if they want to stay out of trouble. Despite this, several studies argue that Potter's tales have a "subversive" side, so that, while apparently upholding ideas about proper behaviour, they express sympathy for the transgression of propriety norms and are not very moral (Carpenter 1989, Scott 1992, Avery 1994, Scott 1994, Chandler 2007, Bruscini 2008). Mackey (1998) more neutrally states that *PR* evinces an "ultimate ambiguity" regarding "the importance and limits of order and stability versus the importance and risks of disobedience and self-assertion" (p. 12). Along the same lines, Kutzer (2003) identifies an "uneasy balance of a desire for change and rebellion, and a fear and dislike of it" in Potter's tales (p. 31) and also differences in the intensity with which they uphold morality or rebellion. For instance, she argues that *BB* and *FB* are more conventionally moral in comparison with *PR*, because Potter was not as emotionally involved in the writing. Also, she was writing for younger children, who do need greater parental protection (p. 49).

A similar complexity applies to the representation of gender in the tales. The characters' occupations are generally those associated with traditional gender roles: females do domestic work, take care of children and occasionally do gardening or feed the farm fowl. Males are shown working less often; when they work, they do gardening, hunt or fish. However, an occupation which both types of characters undertake is that of shopkeeper and here the males (Ginger, Pickles and Mr. John Dormouse in *GP*) are less successful than the females (Sally Henny-Penny in *GP* and Mrs. Rabbit in *BB*). As far as relationship roles are concerned, many characters are single, even parents such as Mrs. Rabbit and Tabitha Twitchit, who earn their own living, and Mr. Bunny. There are also several couples, in which the gender roles are not clear-cut or stereotypical. Timmy Tiptoes and his wife, Goody, are an example of a companionable marriage, in which the couple works side by side. In the other couples, that is, Flopsy and Benjamin Bunny (*FB*, *MT*), Anna-Maria and Samuel Whiskers (*Samuel Whiskers)*, Hunca-Munca and Tom Thumb (*Two Bad Mice*), there is a measure of conformity to traditional roles, but there are also many subversive elements. The females are generally associated with the home, caring for their

children and husbands, sometimes to the point of being exploited by them, as in the case of Anna-Maria. Males are action-oriented figures, family providers, rescuers or predators. Nevertheless, females do not bow completely to male authority – the same Anna-Maria argues constantly with Samuel Whiskers. Moreover, females are shown to be more responsible and realistic than males. For instance, the Flopsy Bunnies are safe when they are with their mother, but each time they are left with a male relative (in *FB* and *MT*), they are kidnapped, and once are saved by another female, Mrs. Tittlemouse. Young animal characters are also gendered and generally the males are more adventurous, naughtier or wiser than the females. However, Pigling Bland's sisters make as much mischief as his brothers, and in *Tom Kitten*, the three siblings (two "girls" and one "boy") are shown to be almost equally disobedient.

This combination of conformity and challenge to traditional gender roles in Potter's tales can be related to her own life experiences, as she both adhered to and challenged traditional ideas of femininity, as explained in Chapter 2. The main issue raised by this ambiguity, by the combination of morality and subversiveness, conformity and rebellion, is that of interpretation and reception. The stories may be interpreted differently by various readers, based on their personal characteristics and cultural backgrounds. Translators, who are also readers, may also interpret them differently and possibly adapt them to the target culture or preserve their ambiguity.

3.3. Translations of Beatrix Potter's tales

3.3.1. Translations of Potter's tales to date

There is a close and long-lasting relationship between Potter's tales and translation, dating back to Potter's lifetime, when, according to Taylor (2002b), French, Dutch, Afrikaans, Spanish, Welsh and German editions were published. Nevertheless, the earliest translation of a Potter tale appears to be a 1909 Italian edition of *PR*, translated by Ruggieri and published by Warne[9]. This translation is not mentioned by Linder, Lear or Taylor, whose accounts of early translations focus on the French and Dutch editions. Thus, Linder (1971, p. 264) and Taylor (2002b, p. 64) state that the

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[9] This edition is listed on WorldCat.org and mentioned on the website of the P. G. Negro Library (University of Parma, Italy), which also offers an electronic version of a later, undated reprint of the 1909 edition.

first published translations were the 1912 Dutch *PR* and *JPD*, licensed by Warne. The two scholars also give similar accounts regarding the French translations. According to them, Potter was dissatisfied with the French translations commissioned by Warne in 1907 and translations of five tales (*PR*, *BB*, *FB*, *JPD* and *TW*) were commissioned again in 1912, from three different translators. Potter liked the translations by two French infant school teachers, Ballon and Profichet. Potter also sent her own translation of *PR* to Ballon and they worked together on the final version. The translations only began to be published as late as 1921, due to difficulties in finding a French publisher and the disruption caused by World War I. Thus, *Histoire de Pierre Lapin* (*PR*) and *Histoire de Jeannot Lapin* (*BB*) were published that year; *Histoire de Poupette-à-l'épingle* (*TW*) and *Histoire de Sophie Canétang* (*JPD*) in 1922; and *Histoire de la famille Flopsaut* (*FB*) in 1931. Translations of Potter's works have continued to be published up to the present, into as many as 41 languages. The most significant recent one is the revised edition of *The Complete Tales* (2002), published in several countries, including France, Spain (in Spanish and Catalan versions), Denmark, Finland, Poland, Slovenia, Croatia, Lithuania and Japan.

Romanian translations of Potter's tales, however, appear to be comparatively few and recent. The earliest is a 1998 collection of six tales (Potter 1998) and the only other print edition is the 2013 translation of *Adventures*. There are also online translations posted before the latter's publication (Potter 2010a-h, 2013a). In the international context of translations of Potter's tales, the relative absence of Romanian translations is striking. This absence partly accounts for the lack of relevant scholarship and impacts on the challenges of translating and publishing Potter's tales in Romania, as explained in Chapter 5.

3.3.2. The challenges of translating Potter's tales

The investigation of the challenges posed by the translation of Potter's tales into languages other than Romanian indicates which features of Potter's tales obliged translators to make significant decisions (and may do so in the case of a Romanian translation) and how various target contexts impacted on the translation and publication of the tales, in ways which may also apply to the Romanian context.

3.3.2.1. Extra-textual challenges

The challenges of publishing translations of Potter's tales involve the selection, order of publication and reception of the translations. These issues appear to be influenced by commercial interests, the characteristics of the source and target contexts and translators' perceptions regarding their readership.

Although it is not known why Warne initially selected particular tales for translation into French, Potter's statements regarding their order of publication indicate that she aimed at increasing their marketability, by taking into consideration potential reception. Potter thought that all five books should be published at the same time, so that one book's potential success might compensate for another one's failure. Moreover, her knowledge of the target market enabled her to more accurately predict positive reception, since small-format books like hers were "said to be something new" in France, unlike in Britain (Letter to Harold Warne, in Linder 1971, p. 265). Other important financial concerns for Warne had been finding a French publisher with a win-win attitude, and pricing policy ("they had an idea that French people could afford less money than English people") (Fruing Warne, Letter to Potter, in Linder 1971, p. 266). Existing studies also suggest that Warne sometimes influenced the selection of tales to be translated in certain countries. Thus, Urba (2003) recounts that, when contacted for permission to translate *PR* into Lithuanian, in the 1990s, Warne suggested three more tales, which were subsequently published (p. 81).

The selection of Potter's tales for translation in certain countries has been influenced by political ideologies in those countries and their inclusion in spheres of influence. The low number of Potter translations published during the Bolshevik and communist regimes in Russia (1917-1986) and Lithuania (1940-1990) is assigned by Demourova (2003, p. 70) and Urba (2003, p. 79) to the politicised state control of the selection of books translated then. The importance of spheres of influence is also suggested by Urba, who explains that Russian replaced German as the dominant source language for Lithuanian children's books after 1940. This impacted directly on translating Potter into Lithuanian, since one of the tales (*TW*) was translated based on a Russian edition (1959) and preserved its newly-created illustrations.

The selection of tales and their order of publication have also depended on translators' perceptions of their readers' potential reactions. According to Otsuki

(1993), the Japanese editions were published in sets of three and their translator, Ishii, prioritised those books which "she was sure Japanese children would most enjoy and would easily understand". Furthermore, Ishii's uncertainty about Japanese children's reactions to the cultural references in the last remaining books (*TW*, *JF* and *PPP*) contributed to a temporary halt in translation activity (pp. 20-21).

The reception of Potter's translations has been influenced by TC features and commercial interests. For example, the CL tradition in Lithuania, in particular the novelty of the picture book genre, influenced Lithuanian adults' reactions to the translated Potter stories. While foregrounding the didactic function of the tales, the adults surveyed by Urba (2003) had no aesthetic response to the visual aspects, as they were not used to appreciating children's books as works of visual art (p. 83). By contrast, a perceived similarity between Potter's style and Japanese art partly accounts for the books' popularity in Japan, according to Otsuki (1993, p. 27). The Potter merchandising industry, initiated by Potter and continued by Warne, has also contributed to the popularity of the tales. In Japan, such merchandise was so successful that some children owned Potter merchandise without being aware of her books. Nevertheless, the popularity of the merchandise facilitated the sale of the books, once children did become aware of them (Otsuki ibid. p. 28).

To conclude, the challenges of publishing translations of Potter's tales, as experienced by Potter, her publisher and other translators and publishers to date, include the selection, order of publication and reception of Potter's books. These challenges arise from a variety of factors, including commercial interests, the characteristics of the source and target countries, and translators' views on potential readership responses. These findings are considered in the discussion of extra-textual challenges of a Romanian translation in Chapter 5, which analyses the potential impact of the Romanian translation context on the translation enterprise.

3.3.2.2. Textual challenges

The textual challenges faced by Potter's translators include translating visual and verbal syntexts, read-aloud qualities, cultural references, proper names, stylistic features and humour.

Visual syntexts involve several translation challenges. Firstly, the reproduction of Potter's illustrations can be difficult if publishers face financial difficulties, due to the TC economic environment. For example, after 1986 (the beginning of *perestroika*), due to economic difficulties in Russia and the expense involved in re-printing Potter's illustrations, Russian publishers commissioned new illustrations. This resulted in the alteration of the originals, by domestication or hand-copying from the originals and enlarging (Demourova 2003, p. 71). Secondly, if the original relationship between illustrations and verbal text is to be preserved, the correspondence between specific units of text and pictures must also remain the same. This requires translators to produce texts of specific lengths. A concern to ensure the appropriate text length in relation to the illustration on the opposite page was present in Ishii's work, according to Yoshida (2003, p. 78). In contrast, Coitot-Godfrey (1993) describes how translated French texts became longer than the originals and no longer fitted the original pages, so that the text-picture relationship was not preserved (p. 57). Thirdly, a penchant for explicitness may tempt translators to verbalise information present only in the illustrations. Such tendencies are identified by Ippolito (2008, pp. 90-92) and Yoshida (ibid.) in Italian and Japanese translations. Fourthly, if the illustrations are ignored when translating cultural references or proper names, inconsistencies may arise, as identified by Ippolito (ibid.; 2006, p. 113). For example, Old Brown, the owl in *SN*, becomes "Vecchio Bigio" [Old Grey], which contradicts the illustration featuring a brown owl. Fifthly, translators must take into consideration the relationship between visual syntext and the tales' read-aloud qualities. Coitit-Godfrey (1993) argues that, although italic font can guide intonation, contemporary French translations ignore this feature (p. 55).

The presence of verbal text within the illustrations can also be a challenge for translators. According to Linder (1971, pp. 195, 265) and Taylor (2002b, p. 66), this issue was taken into consideration by Potter and Warne regarding the French editions of the tales, in relation to the illustrated endpapers containing the English titles of

Potter's books, and to *BB* and *FB*, which featured written signs in the frontispiece and illustrations, respectively. Potter decided to eliminate all English writing in illustrations and endpapers (Letter to Harold Warne, in Linder 1971, p. 265). Consequently, according to Linder, (1971, pp. 195, 265), the lettering was removed from the frontispiece of *BB* and from the *FB* garden scene (p. 10 in the English edition). Moreover, the latter was also modified in the later English editions, because of concern for future translations. A similar concern regarding adaptation of the English editions with a view to possible future translations was expressed about *Pigling Bland* (Letter to Harold Warne, in Linder 1971, p. 216):

> Is it desirable to put in lettering on this signpost? (French etc) I think it might be put in, and engraved out in the unlikely event of these larger books being translated.

An exception was made for the "Tower Bank Arms" inn in *JPD* (p. 42 in the original), according to Taylor (2002b, p. 66), "as upon the title page it is admitted to be an English book". Similarly, both Taylor (id.) and Linder (1971, p. 265) mention that the English titles in the endpapers were preserved, although Potter had re-designed them with no titles.

Some verbal syntexts appear to have also been problematic for Potter and her French translators. Ballon suggested that the dedication in *BB*, "To the children of Sawrey" be omitted and Potter agreed (Letter to Harold Warne, in Taylor 1989, p. 204).

Cultural references constitute another challenge for translators of Potter's books. A variety of such references are mentioned in scholarship on translations of Potter's tales. These include items of food, furniture and clothing, landscape, flora and fauna, "traditional nursery rhymes, limericks, riddles" and cultural practices, such as baking pies at home (Yoshida 2003, p. 78; Ippolito 2006, pp. 110-12; Coitit-Godfrey 1993, p. 56; Urba 2003, p. 81; Otsuki 1993, p. 21). Urba (ibid.) also mentions the historical distance between the periods when the stories were written and translated, and the fact that many children do not have much contact with the countryside at present. Different approaches to the translation of cultural references in Potter's works testify to their challenging nature. Some translations used domestication to different degrees (Yoshida 2003, p. 78; Ippolito 2006, p. 112; Coitit-Godfrey 1993, p. 56), but there was also a tendency to stay close to the originals, or at least to balance faithfulness with a wish to bring the translation close to the target readership. For example,

Otsuki (1993, p. 23) states that the Japanese translator, Ishii, tried to retain cultural references as much as possible, even if they might be problematic for children. At the same time, she allowed for a degree of domestication, for instance, regarding items of food (Yoshida 2003, p. 78). A similar attitude is visible in the opinions of Otsuki, who explains that cultural gaps are not necessarily problematic, because children are constantly faced with unfamiliar things and are open to new, unknown elements. Moreover, they follow the story as a whole, without questioning everything, and compensate by imagination (1993, pp. 23, 26).

The translation of characters' names was also a concern for Potter, who seemed to have favoured their adaptation to the French language. Potter asked Ballon to propose French names for "Flopsy", "Mopsy" and "Mr. McGregor", and agreed that "Madame Lapin" [Mrs. Rabbit] and "Queue-de-Coton" [Tail-of-Cotton] "sound alright" (Letter to Harold Warne, in Linder 1971, p. 265). She also stated that she preferred "Rémi Lapereau" to "Pierre Lapin" (although the reason is unclear) and only agreed to the latter because of Warne's insistence (Letter to Harold Warne, in Taylor 2002b, p. 64). Potter also discussed the use of titles with Ballon and Warne, namely, if "Mr." or "Monsieur" should be used (Letter to Harold Warne, in Taylor 1989, p. 204). Finally, a wish to render the euphonic qualities of "Flopsy, Mopsy" is visible in the French "Flopsaut, Trotsaut". Similar concerns are apparent in later translations. Urba (2003) claims that retaining the original names would "sound strange and possibly even unpleasant to a small child" (p. 82). The Italian translator, Niccolai, no doubt had a similar concern, since, according to Ippolito (2006), she either replaced the English names with Italian ones ("Ludovico" for "Peter"), transcribed them into Italian ("Tolomeo" for "Ptolemy"), created Italian equivalents ("Nocciolina" for "Nutkin"), or translated them literally ("Cittadella" for "Little-town") (pp. 111-113). Van Coillie (2006) argues that the read-aloud qualities and humorous features of the names may determine translation strategies. For example, in a Dutch translation, "Tom Thumb" (*Two Bad Mice*) is not translated literally, as "Tom Duim", but as "Thijs Trippel", in an attempt to retain some of its expressive content (p. 131). Intratextuality also appears to have posed problems in translation. Coitit-Godfrey (1993) identifies cases of different names being given to the same character, for instance, "Benjamin Bunny" is "Jeannot Lapin" in the French *BB*, but "Benjamin" in *TW* (p. 55).

The style of the translations of her works also appears to have preoccupied Potter, who wanted to give the texts a natural language flow and to make them conform to what she perceived as the spirit of the French language and style of communication. For example, she wrote to a translator "Please – do not try to keep so near the *English* words – it only spoils the *French*" (qtd. in Taylor 2002b, p. 64, Potter's emphasis). Moreover, she criticised a 1907 translation for being "too English and rather *flat* for French", and stated that "a French person would tell the story in the present tense with many exclamation marks". She was pleased with Ballon's language, perceived as "just right – colloquial without being slangy" (Letters to Harold Warne, in Taylor 1989, p. 154 and Linder 1971, p. 264), and praised the final version as being "spirited" (Letters to Harold Warne in Taylor 1989, pp. 154, 201). No doubt, Potter thought that French culture and story-telling were inherently dramatic, which explains her dismissal of the 1907 translation as "rather *flat* for French" and her appreciation of the published one's "spiritedness".

Discussions of stylistic issues related to translating Potter's works focus on other topics. Otsuki, who translated three tales and was personally close to Ishii, the first translator of the other tales, explains that Potter's concision may tempt translators to use explicitation, which risks altering Potter' style (1993, p. 21). Potter's use of understatement is discussed by Demourova (2003), who criticises a Russian translation of *PR* for using "a great misfortune" instead of "an accident" in "Your Father had an accident there; he was put in a pie by Mrs. McGregor" (*PR*, p. 11) (p. 74). The translation of register is also mentioned by Demourova (2003), who identifies the related problem of polite pronouns. Demourova explains that, unlike English, where "you" can be used in both formal and informal situations, Russian distinguishes between "ty" (used in informal situations, and by superiors to inferiors) and "vy" (for formal situations, and by inferiors to superiors) (pp. 73-4). Since many of Potter's dialogues occur in social circumstances, the translation of the personal pronoun "you" and of its associated verbs is a significant translation challenge for languages which express formality and politeness through pronouns and plural verb forms, such as Russian and Romanian.

Finally, the translation of humour is mentioned by Urba (2003), who states that it is impossible to render such puns as "This is a tale about a tail" (*SN*, p. 7) (p. 81), and

Yoshida (2003), who analyses a 1927 Japanese translation of *TK*, which retains its basic narrative, but not its humour and irony (p. 77).

3.4. Conclusion

The main features of Potter's picture books, which may pose challenges for a Romanian translation, have been discussed in this chapter. One of the most significant features is the importance of elements usually referred to as "paratexts", in particular visual elements such as illustrations, layout, format and typography. As in other children's books, these elements contribute to the narrative and the reading experience and interact meaningfully with the main body of verbal text. Consequently, the term "syntext" is proposed to refer to them, as it expresses more precisely their important contribution to Potter's picture books. Other important features of Potter's works include a culturally-specific setting, a human-animal duality in the portrayal of characters, reflected in the toponyms and characters' names; read-aloud qualities and particular readability challenges; stylistic features such as concision, reserve, a combination of registers and particular use of punctuation and sentence structure; humour; intertextuality and intratextuality; and an ambiguity regarding ideological issues such as the representation of children, educational principles and gender. Several of these features are shown to have been challenging for translators of Potter to date and taken into account by Potter herself. The publication of translations has also involved specific challenges, related to the selection of tales for translation, their order of publication and their reception in the TCs, which were influenced by political and commercial considerations, the source and target cultural background, and translators' perceptions regarding their readership. Finally, although Potter's tales have been widely translated, there are few Romanian translations. The features of Potter's work and the challenges identified in this chapter inform the analysis in Chapter 5, "The challenges of translating Beatrix Potter's tales into Romanian", which examines, for instance, the way in which these features are dealt with in Romanian translations and if the challenges mentioned here are also evident in the Romanian editions. However, that final analysis first requires consideration of the target Romanian context. This is the focus of the next chapter, "The Romanian translation context".

CHAPTER 4

THE ROMANIAN TRANSLATION CONTEXT

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 analyses relevant aspects of Romania as a translation context for Potter's tales. Although the discussion focuses on contemporary Romania, an examination of the historical background highlights relevant features of the present context. Section 4.2., "Romania – past and present", briefly outlines the history of Romania, of its culture and language, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the most relevant period for the development of Romanian CL. Economic and social developments are then explored and related to the translation of Potter's tales. Section 4.3., "Children and education", identifies the characteristics of Potter's potential audience, as well as educational practices and philosophies to be taken into consideration by the publishers and translators of Potter's books. Section 4.4., "Children's literature", discusses contemporary attitudes to CL and outlines the historical development of Romanian CL and its current state. Finally, Section 4.5., "The Romanian language", presents the main features of Romanian and analyses their implications for the translation of Potter's tales.

As in the analysis of the source context in Chapter 2, this discussion is selective in the aspects investigated, focusing on those most relevant to the research topic. Furthermore, it is based on published research across several fields, including literary studies, history, sociology, gender and childhood studies. To ascertain the present state of the research fields above with reference to children, CL, educational practices and philosophies in contemporary Romania, contact was made with several Romanian scholars and with the Romanian branch of the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY). In addition, bibliographic searches were commissioned to the National Library of Romania. It was concluded that relatively little has been published in these three fields in relation to contemporary Romania. Consequently, although direct research into all these matters is not feasible within the confines of this research, some of them at least were explored directly. Thus, to investigate the range of children's books published at present in Romania, the online

catalogues of several specialised and general publishers were surveyed, including those of Editura Arthur, Corint Junior, Vellant, Cartea Copiilor, RAO, Aramis, Litera and Humanitas[10]. The results were compared with the findings of Romanian CL scholarship which offers overviews of contemporary Romanian CL, although it does not appear to have conducted such systematic research. Translations for children during communism were identified by searching Index Translationum and Worldcat.org [11]. Finally, to identify state-level educational policy, the current Education Law (2011) was analysed, in terms of content and discourse. Although such investigations, in particular the latter, should be understood as needing further research for increased reliability, they provide useful insights on the topics researched and thereby contribute meaningfully to the analysis of the target translation context.

4.2. Romania – past and present

4.2.1. Romanian history and culture

România [Romania] is a republic situated in Eastern Europe, bordered by Hungary and Serbia to the west, Bulgaria to the south, Ukraine to the north and east, and Moldova to the east, with a surface area of 238,391 square kilometers. According to the most recent census (2011), Romania has a population of about 20 million, excluding Romanians working abroad, whose numbers are difficult to establish. The majority population is Romanian, while ethnic minorities include the Hungarian (6.1%) and the Romany (3%), and smaller percentages of Ukrainian, German, Turkish and other ethnicities. The official language is Romanian and the majority religious denomination is Orthodox Christian (86.45%, Institutul Național de Statistică 2013).

The Romanian people and language emerged after the Roman Empire conquered and colonised, in the second century AD, the territories then inhabited by the Dacians, a population of Thracian origin inhabiting land between the Lower Danube, Black Sea and Balkan Mountains (Bulei 2012, p. 12). Although the Roman army and

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[10] The detailed results of this survey are presented in Appendix D, "Children's literature in contemporary Romania".

[11] The detailed results of this research are presented in Appendix C, "Translations for children in twentieth-century Romania".

administration withdrew in the third century, Vulgar Latin, spoken by the Roman colonists and assimilated by the Dacians, continued to be spoken in Dacia, and thus the formation of the Romanian language continued, until the tenth century (Cojocaru 2003, p. 10). Cojocaru points out that the grammatical structure of Romanian is closer to Latin than that of other Romance languages, probably because the language developed in isolation from its linguistic relatives and was established well enough not to be significantly modified by the peoples which subsequently settled in the area. The core vocabulary of Romanian is also of Latin origin. A small percentage of words of Dacian origin have been preserved in Romanian (0.73%, according to Sala 1988) and the lexis has been shaped by several other influences, including Slavic and Romance languages, in particular French, but also Turkish, Hungarian and German, as a result of later developments in Romanian history.

Thus, in the Middle Ages, three Romanian states were formed, namely, "Țara Românească" or "Valahia" [Wallachia] in the south, "Transilvania" [Transylvania] in the west and "Moldova" [Moldavia] in the east. Transylvania was under Hungarian and Austrian rule until the early twentieth century, while Wallachia and Moldavia were under the influence of the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth to the late nineteenth century. As Papacostea (2007a, pp. 161-166; 2007b, pp. 178-185) and Cojocaru (ibid.) explain, Romanian culture in Wallachia and Moldavia was significantly influenced by the Byzantine-Slavic culture, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. This influence was due to the inclusion of most Romanians in the Byzantine-Slavic ecclesiastic area and their vicinity to Slavic centres of power and civilization. Consequently, Slavonic became the language of official communication and written culture. This, together with direct contact with the neighbouring Slavic peoples, accounts for the presence of Slavic vocabulary in the Romanian language (14.17%). In Transylvania, where cultural influences came mainly from Western European Roman Catholicism, the language of written culture was Latin. As a consequence of these influences, Romanian started to function as a written language as late as the sixteenth century. Moreover, as Papacostea (2007b, pp. 179-180) and Călinescu (2001, pp. 43-65) show, although oral folk literature had a long tradition, written literary creation in Romanian emerged mainly in the eighteenth century.

Given the hegemonic relationships between neighbouring countries or empires and the Romanian states, it is no wonder that Romanian emancipation and independence

movements were common. Such movements intensified in the eighteenth century and continued in the nineteenth, enhanced by increasing patriotism and national identity awareness, according to Hitchins (2007, p. 287). At the same time, Hitchins (ibid) remarks, there was significant international influence, as the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the demise of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of Russia, which tried to increase its hegemony over the Romanian states. The interaction between the Romanian national movements and European developments resulted in the 1848 revolutions, in which Western revolutionary ideas were adapted to the local situation, therefore focusing on achieving independence from the Ottoman Empire in Wallachia and Moldavia, and national emancipation (i.e. integration in the constitutional system) in Transylvania. All three revolutions failed, due to Russian intervention in the former two states, and to Hungarian and Austrian actions in the latter (ibid. pp. 298-304).

Nevertheless, as suggested by Hichins (ibid. pp. 296, 299), the 1848 revolutions made apparent a particular "spirit of the times", "paşoptism" [Forty-Eightism], characterised by enthusiastic patriotism and ideas of great projects, in particular that of bringing Romania in line with Western developments. Most of the 1848 revolutionaries were graduates of French, sometimes German, universities and their revolutionary programmes combined Western ideas with Romanian tradition and spirit. The desire for progress of the Romanian people was also connected to Romanticism, which, in the first half of the nineteenth century, was the most significant intellectual and cultural influence in Wallachia and Moldavia (ibid. p. 297). According to Hitchins, the most salient feature of Romanticism in the two states was the widespread preoccupation with the idea of nationhood. Some of the 1848 revolutionaries were also writers and their works showed their attachment to the ideals of nationhood, national progress, unity and independence, and sympathy for the lower classes, in particular for peasants. The main literary society of the time, "Dacia literară" [The literary Dacia], aimed primarily at cultivating the feeling of national unity through literature. Its founder, Kogălniceanu (1817-1891), a University of Berlin graduate, argued that a truly national Romanian literature should reproduce the specific features of the Romanian people and draw inspiration from the history and modern aspirations of the Romanians. True to this creed, "Forty-Eightist" writers collected folklore and used national history, folklore and landscapes as

sources of inspiration. However, the patriotic ideology of the "Literary Dacia" was also a reaction against a perceived uncritical adoption of Western models in Romanian society (ibid. pp. 297-298). After the 1848 revolutions, these two orientations coalesced into the distinctive ideologies, of "Europeanism" and "traditionalism", which polarised a "Great Debate" (ibid. p. 347) regarding the most suitable paths for national development. The debate intensified after Wallachia and Moldavia united in 1859 and the newly-formed state of Romania gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878.

The united Wallachia and Moldavia were ruled for a short period by Prince Cuza, as the "United Principalities". The name "Romania", used unofficially in the 1850s, started to appear in official documents from 1862 (Hitchins ibid. p. 307). However, possibly due to a wish for internal stability and greater international status and security, but also because they did not agree with some of Cuza's policies (Bulei 2012, p. 100; Hitchins ibid. p. 312), Romanian politicians then sought a foreign ruler. This ruler was Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who became Romania's Prince Carol I in 1866 and its first king after the country gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. Carol reigned until his death in 1914 and, as he did not have any sons, he was succeeded to the throne by his nephew, Ferdinand Viktor Albert Meinrad of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, thereafter Ferdinand I of Romania (1914-1927). Under Ferdinand's rule, Romania entered World War I in 1916 on the side of the Entente Cordiale, after initially attempting to remain neutral and upon the Entente's promise to support Romania's claims to Transylvania. At the end of the war, Transylvania and other Romanian territories formerly occupied by Russia and the Austrian Empire (Bessarabia, Bukovina and a part of Banat) were united with Romania. The resulting state, referred to as "România Mare" [Great Romania] in the interwar period, comprised all the territories where Romanians were in a majority and a region in north-east Bulgaria, obtained after the Balkan Wars (1913) (Bulei ibid. pp. 139-155; Hitchins ibid. 311-345).

Debates regarding the most appropriate avenues for developing the Romanian state continued in this period. As Hitchins (ibid. p. 328) explains, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a significant participant in such debates was the cultural association "Junimea" [The Youth] and its literary magazine *Convorbiri literare* [Literary Conversations]. Like the earlier "Literary Dacia", despite the fact that many

Junimea members were Western European university graduates, they criticised a perceived indiscriminate imitation of Western European culture in Romania, which ignored Romanian tradition and historical experience. Several writers, today regarded as the classic authors of Romanian literature and CL, namely, Eminescu (1850-1889), Creangă (1839-1889), Caragiale (1852-1912) and Slavici (1848-1925), were all members of "Junimea" and contributed to *Convorbiri literare*. According to Hitchins, a related cultural movement was "semănatorism" (from the periodical *Semănatorul* [The Sower], 1901-1910). "Semănatorism" promoted social development in harmony with national tradition and spirit, rather than by imitation of foreign models. While the countryside was considered a repository of century-old traditions and high morality, and the model for the desirable type of social change, cities were seen as the epitome of capitalist industrialisation, disturbing the moral foundations of traditional society. From a "semănatorist" perspective, the mainly social and didactic role of literature could only be fulfilled if literature had a national character. This implied inspiration from the rural world, a rejection of the urban environment and traditional forms of literary expression (ibid. p. 329). Several writers were involved in or contributed to the *Semănatorul* periodical, including its directors, Coşbuc (1866-1918), Iosif (1875-1913) and Sadoveanu (1880-1961); Brătescu-Voineşti (1868-1946), Gârleanu (1878-1914), Topârceanu (1886-1937) and Farago (1878-1954). All these authors also wrote for children, or some of their works were deemed suitable for children. Călinescu (2001, p. 359) and Hitchins (ibid. pp. 332-333) also remark that, in opposition to trends which championed rural life, Symbolism was primarily preoccupied with the urban world. Avant-garde Symbolists such as Tzara, the founder of Dadaism (1896-1963), promoted a radical modernism aimed at destroying the poetic forms and vocabulary used in their times. While such artists are not usually considered children's authors, Minulescu's autobiographical Symbolist novel *Corigent la limba română* [Failed in Romanian Language] (1929) is sometimes categorised as young adult fiction.

Hitchins (ibid. pp. 347-351, 358-371) points out that the "Great Debate" continued in the interwar period and affected literary output, as many authors reacted to the ongoing urbanisation and spread of capitalism, the demise of the traditional village and the increasing social discrepancies between the rural and the urban worlds. Although the Romanian novel became increasingly rooted in the urban and was also

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in tune with Western European literary developments, there were also more "traditionalist" novelists, for example, Sadoveanu (1880-1961) and Cezar Petrescu (1892-1961), whose work is strongly associated with CL. Sadoveanu's novels focus on rural life and the historical past of Moldavia, while many of Cezar Petrescu's works centre on the moral degradation caused by urbanisation and the inability of rural people to adapt to the new urban conditions.

In the interwar period, Romania was initially a liberal constitutional monarchy under Ferdinand I and under the Regency during the reign of Michael I (1927-1930), Ferdinand's grandson. However, as indicated by Gligor (2010, p. 188), despite becoming increasingly democratic until 1938, subsequent changes in power were conducted through *coups d'état*, which gradually undermined Romanian democracy. Michael I's father, Carol II, instated a personal dictatorship in 1938 and in 1940 handed most of his power over to Prime Minister, Marshall Antonescu and abdicated in favour of Michael I. In turn, Antonescu established a military dictatorship, ended by his arrest in 1944 by Michael I, who was then forced to abdicate and leave the country by the communists in 1947. Romania's troubled domestic history in the 1930s and 1940s occurred within the wider context of World War II and both domestic and external developments were to have long-term consequences for the country. Thus, as recounted by Hitchins (ibid. pp. 377-390), despite initial attempts to remain neutral, Romania was forced to enter World War II under pressure from both Russia and Germany. Following a Soviet ultimatum in 1940, the territories of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina were ceded to the USSR. Bessarabia became the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, and, after the 1991 demise of the USSR, the Republic of Moldova. Northern Bukovina and Budjak county were given to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and are a part of Ukraine at present. Romania initially entered World War II against the USSR and on the side of the Axis, but eventually changed sides. In August 1944, after Romania had ceased to fight the USSR, the Soviet army entered the country and thereafter controlled it, which enabled the communists to gain increasing political power. Hitchins (ibid. 391-399) relates how, through a combination of threats from Moscow, elimination of political adversaries and fraudulent elections, a communist government came to power in 1946. Hitchins remarks upon the rather passive attitude of the United States and of

Great Britain towards these events, as they only made official protests, without intervening (pp. 398-399).

After this date, Romania became a communist republic and communist rule varied in its severity of oppression and openness towards Eastern Europe and the Western world, which affected the country's cultural and literary life. Thus, under the first president, Gheorghiu-Dej (1947-1965), Romania was initially under strict Soviet control. Communism was enforced brutally, resulting in the persecution, imprisonment, deportation and (often) death of anyone considered a potential threat, if only due to social background or allegiance to different ideologies. According to Bulei (2012, pp. 189-195) and Deletant (2007, pp. 410-414), Soviet models and Russification were applied to Romanian culture and cultural relationships with the West were severed. Educators and cultural personalities were subject to many pressures and arrested if they resisted the regime or simply refused to support it; severe censorship of cultural activity was also applied (Bulei ibid; Selejan 2006). The effects of these policies on the Romanian literary scene are described by Bulei (ibid.) and Negrici (2009, p. 20). According to Bulei, public libraries and publishers were "purged", many libraries and archives were burned, publishers and literary magazines were closed down. By contrast, the publisher and bookshop "Cartea Rusă" [The Russian Book] was established, and most books available were of Russian or Soviet origin. Negrici stresses that literature was considered an instrument of political propaganda and therefore the only literary method allowed was Socialist Realism, which represented the "facts" of life through an ideological lens. As discussed below, propaganda CL was also created. Despite this, there were also subversive forms of literary activity, for example, among political prisoners such as the poet Gyr (1905-1975), who supported his fellow prisoners spiritually with his poems (Ungureanu 2013, n.p.)

After the withdrawal of the Russian army from Romania (1958), there was another wave of persecutions (1958-1960), followed by a relaxation of political oppression aimed at gaining popular support and a relative opening of the economy to Western Europe. The early years of Gheorghiu-Dej's successor, Ceauşescu (1965-1989), were characterised by the same trend (Deletant 2007, pp. 428-446). Negrici (ibid. pp. 20-21) explains that Romanian writers took advantage of this relaxation and moved away from ideologically-dictated creativity. This was manifested first in an effort to

imitate post-1848 Romanian literature, while a few "exceptional" authors, for example, the poet Stănescu (1933-1983), moved beyond interwar achievements. Finally, in the 1960s, "the literature of the obsessive decade" arose, which dealt with the communist abuses of the 1950s. Negrici points out that such works were allowed because the ruling elites were interested in blaming specific persons for the abuses, rather than the system and the ideology. Another type of Romanian literature from that period, "escapist" literature, that is, primarily aesthetic, politically uninvolved literature, is discussed by Simuţ (2008a, n.p.). Since writing such literature was harshly sanctioned in the early days of communism, Simuţ argues that escapist literature only really developed after the firm establishment of communism after 1960, once the regime was no longer afraid of being overthrown. This literary trend focused on fantasy and myth, psychological analysis, imaginary history, the poetic self and dreams and adopted Experimentalist and Postmodernist forms in the 1980s. As discussed below, writing CL was another way of escaping the requirements of writing propagandistic literature.

In 1971, Ceauşescu visited China and North Korea, which was to be decisive for the subsequent development of the regime in Romania. Bulei (ibid. pp. 203-204) shows that the visit inspired Ceauşescu to write his *July Theses* (a paraphrase of Lenin's *April Theses*), which demanded Communist Party control of all fields of activity, intensification of ideological activity and complete ideological subordination of the media. The visit also provided a model for how the president's personal power could be consolidated, which resulted in the increase of state control by Ceauşescu and his family and in an intense personality cult. There followed a strict centralisation of control over economic, social, political and cultural life. Deletant (2007, p. 448) explains that the *Theses* led to the rise of a new literary trend, "protocronism" [Protochronism], which represented Romania's historical past from an extremely nationalistic perspective. Despite this, "protocronism" did not monopolise literary production, as a varied, mainly aesthetic, literature also emerged. For example, writers combined realism and fantasy, in a manner not unlike Magic Realism, sometimes together with Postmodernist techniques (Negrici 2009, p. 21).

Popular dissatisfaction with political state control, low living standards and the exacerbated personality cult eventually led to the 1989 uprising, commonly named "the (December 1989) Revolution", the only violent overthrow of communism in

Eastern Europe. Since then, Romania has been undergoing "transition" to a market economy and a democratic society, made difficult by the persistence of former communists among the ruling political elites (Stan and Zaharia 2012, pp. 185-186, 189). According to Stan and Zaharia (ibid.), high levels of corruption and weak legislation enforcement, among other factors, account for the late entry of the country into the European Union, in 2007. Although progress has been made at several levels, the country continues to be marked by political instability and the legacy of its past under communist rule.

After the 1989 overthrow of communism, Romanian culture and literature were marked by this recent history and their development was related to the wider political and economic context. One of the main post-communist social debates centred on "cultural resistance", that is, the attitudes of cultural personalities, including writers, towards the former communist regime (collaboration or resistance) (Gligor 2010, p. 196; Simuţ 2008b, n.p.; Creţu 2009, n.p.; Marcu 2004, n.p.). After this initial period, according to Simuţ, the wish to move on from communism-related issues led to a reconsideration of the literature written during communism, on aesthetic rather than moral grounds alone.

On a more general level, Gligor (ibid. p. 197) notes a lack of critical spirit in contemporary Romanian society. Gligor maintains that during communism this spirit existed, as an adverse reaction to the communist system of values. Nevertheless, the post-1989 freedom has resulted in chaos, which, at the cultural level, has meant the replacement of "value" with "success", the lack of boundaries between popular and high culture and a widespread preference for poor-quality products. Simuţ (2008b) also comments on the "dictatorship of the market and of the entertainment industry" and its negative consequences for the literary world. However, this idea is contradicted by Creţu (2009), who states that since 1989 the book market in Romania has become "normal", because it is no longer centrally controlled. Such opinions are also voiced by CL scholars, who tend to deplore the negative impact of market-oriented practices and the lack of discernment on the part of buyers and publishers of CL.

Finally, as Gligor rightly remarks, within the context of increased intercultural contact and borrowing, as well as accession to the European Union, a widespread

topic of debate in Romanian intellectual circles is the relationship between national identity and European integration. This debate is conducted along similar lines to the earlier "Great Debate", with some differences due to Romania's recent history. For example, "Europeanists" claim that national feeling and the idea of nation have been discredited by National Communism and are irrelevant in an age of regional and global integration. From this perspective, intellectuals attached to national ideals are labelled as "anti-reformists", "crypto-communists", and "nationalistic communists" (pp. 197-198).

In conclusion, Romanian history and culture have developed out of the interaction between local and international phenomena. The general characteristics of Romanian as a Romance language are explained by an early history of Roman colonisation of the local Dacian population. Various influences were then added due to political, denominational and cultural relationships with other countries. National movements arose due to foreign domination of the Romanian territories and nationalist ideologies were particularly strong in the nineteenth century. Once Romania became an independent state, cultural debates were polarised between "traditionalists" and "Europeanists", until the mid-twentieth century. These phenomena affected literary production, including CL. The subsequent establishment of communism brought severe censorship, persecution of cultural figures and strong Soviet influence. Propaganda literature was created, alongside subversive forms and "escapist", non-ideological literature, and such developments were also visible in CL. The post-communist years were initially marked by debates regarding the appropriate criteria for judging literature created under communism, then by the rise of popular culture and market-oriented publishing practices, as well as a debate about national identity and European integration.

4.2.2. Economic and social developments

Romania's contemporary economic and social makeup is closely related to Romanian history and culture as discussed above. For this reason, although the focus below is on contemporary Romania, brief reference is made to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although industrialisation, urbanisation and the middle classes were increasing, Romania was a predominantly agricultural society with a mainly peasant population[12]. The working classes were reduced numerically and did not play a significant role (Hitchins 2007, pp. 293-295, 324-327, 359-362; Bulei 2012, pp. 110-120, 159-161; Ţâra 2011, Urse 2003, p. 5). With the advent of communism, this situation changed considerably. As Urse (ibid.) states, industrialisation and urbanisation were intensified and the social structure was re-configured on an ideological basis, aimed at destroying the previous structures and building a communist society composed of workers, peasants and a stratum of intellectuals. Urse explains that to build this type of society, private property was nationalised, which contributed to the destruction of the bourgeoisie. In agriculture, collectivisation was enforced and Agricultural Production Cooperatives were established, employing most peasants. Overall, the rural population decreased, because many were included in the developing industries and moved or commuted to urban areas (p. 6). The working class expanded dramatically, boosted by the state-driven industrialisation. Urse also argues that working conditions, living standards and education levels among workers increased. Nevertheless, the state used artificial methods to support the economy and avoid unemployment, for example, creating unnecessary work opportunities, which had negative effects on the working class in the post-communist context (pp. 17-18). Although Urse suggests that the main social trend during communism was homogenisation, she also remarks that some differentiation occurred based on education level and profession, and that there was an upper class of privileged politicians and managers (p. 8). Deletant (2007, p. 444) confirms this by noting the formation of a middle class of technicians, scientists and economists. It was this social structure which Romania inherited in 1989, and on it, according to Urse, Romania's contemporary society is being built.

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[12] The term "peasant" is used in accordance with Romanian usage, to refer to people residing in rural areas and conducting agricultural activities. As such, it is a neutral term.

The main economic and social phenomena in contemporary Romania are the decline of communist industrial activities and of the working classes, the increase of the agricultural population and the predominance of subsistence agriculture, the growing inequalities between various social groups, the increasing divide between urban and rural areas, the widespread poverty, especially among rural residents, and the growth of the middle class. The significant social transformations engendered by the post-1989 political and economic changes are discussed by Urse (ibid. pp. 9-24). She explains that the working class were affected by the decline in industrial activities artificially boosted during communism, the privatisation of state enterprises and the associated staff reduction, especially since communist employment and salary practices had encouraged a lack of competitiveness and professional mobility. Consequently, some of the working class returned to agricultural activities or became impoverished and joined "the lower class", composed mostly of uneducated, unemployed people. Others, on the contrary, moved upwards into the middle class or remained in the working class, mostly employed in industry. Therefore, the working class at the time of Urse's study (2003) was composed of these "old" industrial workers and newer, post-1989 ones, active mainly in non-industrial fields. Peasants, in Urse's analysis, increased numerically after 1989, due to rising unemployment in urban areas and to the re-possession of lands by former owners or their families. Indeed, according to the 2011 census, 46% of the Romanian population lives in rural areas. Urse points out that, besides "peasants proper" who reside in the countryside, live from agriculture and work with their families, some rural agricultural activities are also conducted by tradesmen, intellectuals and pensioners, some of whom are urban residents. She also identifies a rural middle class, made up of land owners whose profits surpass the basic family necessities and leaseholders. The composition of the middle class is not yet fixed, argues Urse, due to the on-going economic and social changes. However, she identifies two categories which could be considered middle-class, namely, entrepreneurs whose income level corresponds to that usually ascribed to the middle classes in sociological research, and salary-based professionals whose work, values and behaviours are characteristic of the middle class, although they are at risk of poverty, due to the general economic difficulties. Finally, Urse proposes a tentative description of the upper class, mostly on the basis of financial success. Thus, in 2002, the wealthiest 100 Romanians had between 10 and 900 million dollars and were active in "the oil and gas industries, banking, real

estate, insurance, constructions, industry, trade, mass media and agriculture" (p. 23). Urse hypothesises that other successful entrepreneurs, bankers, managers and lawyers, highly performing doctors and elite intellectuals could also be included in this upper class.

While Urse's work is valuable in its analysis of historical processes of social change, which explain current developments in Romania, neither she nor other sociologists are able to offer a definite picture of contemporary social categories. For instance, Pop (2013, p. 5) establishes several categories based on their profession, namely: employers, managers and professionals (15.5%, upper class); supervisors, independent workers/free lancers, technicians and administrative employees (27.2%, upper middle class); skilled manual workers and employees in services and trade (39.2%, lower middle class); manual unskilled workers and farmers (18.1%, lower class). In this categorisation, the middle class is the most numerous (66.4%). In contrast, Vasile (2008, pp. 380-382) estimates that it makes up 27% of the working population and describes it as being composed of people working in the services sector, while the working classes (lower and upper) make up 73% of the working population, most of them being lower working class employed in industry (52%).

It can be concluded, therefore, that Romania is undergoing a period of significant economic and social change, which makes the formulation of definite statements about its contemporary state problematic. However, in relation to Romania as the translation context of Potter's tales, some remarks can be made regarding Potter's potential audience, which need to be considered by the potential publishers and translators. Firstly, establishing the target market will no doubt take into consideration the differences in income levels and lifestyles of various social groups. As discussed in 4.3.1., "Children in contemporary Romania", the most probable market is middle-class families with at least an average income level, who tend to reside in urban areas. Such matters must be taken into account by the translator, in relation to the numerous references to the countryside and wildlife in Potter's books, which may be less familiar to urban children. Rural children, who may be more familiar with them, are less likely to encounter newly translated books such as Potter's, as poverty and social problems tend to be more widespread in rural areas. Secondly, publishers need to take into consideration the widespread economic

difficulties and low incomes among salaried professionals (who share middle-class characteristics) when deciding on pricing strategies.

4.2.3. Gender and the situation of women

Current gender-related research suggests that contemporary Romania is largely a traditional, patriarchal society. Despite the professionalisation and employment of many women, traditional gender roles are maintained in the family, women's civic and political participation is low and gender issues seldom feature on political agendas.

Researchers argue that traditional gender patterns have survived changes in political regimes, while underlining the significant impact of the communist period. Thus, Păunescu (2012) explains that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a Romanian feminist movement of equal strength and with concerns similar to other European feminist movements. Despite this, after 1945, those feminist organisations which did not join the communist-controlled women's association, Uniunea Femeilor Democrate din Romania [The Romanian Democrat Women's Union], were eliminated (pp. 100-126). It is also argued (Păunescu 2012, pp. 127-154; Neaga 2013, pp. 194-238) that the communist regime, while apparently empowering women through integrating them in the labour force, actually exploited them, with no regard for their real problems. Thus, during Gheorghiu-Dej's presidency (1947-1965), due to the intense industrialisation process, there was a shortage of labour, which women could alleviate. For this reason, official propaganda emphasised work as a social duty, women's equality of rights and their role as builders of the new society. Consequently, massive numbers of women joined the work force. Nevertheless, women's maternity was considered secondary to their roles of workers and political activists, and issues such as abuse or harassment were not dealt with. Furthermore, as Neaga argues, women's employment did little to change patriarchal mentalities. Because gamily gender roles did not change significantly, women worked a "double day", at their workplace and at home. However, after Ceauşescu came to power (1965), women's maternal role was strongly emphasised, to increase the population of Romania and hence its labour force. A maternity-centred official discourse was reinforced by the prohibition of

abortion and contraception, and intrusion in people's privacy and intimate sphere by mandatory gynaecological controls to identify early pregnancies or taxes for celibates and childless families.

While such aberrations have been abolished in contemporary Romania, current research suggests that patriarchal structures and traditional gender views tend to persist, alongside a general acceptance of female employment and relatively high female employment rates (Neaga 2013, Voicu and Tufiş 2012, Alexa 2013, n.p.)[13]. For example, although the women in Neaga's study (ibid. pp. 191-240) valorise their paid employment, they also assume the traditional female role in their families. Neaga notes that men's involvement in domestic tasks tends to be occasional, but over-valued by their wives, who therefore claim that such tasks are shared. Additionally, Neaga's investigation shows the existence of female help networks (mothers and mothers-in-law helping wives), which help perpetuate existing gender patterns. Neaga also remarks (pp. 257-263) that such problems do not feature on politicians' agendas, which she explains by women's tendency to solve them within the family, caused by an attachment to the image of the family as a unitary, supportive entity and by their (Romanian) belief that family issues should be kept private.

Neaga's findings also suggest that women valorise the family more than involvement in civic life, especially since juggling work and family life does not allow them much time to become involved in other activities. As for political involvement, Neaga's respondents, both urban and rural, of different ages, ethnicities and denominations, revealed competence and perceptiveness in their analysis of Romanian political life. However, reasons for their disinterest in direct political involvement, apart from lack of time, include disappointing personal experiences due to the corruption of the Romanian political sphere, a perception of politics as dominated by men trying to exclude women from it and the sexist attitude of the media (pp. 263-296).

In conclusion, traditional gender views persist in contemporary Romanian society, where women's issues have low visibility. Although female and maternal employment is generally connoted positively, women tend to take on traditional childcare and household tasks in their families. Research about men's involvement in

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[13] According to official statistics cited by Alexa (2013), 56.4% of women aged 15 to 64 were employed in 2012.

such activities often suggests that such involvement is rather limited. Such findings are further supported by research into contemporary education practices, discussed in 4.3.3. What they imply for the Romanian translation of Potter's tales is that the main decision-makers for buying books for children are more likely to be the women in their families. Moreover, if we take into account the findings in 4.2.2., these women are likely to be employed and urban-based, with a good level of education. All these aspects must be taken into account when marketing and promoting the books. Finally, Potter's translator must consider how the specific gender views of the audience may interact with those apparent in the tales, discussed in Chapter 3.

4.3. Children and education

4.3.1. Children in contemporary Romania

Several aspects regarding children in contemporary Romania are discussed below, to identify possible features of the likely Romanian audience for Potter's tales. The discussion is based on a small number of studies, because most contemporary Romanian child-related research focuses on social problems and there are relatively few studies about children in "normal" (functional) contexts. Furthermore, young children of relatively well-off families, the most probable audience of Potter's translated tales, are exactly those children who have been least investigated. However, existing studies which contrast different categories of children based on their social background, or which focus on particular categories, provide a useful starting point for hypothesising about which children are more likely to come into contact with Potter's translated tales.

Children represent a significant proportion of the total Romanian population of approximately 20 million. According to the 2011 census, 21.36% (4,298,099) of the people whose usual residence [14] is in Romania are aged 0 to 19, and 15.9% (3,189,646) of the total population are aged 0 to 14. Slightly more than half of the Romanians under 19 live in rural areas (51.36%), while 48.64% live in urban areas. This is important because, as argued below, social problems such as poverty, child

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[14] "Usual residence" is a term used in European Union regulations for the 2011 census, translated as "populație stabilă"[stable population] in Romanian regulations. For details regarding the definition of this term, see European Parliament and Council (2008, n.p.) or Institutul Național de Statistică (2012, n.p.).

labour, low educational performance and absent migrant parents tend to occur more frequently in rural areas and children suffering from these problems are less likely to have access to newly published books such as Potter's tales. The number of Romanians (including children) living abroad is more difficult to establish. According to Andrei, the president of the National Institute of Statistics (qtd. in Mihai 2013, n.p.), Eurostat and the OECD estimate 2.2 million and 3.5 million respectively, but these include Romanians gone abroad for brief periods of time. Alternatively, the 2011 census recorded approximately 720,000 Romanians abroad for at least one year, estimated by Andrei as 30% of the actual numbers. Out of the 720,000, 8.92% were under 15.

Contemporary Romanian children usually grow up in small nuclear families with legally married parents, according to Popescu (2009, pp. 44-46). Popescu explains that Romanians valorise the family highly and that they tend to marry and have children at a young age (around 25 for women and 28 for men), but the ideal number of children is small, especially among young people. While more than half (56.1%) of Romanian households have children, most of them have one (52.2%) or two (34%).

Nevertheless, as Stănculescu (2012) suggests, there are great social inequalities among Romanian children. Stănculescu's study compares four categories of households with children aged 0-18, mainly based on their level of income, namely, poor, very poor, migrant, and middle class. The comparison illustrates the inequalities between them and offers valuable insights regarding Potter's potential readership. This is, as already explained, most probably middle-class children and perhaps also the children of migrants, due to the advantages they have compared with the poor and very poor children. Thus, most middle-class children in the study come from nuclear families with one or two children. Their parents are university-educated professionals with relatively high incomes which allow for varied consumption (i.e. including cultural and educational activities), living in well-equipped homes. Almost all these children have books and access to a computer and the internet. They are well cared for and in good health, are happy with their lives and confident about their future. Their parents generally value education and culture and therefore support their children's learning. Consequently, according to the study, middle-class children generally allocate more time to educational activities

(including reading[15]) and achieve good results at school[16]. Furthermore, they engage in many other non-formal education activities[17], including sports, dancing or ballet, music, painting and foreign languages. However, because of these additional activities, they have comparatively less free time and spend more time indoors. In addition, they tend to spend more time with their parents and grandparents and their interactions with friends are more closely monitored by their parents.

Two more significant findings should be noted, although distinctions between categories of children are not made by Stănculescu (pp. 86-88). Firstly, few parents read to their young children (only 15% of parents read to their children aged 0-3 and 18% to children aged 4-6). This is significant because many of Potter's books are intended to be read aloud to young children and parents' lack of involvement might reduce children's access to the books until they are old enough to read. Furthermore, playing figures prominently among children's recreational activities, but as they grow older (i.e. 4 to 10 years old), computer games become important and TV-watching even more so, even among the youngest (0-3 year-olds). Internet use among children also appears to have increased dramatically in recent years, at least in urban areas, as suggested by Save the Children Romania (2013a, n.p.). The study shows that the average age when children start using the internet is 9 and that 86% of them use it daily or almost daily, for 2-3 hours during school days and 4 hours on free days. Moreover, 58% children state that they unsuccessfully tried to spend less time on the internet, while 29% did not have enough food or sleep because of their online activity[18]. The significant place that television, computer games and the internet occupy in children's lives, and the possible lack of involvement of parents in reading to children may be related to a perceived disengagement with reading and books among children which has been noted repeatedly (Cernăuți-Gorodețchi 2008,

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[15] The study includes reading in "educational activities", together with studying and doing homework, without specifying the exact time that children spend reading for pleasure.

[16] This finding is supported by other studies, for example Jigău 2008, which finds that higher income levels tend to be more common in urban areas and that urban children (14 and 18 year-old samples) allocate more time to educational activities than rural children.

[17] "Non-formal education" occurs outside the formal educational system, but still in organised forms, rather than everyday life contexts.

[18] The internet is increasingly used in Romania, although not as widely as in other EU countries. According to United Nations statistics (International Telecommunications Union 2013, n.p.), the percentage of individuals using the internet in Romania increased from 8.90 in 2003 to 49.76 in 2013. According to Eurostat (Seybert and Reinecke 2013, n.p.), 45% of Romanians use the internet at least once a week, 32%, daily or almost daily, and 42% have never used it (the highest percentage of non-users in the EU).

pp. 13-20; Morar 2009, pp. 254-255; Majuru 2006, pp. 158-161). This indicates that among middle-class children (especially if they are older and literate), books are facing competition – in terms of time available and interest – not only from playing and formal and non-formal education, but also from television, computer games and the internet. It also implies that Romanian children might become acquainted with Potter's tales in their animated (and dubbed) versions before they read the translated print editions.

The findings above regarding TV, computer and internet use can also be applied to the children of migrants, whose improved material conditions include them in the potential audience of Potter's tales. The phenomenon of "children of migrants" is a consequence of the changing conditions of contemporary Romania, including economic difficulties and increasing freedom of movement experienced after 1989 and especially after the 2007 European Union accession. A significant number of Romanians have left the country to work abroad, leaving their children in Romania, most often with relatives. This phenomenon has received much media attention and is repeatedly discussed in studies of post-communist Romania (Ionescu and Popescu 2011, pp. 12-13; Ionescu 2012, p. 269; Stan and Zaharia 2012, p. 198). The figures vary; for instance, according to the Romanian Authority for the Protection of the Family and Children's Rights, cited by Save the Children (2013b, n.p.), there were at least 92,328 such children at the end of 2008. UNICEF (2008, p. iii) estimates 350,000 and underlines that more than half live in rural areas, where cases of both parents working abroad are also more common. Stănculescu (2012) and UNICEF (ibid. p. v) agree that the most important consequences for children are emotional and psychological distress, although their financial situation often improves and their living conditions are good. Such children were also found to work more, generally by taking on various household tasks, but also agricultural labour, according to UNICEF (ibid. p. vi). Although for most of them school performance is not significantly affected, some are at risk of dropping out. They also tend to spend more time playing computer games than the other children, but also spend more time outdoors than middle-class children, according to Stănculescu (ibid.).

For the other two categories of children in Stănculescu's study (poor and very poor), poverty is the most significant factor affecting their lives. Poverty is one of the most serious problems that Romanian children face, according to current research (Ionescu

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2012, p. 83). Poverty, Ionescu explains, is associated with poor living conditions, violence and abuse, lack of basic goods, economic exploitation, trafficking and drug use. 251,000 children were living in absolute poverty in 2008 (Save the Children Romania 2013b, n.p.). The situation was generally worse among Romany children, where the poverty rate was three times higher than among other Romanian children. Ionescu (ibid. pp. 76-79) explains that poverty is at least partly a consequence of the economic changes occurring after 1989, for example, unemployment due to the closing down or re-structuring of communist enterprises. He stresses particularly the gravity of rural poverty, which ultimately endangers children's participation in education. Moreover, the condition of rural schools is often far from satisfactory, which leads to absenteeism, dropping out and illiteracy (pp. 74, 256). Save the Children Romania (2013b, n.p.) underlines another consequence of poverty, namely child labour. Although the figures provided by UNICEF (2004) and Save the Children (2013b) date back to 2004 and some improvements may have occurred to date, it should be noted that in 2004, 140,000 children were economically active, most of them in rural areas, and that their activities affected their performance in school. Stănculescu's description (2012) of poor and very poor families supports the hypothesis that their children are less likely to be a part of Potter's audience. Poor parents have generally completed secondary-level education (12 years) and consequently are only able to find poorly paid jobs involving long hours, which causes them to struggle constantly to balance work and family and to meet basic material needs. Very poor parents have a low educational level (8 years), which leads to repeated failures to find employment and a high dependence on social welfare. Their homes provide inadequate living conditions and access to information, for example, through the internet. Under these circumstances, the children are more vulnerable than middle-class or migrants' children. Many of them perform relatively poorly at school and risk not continuing their education after the first eight years. As their parents cannot afford to spend much or do not valorise education, children do not have as much access to non-formal education activities as middle-class children. Additionally, while 84% of the poor children have an average of 46 books other than school books, 76% of the very poor children have an average of only 21 books. Due to all the difficulties above faced by poor children, which tend to occur more frequently in rural areas, it is probable that many of them will not have easy access to Potter's translated books, which will more probably be bought by urban, better-off

families. However, if publishers also decide to target low-income families, this will influence their pricing policies and the books' visual elements, such as covers or paper, since soft covers and lower quality paper will ensure a lower price. Access through school libraries may also be problematic for some rural schools, which often lack even basic facilities.

Finally, another problem regarding Romanian children is abuse, which is related to parenting and education (discussed in 4.3.3.) and also to Potter's tales, which sometimes feature corporal punishment or violence against child-like characters. Save the Children (2013b) states that approximately 11,600 cases of child abuse are officially registered every year in Romania, most of which occur in the family, and in only 3% of these cases the perpetrators are prosecuted. In 2009, cases of abuse consisted predominantly of neglect (70%), physical (11%) and emotional (10%) abuse. Nevertheless, according to Save the Children (ibid.), the recorded data is only "the tip of the iceberg", as many cases remain unreported. Moreover, some types of abuse as defined by specialists and legislation are not acknowledged as such by many Romanians. For instance, most parents and some of the children surveyed by Grădinaru and Stănculeanu (2013) do not consider slapping or ear-pulling physical abuse. Grădinaru and Stănculeanu have found that, although corporal punishment in the family has been illegal in Romania since 2004, 38% of the parents surveyed admit some form of physical abuse, while 63% of the children state that physical violence is directed against them at home (p. 47). In educational institutions, child abuse tends to be of a verbal and emotional type, including scolding for mistakes and insulting. Corporal punishment occurs more frequently in the case of rural, Romany and male children, in comparison with urban, Romanian and female children, respectively. The authors comment that rural and Romany children already come from environments with higher levels of domestic violence, neglect and child labour, and the added school abuse only increases their risk of dropping out and the negative effects of family abuse (pp. 50-51).

To conclude, although contemporary Romanians valorise the family highly, they tend to prefer a small number of children. Children and young adults represent approximately one fifth of the Romanian population and rural children are slightly more numerous that urban children, although the general urban population is greater than the rural one. The rural-urban distinction is relevant because the problems faced

by contemporary Romanian children, in particular poverty, which could influence their access to the translated Potter books, tend to occur more frequently in the countryside. Middle-class children appear to experience better conditions, but their book reading time and interest is subject to competition from playing, formal and non-formal educational activities, television, computer games and the internet. The frequency of TV-watching and internet use among middle-class children also suggests that they might become acquainted with Potter's tales in animated form, before the print translation is published.

4.3.2. Conceptions of childhood

An analysis of contemporary Romanian conceptions of childhood is necessarily limited by the relative absence of published research on this topic. As discussed above, most child-related studies tend to centre on social problems (Stănciulescu 2010, p. 316). Stănciulescu also shows that until 2005, few studies dealt with "normal" children in "normal" (functional) contexts. While she identifies more recent studies focusing on media consumption, children's rights, adolescents' and youth's lifestyles and expectations, most frequently the subjects are over 15 years of age. Finally, she emphasises the absence of studies regarding children in families with a medium or high level of education. Although my research has identified more recent studies on younger and middle-class children, mentioned in 4.3.1., they are not common and say little about conceptions of children in those families, which limits possible claims regarding the conceptions of childhood of Potter's adult Romanian audience. An area which could offer particularly valuable information, historical research, has been developing recently, but no general histories of childhood in Romania have been published. Published scholarship deals with specific topics, regions of Romania and historical periods, without covering the post-communist period (for example, Dumănescu 2007, 2008a, 2008b). Majuru (2006), while more comprehensive in scope and useful in its references to present-day Romania, does not offer a systematic presentation of conceptions of childhood nowadays. Other glimpses of childhood-related historiography are provided, according to Dumănescu (2007), by historical studies of the Romanian family or society, ethnology and oral

history. Nevertheless, such studies (Pârvulescu 2007, Bolovan et al. 2010, Ispas and Coatu 2012) do not deal with contemporary Romania, either.

Therefore, the discussion below refers mainly to Stănciulescu's overview of conceptualisations of childhood up until 1989 and her hypotheses regarding contemporary Romania, complemented by my observations. Stănciulescu identifies three types of attitudes towards children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, namely, "instrumentalization-protection, sentimentalization-protection, family and societal integration" (p. 320) and argues that there is a close tie between childhood and education manifest in Romanian sociological thinking (pp. 310-311). Thus, she explains that in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the context of the rise of the Romanian nation state, and later during communism, children were conceptualised by social thinkers not only as members of their families, but also as members of society. Children were seen as the future of the nation and, in communist times, child-related research focused on the "multilaterally developed" New Man, suitable for the "multilaterally developed socialist society". In both cases, their families' responsibility for them was a duty to society and state interference in children's education was thus justifiable. Before communism, a strong religious influence further emphasised parents' responsibility for their children. Finally, children were seen as "wax-like", having the potential to be shaped by "good" parents and teachers. Stănciulescu concludes that these principles fostered a strong connection between childhood and the educational sciences, which continues to exist in contemporary Romania. My findings in 4.4.1, "Conceptions of children's literature", support this claim by showing that the educational function of CL is highly significant for many contemporary Romanian scholars. Furthermore, attitudes foregrounding children's role as future members of society are visible among Romanian CL scholars and in the 2011 Education Law (see 4.3.3. and 4.4.1.).

At the social level, ethnographic research on traditional rural communities published in the early 1940s suggests that children fulfilled several functions ("instrumentalization"). They were part of men's status of "gospodar" [householder], they contributed to the family's material and symbolical capital, ensured the preservation of the family name and were expected to care for their elderly parents and for their souls after their parents passed away. "Sentimentalization", the affection invested in them, was displayed by both parents in all social classes. Material and

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spiritual "protection" was important in all social strata and tended to be gender-specific, as material protection was emphasised for boys and spiritual protection for girls (for example, preservation of their purity and chastity). Finally, attitudes to children included spirituality, as they were seen as "vehicles" between people and God. During communism, this traditional culture continued, although changes were caused by urbanisation and the consequent movement of rural people to towns. As people were deprived of their lands and integrated into industrial environments, children were increasingly emphasised as sources of identity. Furthermore, in the context of political propaganda which stressed the value of education for the people and of parents' sacrifice for their children's future, children's education became particularly important in the family, to the extent that in middle-class families school work was considered a replacement for physical work. "Sentimentalization" was connected with a perceived attitude of "over-protection" in medium and highly-educated families, but there is no research on the experiences of poor families, due to the refusal of the official ideology to acknowledge their existence. "Instrumentalization" of children occurred at the state level, as children were seen as "the future of the nation" (pp. 321-324).

As regards contemporary Romania, Stănciulescu hypothesises that there is an increase in the "sentimentalization-protection process", on the basis of demographic developments such as higher child-bearing ages of medium or highly-educated women. Furthermore, according to her observations, children's lives tend to be framed to a larger extent in such families, for example, by the employment of childminders or the provision of private classes, an observation confirmed by the discussion in 4.3.1. She also notes the instrumentalisation of children in some poor or uneducated environments, in particular Romany families, and their political instrumentalisation, manifested in the political changes effected to fulfill EU accession requirements. Stănciulescu also remarks upon a perceived sentimentalisation of children in sociological research, in which the Romantic view of innocent children, their vulnerability, and the guilt of teachers or parents, can be discerned pp. 324-326).

According to my observations, at least in urban areas, there is significant preoccupation with children as a specific, age-based category. This preoccupation is visible in the wide range of children's activities and events available, including

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workshops, courses, fairs, exhibitions, competitions, theatre plays, films, opera and story-telling, camps and summer schools; in the fact that many adult-oriented institutions or firms, such as museums, libraries and bookshops, have children's sections or events; in the significant quantitative and qualitative rise in playgrounds; and in the proliferation of child-related websites and blogs. Moreover, middle-class children do indeed take part in many extra-curricular activities and some are cared for by childminders or in after-school facilities. Finally, sometimes the presence of child beggars, particularly Romany children, supports Stănciulescu's claims regarding their instrumentalisation.

To summarise, historically, the values invested in children, adapted to the conditions of various periods, appear to have endured in contemporary Romania. These values include instrumentalisation (they serve specific functions in their family and community) and sentimentalisation, both often accompanied by protective attitudes, and societal integration. According to the latter, children are directly related to the future of the country, a view connected with educational philosophies that aim to shape children into ideal future citizens. Such philosophies, it is argued below (4.4.), have also influenced Romanian CL.

4.3.3. Educational practices and philosophies

Conventional categorisations of education, adopted in official educational discourse in contemporary Romania, include three main types – formal, informal and non-formal – defined as education occurring within an organised education system, in everyday life contexts and in organised activities outside the formal education system, respectively. Since most contemporary Romanian children experience informal learning in the family and formal education, the focus below is on these environments.

As implied by the discussion in 4.2.3., family care tends to be distributed according to traditional gender patterns. Anghelescu and Iliescu (2005, pp. 20-21) and Stănculescu (2012, pp. 75-79) show that children spend most of their time with their mothers and siblings and significantly less time with their fathers. Both studies also suggest that usually fathers have complementary roles in caring for the children, but do not assume the main responsibility, even when the mothers are absent, which

supports Neaga's claims regarding women's support networks (see 4.2.3.). Moreover, mothers generally take on the educational and recreational tasks, while fathers deal with physical care (shared with mothers in middle-class families), transportation and playing outdoors.

Family educational practices, according to Anghelescu and Iliescu (ibid. pp. 12-15), include the use of verbal and physical praise and punishment, in both urban and rural areas. The most frequent types of punishments are verbal (raising voice, insults, sarcasm), physical and prohibitive. As regards corporal punishments, most parents do not consider occasional slapping a form of physical abuse and often they are not aware of educational alternatives or Children's Rights.

Anghelescu and Iliescu's findings (ibid. pp. 16-19) suggest that playing is considered important by the majority of parents. Children play mostly with toys, which depend on their gender and age. Most frequent are dolls for girls and machines or cars for boys, although some parents declare that they do not make this distinction. Most parents also buy colouring books, books and music or story CDs, building games or puzzles, irrespective of the children's gender. Books appear to be used more frequently as children grow older (after one year old) and computer games are played by more than 25% of 3-7-year-old children, twice as much by urban children compared to rural children. Parents also encourage children to spend their free time together with other children.

As suggested by the above, gender-related educational attitudes are somewhat mixed. There are gender-specific practices, including selecting toys and colours for clothes based on gender and seeing children in terms of traditional gender features (strength, courage and independence for boys; frailty, sensitivity/sensibility and need of protection for girls). Nevertheless, opinions about gender-based characteristics suggest a combination of liberal and traditional views. For example, approximately 60% parents disagree with statements of the type "boys are naughtier than girls", while 25% agree. Moreover, more than 60% of girls' parents do not think that their daughters' needs are different from those of boys and approximately 90% of parents think that educational needs are the same for both sexes. Additionally, although over 50% disagree that girls should be educated especially to become good wives and mothers, 40% agree (ibid. pp. 22-23). Taking into account the discussion of gender in

Romania in 4.2.3, the more egalitarian views of gender could be explained by the general acceptance of female employment, although changes in mentalities could also be occurring.

It can be concluded, therefore, that child care and education in the family is mainly carried out by mothers, while fathers' involvement is rather limited, generally relating to basic care and playing. Educational practices include verbal and physical praise and punishment. Attitudes and practices are gendered to some extent, but there are also areas where no distinctions are made, notably in education and the provision of books and games. Playing is considered important and is done mostly with toys, books and outdoor games, but in the 3-7 age group, computer games occur in a significant proportion, higher for urban children. This is significant considering that the most probable next stage of this interaction with computers is internet use, which ushers in significant informal educational influences. Finally, while the ubiquitous presence of books in the 1-7 age range is confirmed, it can also be seen that they are one among many alternatives that children have. These considerations need to be borne in mind by Potter's Romanian publisher and translator, with regard to the gender and educational attitudes in the original texts and to marketing strategies.

The formal educational system in contemporary Romania has been undergoing repeated changes after 1989, including new legislation and curricula, which, according to Voineagu and Istrate (2012), were responses to new social and economic conditions and alignments to European developments. The current Romanian educational system is organised into pre-school (nurseries for ages 0-3, kindergartens for ages 3-6), primary (preparatory year plus four years, ages 6-11), lower secondary (grades 5-8, ages 11-15), higher secondary (grades 9-12, ages 15-19) and tertiary. The system includes state, private and denominational educational institutions. Some private institutions offer alternative education, such as Waldorf/Steiner or Montessori, but are used by a minority of Romanian children (Ciucureanu 2011). At present, obligatory education lasts from the preparatory class to the tenth grade and includes most children and young people aged 2-23 (77% in 2011, according to a Ministry of Education report, MECTS 2011, p. 4). The report also shows that in 2010/2011, almost 80% of children aged 3-6 went to kindergarten and 98% of children of primary and lower secondary ages went to school, although their numbers are decreasing in rural areas and increasing in urban ones. Generally,

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children who do not attend school or drop out tend to belong to families struggling with poverty or not valuing education (pp. 8-10), since, as explained by Grădinaru et al. (2010), the hidden costs of free state education (e.g. private tutoring, transportation, school materials) are quite high.

As for the basic principles of formal education, a comparison between the Laws of Education in communist and post-communist Romania provides a clear illustration of the changes they have incurred in recent times. On the one hand, the 1978 Law of Education (Marea Adunare Națională 1978) subordinates education to political ideology and is an example of communist *langue de bois*, including concepts such as "the multilaterally developed society (and) man", "the new man", and "the materialistic-dialectic conception". On the other hand, the 2011 Law of Education (Parlamentul României 2011) places individual development within contemporary values (this time, Western ideology) and uses a different *langue de bois*. Its discourse combines contemporary buzzwords and Liberal capitalist discourse, for example, references to globalisation, sustainability, the knowledge-based economy, entrepreneurship and efficiency, and ideas of individual autonomy and civil participation.

> The mission of the Law is to build (form), through education, the mental infrastructure of Romanian society, according to the new requirements derived from Romania's membership of the European Union and from its functioning within the context of globalisation, and to sustainably generate highly competitive national human resources, able to function efficiently in the current and future society.
>
> The educational ideal of Romanian schooling is the free, complete and harmonious development of the human individual, the formation of the autonomous personality, taking responsibility for a system of values necessary for personal fulfilment and development, for the development of the entrepreneurial spirit, for citizens' active participation in society, for social inclusion and for employment in the labour market. (my translation)

Several basic educational principles can be discerned in the current Law of Education, although it is not clear to what extent they are actually applied. The values that it upholds are "humanist and scientific", human rights, "intercultural dialogue" and tolerance, and a concern for the environment. Education is centred on its beneficiaries, which are not only children, but also their families, communities and society. Children are guaranteed a right to their own opinions. The Law also

makes provisions to ensure equality, social inclusion and respect for national minorities. It provides for religious, denomination-based education, in the form of educational institutions and the inclusion of "Religion" as a non-obligatory study subject.

The Law also clearly states the important role played by Romania's EU membership in the way education is conceived. Indeed, EU integration and Romanian politicians' tendency to conform to Western standards appear to exert a significant influence on contemporary Romanian formal education. For example, the current Minister of Education has supported his wish to lower the obligatory education age to 5 by stating that in some EU states this age is 4 (Nicolescu and Crăciun 2013, n.p.). Moreover, secondary school-leaving examinations will be interdisciplinary starting from 2019, because this is how the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) examinations are conducted (Munteanu 2014, n.p., Pantazi 2013, n.p.). Curricula are also influenced by Western European educational discourse, in their focus on "competences", including IT use, social and civic competences, entrepreneurial competences, and "learning to learn competences". The former two in particular, as well as the focus on IT use, are characteristic of post-1989 developments in Romanian education. Finally, within the subjects studied, "Children's literature" is optional for the preparatory and primary years. What seems clear from the legislation and from recent developments and positions adopted by the Minister of Education, is the tendency to include as many children as possible in the system of formal education. In particular, there is a marked drive to make education obligatory as early as possible. The mandatory age had been 7 until 2012, when it was lowered to 6, by the establishment of the "preparatory class", and, as mentioned above, there are plans to lower the age to 5, by making the last kindergarten year obligatory. This insistence on having children obligatorily framed within formal education perhaps signals an intensification of the state's wish to control its citizens. Since it may also enhance the importance of the formal education system for younger children, this tendency could also indicate to publishers that schools and kindergartens are worth targeting for marketing their books, including translations of Potter.

At the level of educational practice, Balica et al. (2004, pp. 37-115) mention the predominance of traditional, teacher-centred teaching methods in the schools

investigated and a significant gap between learning tasks and real life. Furthermore, most learning tasks are individual, which prevents the acquisition of collaborative skills, as well as reproductive and cognitive-operational, which, as the authors point out, can stimulate social conformity, rather than a critical spirit. While gender-related topics are generally not addressed by teachers and school books, teachers tend to attribute different features to male and female students and vary their remarks and recommendations accordingly. Furthermore, school books generally promote male characters and success models and reinforce traditional views of gender. Such views are also held by students, although some challenge them (especially urban and secondary-level students). A case study (Chiru and Ciupercă 2000) confirms the existence of gender stereotypes among kindergarten children.

Romanian diaspora children are integrated in the educational systems of other countries, but are often offered opportunities to preserve their ties with Romanian culture and language, in secular and religious environments. For example, in London, the School of Romanian Culture and Tradition, a weekly educational programme, is run for children between 5 and 16. Activities for children in Romanian Orthodox religious communities such as the Dublin one also aim at developing their Romanian language skills and knowledge of Romanian culture. The presence of Romanian communities abroad and their concern for the preservation of children's connections with the Romanian language and culture have implications for a Romanian translation of Potter's tales. Since adult Romanians would have to make decisions regarding the proportions of CL in Romanian and in the language of their adoptive country that the children should be exposed to, they might either choose the English originals, their translations into the languages of their adoptive countries (e.g. French, Italian), or a Romanian version. Additionally, Romanian children living in Britain or in cultures related to the British one may be better acquainted with the cultural references in Potter's tales and even with the original books, which may be problematic if they were exposed to a domesticating Romanian translation (see Nic Lochlainn above, p. 25).

To summarise, formal education in Romania has been greatly influenced, in its structure and content, by Romania's post-communist history, in particular EU accession. The state seems to wish to shape its future citizens in accordance with Western European educational, economic and political philosophies, and to do this

from as young an age as possible. At the level of actual practice, it has been suggested that teacher-centred methods persist and that traditional gender views are preserved by teachers and school books. There is an opportunity for children to come into contact with CL in their preparatory and primary years, during which provision has been made for an optional "children's literature" subject. The tendency to include children in the obligatory education system from young ages may also represent a profitable opportunity for publishers of children's books. Finally, Romanian parents abroad may have to choose what version of Potter's tales they give to their children and the familiarity of children living in Anglophone countries with the originals and their cultural references could pose problems when reading a domesticated translation.

4.4. Children's literature

4.4.1. Conceptions of children's literature

An interest in CL is evident on several levels in Romanian society, from academics and writers to individual parents. CL scholarship, in the broadest sense of the word, now comprises books, conference papers, magazine articles, interviews and blogs.

CL scholarship by university lecturers is often coupled with education studies, for example, being produced for the purposes of teacher education (Buzaşi 1998, Duţu 2000, Casangiu 2007, Goia 2003, Szekely 2006), or published by lecturers involved in such programmes (Bodiştean 2007). Lecturers in literary studies and visual arts (Rogojinaru 1999, Cernăuţi-Gorodeţchi 2008, Cheşuţ 2008) write about CL from more specialised perspectives. However, due to the low academic status of CL outside the educational sector, such concerns are not very common among university lecturers. Translation for children in particular is a rare research topic, with few exceptions, for instance, Constantinescu (2013) and Pelea (2007, 2010a). Similarly, literary critics seldom include CL in their discussions; Marino (1998) is a rare exception. Another significant source of research on CL, indicative of an increasing interest in the topic, is doctoral dissertations, a number of which are also connected to education. While some focus on formative aspects (Marusceac 2010, Jeler 2011), others, although authored by educational practitioners, adopt literary, linguistic, translation, or historical perspectives (Morar 2009, Chifane 2011, Gheorghe 2011,

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Ionescu 2011, Hohotă 2011, Stoica 2012). Furthermore, children's authors and librarians have written or spoken about CL (Raţiu 2003, Mustafa 2008, Nazare 2012). Finally, reviews and opinions regarding children's books are expressed in less formal internet contexts, on forums and blogs. A striking absence among CL studies is the Romanian branch of the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY), which does not seem to have produced any research regarding CL in Romania. One possible reason for this is the lack of cooperation from publishers, who are reluctant to provide information about their publishing figures, according to Bădiceanu, IBBY Romania Liaison Officer (personal communication 2012).

Many of the authors above discuss the contested existence of CL as "real" literature and its peripheral status in the literary world. From this perspective, Romanian CL scholarship is part of a wider international debate, although CL has by now acquired a more firmly established status in Western scholarship than in Romania. Thus, the literary critic Marino (1998, pp. 185-186) categorises CL as "paraliteratură" [para-literature], that is, both a part of marginal (popular, rather than high) literature and a type of production which combines writing with other sign systems, such as images and sounds. In both cases, as noted by Gheorghe (2011, p. 16), the idea that "para-literature" is "something else" has a negative connotation, that of deviation from canonical literary norms. Predictably, CL scholars and authors argue in favour of CL as a genre in its own right and support its legitimate status, based on its specific forms of expression or on an audience-centred communicative perspective (Gheorghe 2011, p. 17; Morar 2009, p. 247; Bodiştean 2006, pp. 38-42). CL scholars also discuss the peripheral status of CL in the literary and academic worlds, mentioning its marginalisation by literary critics and supporters of "high literature" (Raţiu 2003, p. 5; Cernăuţi-Gorodeţchi 2008, pp. 9-12; Rogojinaru 1999, p. 213; Bodiştean 2006, p. 35). Such marginalisation sometimes includes a perception that literary studies lecturers researching CL lack professionalism and intellectual ability, according to Cernăuţi-Gorodeţchi (personal communication 2013).

Before looking at definitions of CL in Romanian scholarship, it should be noted that in Romanian, "children's literature" is "literatura pentru copii" [literature for children]. This emphasises the idea of literature meant to be read by or to children, although discussions of the scope of CL also refer to works not initially intended for children and literary productions by children. The phrase is often extended to

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comprise young adult literature, thus becoming "literatura pentru copii şi tineret" [literature for children and young people]. A useful explanation of the denotations of this phrase in Romania is offered by Bodiştean (2006, pp. 34-35), whose analysis suggests that in Romania, "literature for children" comprises more meanings than those generally used in English-language scholarship. Firstly, "Literatura pentru copii (şi tineret)" is the name of a subject studied in teacher education institutions, which relates to literature deemed appropriate for pre-school and primary school children, used to teach "Romanian language and literature" or language development. "Literatura pentru copii" is also an optional subject in primary schools. Secondly, "literatura pentru copii (şi tineret)" is a body of literary works, not necessarily written specifically for children, used to teach literature or other subjects in primary and secondary education. Thirdly, "literatura pentru copii (şi tineret)" is "a literary institution" taking concrete form in products aimed at a specific readership. Finally, "literatura pentru copii" is a literary genre characterised by a specific manner of producing and receiving a literary text. The principal merit of the categorisation above is that it traces boundaries between potentially confusing – and often confused – possible understandings of "literature for children" in Romania. This can help explain, for instance, why certain works are included in studies of "literature for children", although they do not have the characteristics of the fourth category above (CL as a literary genre). The fact that, for various reasons, some texts were considered appropriate for inclusion in school books appears to have led to their becoming appropriate reading for children.

Many authors share a common understanding of CL, based on a particular image of childhood. Children are seen as imaginative, pure, playful, curious about the world, looking for answers and models, open to beauty, with abilities that need to be developed to help them become adults. At times children's development is socially framed, as they are seen as future members of society. This view of children as future adults is sometimes combined with an appreciation of children themselves; their qualities are positively represented and they are deemed worthy of adults' respect (as in Raţiu 2003). In view of this image of children, the general attitude of adults towards them is one of responsibility and care, and the main function of literature is to support their development. From this perspective, the most important feature of CL is its educational potential, primarily for character-building and development of

aesthetic feeling. CL is seen, apparently uncritically, as a repository of wisdom, of high values and noble ideals which will build children's characters. In cases when the societal dimension is included, perspectives vary. An extreme one is Sîrghie's chilling statement (2008, p. 10) that children will become active members of society and therefore must be shaped to meet society's requirements. Another perspective (Raţiu 2003, Cheşuţ 2008) sees society in a seemingly idealised, benign manner, as instilling high moral values into its future citizens, by means of CL. Although apparently such statements ignore the manipulative potential of this educational view, both Raţiu and Cheşuţ critically discuss alternative views. Cheşuţ notes that, if misused, books can become a tool for manipulation (pp. 14-15), while Raţiu argues against amoral, playful, pleasure-centred CL, and in favour of the "ample, generous" educational vocation of CL. Such emphasis on values, ideals and character-building also occurs elsewhere, suggesting that Romanian scholarship retains a strong sense of spiritual and moral values. The same tendency is manifested with regard to aesthetic value. Several authors stress that "real" CL should be real art and that the didactic aspects should not be over-emphasised. Nevertheless, CL should also be adapted to children's comprehension abilities and the aesthetic aspects should not be exaggerated either.

To summarise and conclude, in Romania the interest in CL is not restricted to academics, but extends to other professional categories and interested individuals. Nevertheless, CL has a low status as an academic research subject. Furthermore, there seems to be a strong connection between CL and educational concerns, and CL is often regarded as meant to help children develop into adults, for example, by character-building and development of their aesthetic sensibility.

4.4.2. The historical development and present state of children's literature

In Romania, as elsewhere, "literature for children" encompasses a wide range of texts and there is a degree of overlap with adult literature. This section details the variety of literary texts for children in Romania. The approach is chronological, aiming to provide an understanding of CL in contemporary Romania by following it across time, from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first.

The nineteenth century marks the emergence of a particular interest in CL and many literary texts produced then, either for adults or especially for children, have become accepted as "literature for children". However, Romanian CL includes older texts, produced in the folk oral tradition since the formation of the Romanian language. A significant genre is the "basm" (plural "basme"), the Romanian equivalent of "fairy tales". Such tales usually feature supernatural elements and characters, focus on a conflict between good and evil and have a happy ending. Similarly to the stories collected and published in Germany by the Brothers Grimm (1812), the Romanian "basme", originally told in traditional, rural communities, were not specifically aimed at children, but were told and listened to by adults, among whom there might also have been children. Other narrative folk genres include "poveşti" [tales], whose fictional world stays close to reality; "snoave", shorter, realistic, satirical stories; and legends. Folk literature was given increased significance in the nineteenth century, due to the Romantic-based interest in folklore. Romanian cultural figures such as Ispirescu (1830-1887), Pop Reteganul (1853-1905) and Sbierea (1836-1916) collected and published literary folklore. Although the tales were given a higher literary form, some of their original features were preserved, for example, rural vocabulary and orality. Many such tales, according to Morar, were included in school books (2009, p. 71) and they are now part of the canon of Romanian CL.

It is significant that Romanian scholars identify the beginnings of an interest in CL in the first half of the nineteenth century and in association with the provision of school books. During this period, the modern education system began to take shape (Hitchins 2007, p. 296). It is no coincidence, therefore, that the earliest specific mention of a children's book identified by Romanian CL scholarship is that of an 1830 volume by Stoica de Haţeg (1751-1833), *Poveşti moşăşti şcolarilor rumâneşti* [Stories from the Old for Romanian School Children], intended for rural schools (Stavinschi and Costache 2004, p. 6). Stoica believed in the positive effect of education and culture on the Romanian people (Matei 2001, p. 189) and his book included fairy tales, German folk tales, moral and philosophical poems, and informative history, geography and astronomy texts (Morar 2009, p. 71; Matei ibid. p. 190).

A similar concern of the 1848 revolutionaries for nationhood and the advancement of the Romanian people resulted in "Forty-Eightist" writers' focus on national history,

folklore and landscapes. Some of the works drawing inspiration from these sources are now part of Romanian CL. For example, Alecsandri (1821-1890) wrote poems inspired by folklore, perfected the "pastel" (poetry centred on lyrical descriptions of nature), glorified the fight of Romanian soldiers in the later War of Independence[19] and created socially satirical drama. Many of his works have become accepted as suitable for children, are included in school books and can be found in the CL sections of contemporary bookshops.

Later in the century, the writers engaged in the "Great Debate" between traditionalists and Europeanists also produced works which are now part of CL canon. The classical writers of Romanian literature, Eminescu (1850-1889), Creangă (1839-1889), Caragiale (1852-1912) and Slavici (1848-1925), were members of *Junimea*, the cultural association which criticised Romanians' indiscriminate imitation of Western culture. The poet Eminescu's Romanticism is evident in his poetic imagery and preoccupation with folklore; however, his work is strongly anchored in the Romanian literary tradition, history, social realities and landscape (Hitchins 2007, p. 330). Eminescu collected folklore and also wrote prose, including one "basm", *Făt-Frumos din lacrimă* [The Prince Born from a Tear] (1870), often included in CL studies, although its appropriateness for children is sometimes disputed (Morar 2009, p. 76, considers it far beyond children's comprehension abilities). Although the story contains most elements of traditional "basme", it is written in Romantic fashion, visible, as pointed out by Bodiştean (2006), in the psychological depth and nuanced attitudes of the characters, and the Romantic imagery in the descriptions of characters and settings (pp. 55-56). It has been in print for many years and several editions are available on the children's book market at present. Although only this "basm" was rewritten according to his style, several others collected by him are nowadays published together as tales for children by Eminescu.

Eminescu's close friend, Creangă, grew up in a peasant family and the influences of his rural background are evident in his writings, which feature regional spoken rural language and are generally set in the countryside, depicted with humour. Creangă worked as a teacher and wrote school books. As Bodiştean (2006) explains, his literary works considered appropriate for children include several types of tales, such

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[19] The name given to the 1877-1878 Russian-Turkish War in Romania.

as "basme", "poveşti", "snoave", historical stories, fable stories and short stories (pp. 68-69). He is also famous for *Amintiri din copilărie* [Memories from My Childhood], (1881-1882), an autobiographical account of his childhood, full of childish pranks. His works are still in print today and are also available as colouring books, animation films, films, plays and audio recordings.

Slavici wrote several "basme" and "poveşti" inspired by folklore, which are nowadays part of Romanian CL. These tales are generally rooted in rural or recognisably Romanian settings and contain reflections on human vices and virtues. Hitchins shows that Caragiale's work is closely associated with *Junimea* because his satire of Romanian society shows his keen awareness of the discrepancy between the Eastern elements of Romanian culture and the Western forms adopted by his Romanian contemporaries (ibid. p. 331). Caragiale's works which are currently deemed as suitable for children are his short stories featuring child characters, which criticise defective educational practices.

Romanian CL also comprises works which focus on the natural world, animals, landscapes and the countryside, or have child protagonists. Many such works were written by authors who contributed to the early twentieth-century periodical *Semănătorul* [The Sower]. As explained above, the related trend of thought, "semănatorism", preferred the rural world to the urban environment. The literary works for children focusing on nature and animals seem generally aimed at fostering appreciation of the beauty of the natural world and positive attitudes to animals, although they are not openly moralising. Moreover, they do not conceal the harsh realities of the animal world and of humans' dealings with animals, including death. For example, Gârleanu (1878-1914) and Brătescu-Voineşti (1868-1946) often represent events from the perspective of their animal protagonists, which keep their biological and behavioural features, but are attributed human feelings. The same is true for poetry written by Farago (1878-1954), which implicitly criticises children's cruelty towards animals by giving animals a voice to describe their plight or by giving merciful children a voice to argue against cruelty. Poems with animal protagonists are also written by other Romanian writers in later years, such as Arghezi (1880-1967) and Cazimir (1894-1967).

Children are protagonists in stories written by the *Semănătorul* contributors and by other writers. Brătescu-Voineşti writes stories about poor, unhappy children, some ending with the children's death. Sadoveanu (1880-1961) deals with unhappy or abused children in two stories and the half-realistic, half-fantasy *Dumbrava minunată* [The Enchanted Forest] (1926), in which a girl, accompanied by her (talking) dog, runs away from a cruel stepmother to rejoin her maternal grandparents and enters a forest populated with talking animals and characters from the "basme" she knows. Ştefănescu Delavrancea (1858-1918) evokes the figures of *Bunica* [Grandmother] and *Bunicul* [Grandfather] in a dreamy, gentle atmosphere, but also focuses on child abuse at school, in *Domnul Vucea* [Mister Vucea].

The historical context of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had another, more unexpected impact on Romanian CL. The spouses of Romania's first two kings, Elisabeta (Elisabeth zu Weid, 1843-1916, known under the pen name Carmen Sylva) and Maria (Marie of Edinburgh, 1875-1938, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria), wrote children's stories set in Romania. These tales are not well-known in contemporary Romania. Recent editions were published in 2012 and 2011 respectively, but they are marketed as works of cultural or historical interest, rather than as children's books.

Science fiction literature was also published in the early twentieth century. According to Gheorghe (2011, pp. 92-93), Speranţă (n.d.) and Vissarion (1883-1951) adapted the structure of the folk tale to include technological and scientific inventions, in *O călătorie în lună* [A Trip to the Moon] (1907), *Ber-Căciulă împărat* [The King Ber-Hat] and *Zapis-împărat* [The King Zapis] (1920s). Such works do not appear to be widely known today, although there is a recent edition of Vissarion's *Ber-Căciulă* (2001).

A few interwar novelists and poets are also associated with CL, for example, the "traditionalist" novelists Sadoveanu (1880-1961) and Cezar Petrescu (1892-1961). Sadoveanu's stories for children are set in rural environments and his historical novels can be read as adventure novels. Petrescu wrote an adventure novel for children, *Fram, ursul polar* [Fram, the Polar Bear] (1931), which, if placed in the context of Petrescu's work, can be interpreted as a metaphor of displacement and lack of adaptability in relation to rural people and urbanisation. Fram, the adult bear,

captured when he was a cub and sold to a circus, begins to long to return to his native lands. However, on return, he realises he is not fit for life in the wild, so he decides to go back to the human world. A full-length novel on childhood by Teodoreanu (1897-1954), *Hotarul nestatornic* [The Unsettled Boundary], set in an idyllic rural environment, can also be considered traditionalist. The novel is part of a cycle following the protagonists from childhood to maturity, *La Medeleni* [In Medeleni] (1925-1927). The poet Arghezi (1880-1967) also wrote especially for children. According to Hitchins (ibid. p. 365), Arghezi innovated the forms and language of poetry, drawing on all available sources of language and practising a concise, ingenious style. Arghezi also wrote prose; his *Cartea cu jucării* [The Book with Toys] (1931) humorously recounts daily events in his children's lives.

Other significant facets of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Romanian CL include the publication of children's books in collections, children's magazines, translations for children and illustrations for children's books and magazines. Collections of books for children, the "Biblioteci" [Libraries], were common in the second half of the nineteenth century and many of these were based on educational concerns. According to Popa (2005, pp. 244-245), the most popular collection was Râureanu's *Biblioteca de lectură pentru junimea română de ambele sexe* [The Reading Library for the Romanian Youth of Both Sexes] (1859-1904, selectively republished in 1924). Popa explains that Râureanu (1831-1904) was involved in the formal education system and his "Library" included books aimed at cultivating high moral values in his juvenile readers, whom he viewed as essential for improving future Romanian society. The collection, which included Romanian works and numerous translations, was favourably received precisely due to its moral-educational bent, seen as emancipatory for the Romanian people and beneficial for the future of Romanian society. Popa also shows that the publication of "Libraries" continued into the twentieth century, especially after World War I, when there was a general increase in publishing activity, and the books published were not only of an educational nature.

Children's magazines began to be published in Romania in the second half of the nineteenth century and developed alongside printing techniques, according to Morar (2009, pp. 118-180). Some examples from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, offered by Morar (ibid.) include *Amicul copiilor* [Children's Friend]

(1891-1895), *Revista copiilor* [Children's Magazine] (1896-1897) and *Comoara tinerimii. Revistă pentru Adevăr, Bine şi Frumos* [Youth's Treasure. A Magazine for Truth, the Good and Beauty] (1905). Interwar magazines included *Lumea copiilor* [Children's World] (1922-25) and *Dimineaţa copiilor* [Children's Morning] (1924-1943). Morar (ibid.) describes the content of the magazines, focusing on the interwar period, when they comprised authored literary pieces, literary translations, folklore(-related) texts, scientific, educational articles, comics, a "fun" page with puzzles, answers to letters and (travel) diaries. To various degrees, these magazines also had an educational purpose, aiming at fostering good character, love of country, cultural and religious values, but also at entertaining their readers.

Translations played a significant part in the development of CL in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and are also related to educational concerns. According to Popa (2005, p. 243), among the first to translate for children (in the 1830s) was Pleşoianu (1808-1857), who worked as a teacher and was concerned with improving school books and reforming teaching methods. He was also preoccupied with the moral and religious education of pupils, which explains why he preferred to translate books with an educational value, often by Canon Schmid, but also by Voltaire, Marmontel and Fénelon. Popa also shows that translations were often present in "Libraries" and in children's magazines. An examination of the titles in early twentieth-century "Libraries" listed by Morar (2009) reveals that in several, the most numerous books were translations, from French, German, Danish, English, Italian, Swedish, Russian, French, Japanese and Spanish literature (see Appendix C). During the same period, translations in children's magazines were produced, according to Morar (pp. 224-228), by both the editors and contributors, either professional writers or amateurs. The source languages included French (the most common), Italian, German, English, Spanish, Danish, and Swedish. The source texts were children's classics by authors such as Lagerlof, Hauff, Andersen, Grimm, Perrault, Pushkin, Daudet, Dumas père, Merimée and Dickens. Folklore from various countries was also translated, as well as factual texts about other peoples' customs (Innuits, Chinese, Japanese, Scandinavians), world religions, Greek and Roman mythology.

As far as translation policies and strategies are concerned, Morar's analysis (ibid.) suggests that the editors favoured fluent translations, rejecting verbatim translations or the use of neologisms, especially in folk or folk-inspired literature. Morar remarks

upon the editors' insistence that translations be done from the original, which indicates that they also received indirect translations from contributors. Finally, it appears that translated texts were categorised differently, based on the degree of adaptation they had undergone, including "traducere" [translation], "prelucrare" [approx. re-working], "adaptare" [adaptation], and "localizare" [localization].

CL illustration developed in the nineteenth century, following technological advances which enabled an overall boom in the publishing industry (Cheşuţ 2008, p. 40). Research to date into visual aspects of Romanian CL does not allow for definite statements regarding whether a picture book tradition similar to the British one developed in Romania at the time. However, it is known that the illustrations of foreign editions were sometimes copied in translated books (Cheşuţ ibid. p. 37). Children's magazines also played an important part in the development of illustrations for children, especially in the early twentieth century. According to Cheşuţ, their illustrators were established artists or emerging ones who later became famous, and illustrations from artists abroad, such as the French Doré, were also reproduced (ibid. pp. 80-101).

As can be seen, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries interest in CL developed and publishing activity was intense, resulting in books published individually or in collections ("Libraries") and magazines. This activity was related to educational concerns and to the general evolution of Romanian society and culture. Book illustration developed during this period and many translations were published, especially in book collections and magazines, whose editors favoured a fluency-oriented, invisible-translator approach. Although the magazines and the translations have not survived to date, the original texts produced then are still a significant part of contemporary Romanian CL.

Romanian CL under communism will now be explored, mainly based on research by Gheorghe (2011), who provides the only detailed study of Romanian CL during that period. Gheorghe's analysis shows that CL was influenced by the prevailing ideologies and political developments of those times in three main ways. CL was subject to censorship, a body of propaganda literature emerged, aimed at shaping readers according to communist ideology, and writing CL functioned as an escape from ideological pressures.

Censorship affected all areas of Romanian intellectual life, including CL. According to Gheorghe, all the works published before the communist period were censored. Thus, while Creangă was censored partially and Ispirescu's folk tale collection (first published in 1882) had its cover and title page replaced, the entire work of the poet Gyr was forbidden, and his works for children confiscated. Writers who published after 1947 were subject to the same scrutiny. For example, Cremene's work (b. 1923) was banned because she emigrated to France. Blandiana (b. 1942) was forbidden to publish due to her potentially subversive volume, *Întâmplări de pe strada mea* [Happenings on My Street] (1988), which presents the protagonist, the tomcat Arpagic, benefiting from a personality cult very similar to that enjoyed by president Ceauşescu (pp. 35-44).

Although Romanian CL and scholarship were strongly influenced by Soviet ideas, especially in the early years of communism, Gheorghe also identifies divergences from Soviet ideology, for instance, concerning the acceptability of fantasy literature. She explains that Soviet ideology granted foremost importance to CL, due to its potential to shape children, the future builders of a completely communist society. Consequently, CL had to transmit a clear message in unambiguous language and topics were to be inspired by reality. Folk tales and fairy tales were considered inappropriate by Soviet standards, because they were associated with bourgeois ideology, potentially apolitical and not engaged with reality (pp. 18-24). In Romania, there was a similar emphasis on the educational role of CL, in line with communist ideology, and therefore CL was very important (p. 24). Gheorghe's claim is supported by Cheşuţ (2008, pp. 49-50) who shows that state-run specialised publishers were established, namely, Editura Tineretului (1948), divided in 1969 into Editura Ion Creangă (for children) and Editura Albatros (for young adults). According to Gheorghe, Romanian literary critics argued that CL should not be openly didactic, but rather convincing through its high-level artistry, an idea to which some scholars and writers still adhere at present, as explained above. Consequently, Gheorghe argues, there was an emphasis on providing high quality literature for children. Clarity, lack of ambiguity and adaptation to children's reception abilities were also valued, as facilitating the inculcation of ideology. Nevertheless, despite the political foregrounding of daily life realities, some literary critics and writers considered "basme" acceptable, because they could provide positive models.

Moreover, a new type of "basme" was created, integrating traditional and contemporary elements, for instance, science and technology or the struggle against oppressors (pp. 24-30, 87-93).

Propaganda literature occurred in various text types and dealt with several preferred topics. A group of texts, many of them theatre plays, centre on the "pionier" [pioneer] as a model child, sometimes even morally superior to adults. Historical literature focuses on the beginnings of the socialist movement in Romania and the glorification of its leaders. Poems praising the communist party and its leaders were also common. Despite the presence of realistic elements, socialist Romania is presented in an idealised way, in contradiction to the stark reality at that time. Book illustrations reflect these characteristics. Gheorghe argues that illustrations of children's propaganda literature resemble book illustrations in the 1920s USSR, in the use of strong colours meant to create a joyful, serene atmosphere and in character representation. Characters are used as ideological symbols, for example, workers appear very often and are not individualised to a great extent. Nationally-specific elements are introduced, such as pride for natural resources and industrial achievements. Finally, Gheorghe points out that the illustrations simply duplicate the explicit ideology in the text and therefore there is no possibility of multiplicity of meanings and interpretations (pp. 49-65).

Alongside this type of propaganda, a different kind of literature developed. According to Gheorghe, for their literary work to be published, writers had to include some ideological elements. Despite this, they tried to elude censorship in various ways and writing for children was one such strategy. CL offered the possibility of escape through its "picturesque, exoticism, sensationalism, playfulness, absurdity", and ideology was replaced by play, adventure and imagination (p. 34). Gheorghe discusses this "escapist" literature and the possibility of evading propagandism, stating that absolute avoidance was impossible, except for nonsense literature that cut off any connection with reality, and therefore escapism in communist times was only partial, an attempt to compensate for its ideological elements through "imagination, playfulness, humour and adventure" (p. 191).

Gheorghe outlines several types of "escapist" literature, including "basme" and fantasies, nonsense literature, adventure novels, historical and science fiction texts

and humorous tales (pp. 85-178). Fantasies include the legends by Mitru (1914-1989), in which Romanian settings are transformed into picturesque, unreal landscapes populated with mythical or fairy tale creatures. Colin (1921-1991) and Gruia (1915-1989), although integrating some ideological elements, create richly imaginative narratives which contrast with the dryness and monotony of propagandistic literature. Nonsense literature written during this period employs literary strategies such as playful use of language, absurd adventures, nonsensical dialogues, eccentric characters and fantasy creatures (for example, literary texts by Sorescu, Tomozei, Buzea, Iuteş, Neamţu, Naum, Cassian, Smigelschi).

Adventure literature also provided an alternative to propagandistic literature, although sometimes retaining ideological elements. Gheorghe mentions Tudoran's (1910-1992), *Toate pânzele sus!* [Spread Out All the Sails!] (1954), which follows the adventures of a ship's crew and was criticised at the time of publication for missing the opportunity to transmit ideological messages. Other adventure novels use exotic settings or the legendary figures of Romanian "haiduci" (Robin-Hood-like men). Another type of adventure literature features child protagonists on school trips or at camps. Finally, *Cireşarii* [The Cherry Tree Knights] (1956-1968) by Chiriţă (1925-1991), a successful novel cycle, focuses on the adventures of a group of adolescent friends. The novels are centred around the solving of mysteries by logic and reason and explore friendship and romantic relationships within the group. Gheorghe also analyses historical tales or novels, such as those by Mitru, which blend Romanian history and legend, for example, the cycle *Legendă valahă* [Wallachian Legend] (1986). Science fiction writing continued under the communist regime, although in 1974 it was forbidden, according to Gheorghe. The magazine *Ştiinţă şi tehnică* [Science and technology] published *Povestiri ştiinţifico-fantastice* [Science Fiction Stories] (1955), republished from 1982. Many such stories are based on space and time travel and presented futuristic, technologically evolved worlds. Finally, humorous literature by Jurist (b. 1928), Sântimbreanu (1926-1999), Constantinescu (1927-1999) and Pancu-Iaşi (1929-1975) mostly features child characters, sometimes in a school environment, and humour is used for educational and entertainment purposes.

According to Gheorghe (ibid. pp. 178-186) and drawing on my own experience as a child growing up in 1980s Romania, book illustration was in line with this highly

imaginative literature, as its colourfulness and richness of detail counteracted the dullness and uniformity of propagandistic books. Gheorghe rightly remarks that the fantasy worlds in the texts were impressively represented in pictures, which encouraged children to dream and be imaginative. Illustrations were done by accomplished children's illustrators and by writers who illustrated their own books, for instance, Naum (1915-2001), Sorescu (1936-1996) and Cassian (1924-2014), all of whom were also authors of literature for adults. Both Sorescu and Cassian used black-and-white line drawings in inventive ways, so that sometimes the images became necessary to decode the text or vice versa, while Naum achieved humour by literal visual representation of figurative language.

Gheorghe explains that translations for children were subjected to a type of censorship which eliminated references deemed inappropriate for children, such as Rabelais's imagery in *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (p. 42). Cheşuţ's discussion of Romanian illustrators of translated CL (2008, pp. 51-79) offers a glimpse of titles published during this period, including *The Arabian Nights*, Bocaccio's *Decameron*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Andersen's, Hoffmann's, Perrault's and the Brothers Grimm's tales, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Scott's *Ivanhoe,* all of Verne's and Twain's works, Collodi's *Pinocchio*, Carroll's *Alice* books, Kipling's *Jungle Books*, Saint Exupery's *The Little Prince*, Baum's *Wizard of Oz,* Wilde's *The Happy Prince and Other Stories*, Lagerlof's *Nils Holgersson*, Renard's *Carrot Top* and De Amicis's *Heart*. Cheşuţ does not mention any translations of Russian CL, most likely because the original illustrations were preserved in those, but they certainly existed. One particularly enjoyable example, recently republished, is Nosov's *The Adventures of Dunno and His Friends*. According to the Index Translationum records, most international children's classics were translated and published between 1979 and 1989 (see Appendix C). However, Potter's tales appear not to have been translated at that time.

As regards children's magazines, those from the interwar period ceased to be published and new ones appeared under state control. Cheşuţ (2008, pp. 104-149) discusses these magazines, explaining that their content was similar to that of their predecessors, although they included propagandistic material and a larger measure of translations from Russian and Soviet literature. The magazines included *Licurici* [Glow-worm] (1947-1952), re-named *Cravata roşie* [The Red Scarf] in 1953 and

published until 1967, and *Pogonici* (1949-1953), re-named *Luminiţa* in 1953 and published until 1989. Some magazines targeted particular age groups. For example, *Arici Pogonici* (1957-1979), is, according to Cheşuţ, the first children's magazine dedicated to pre-school children, and *Cutezătorii* [The Brave Ones] (1967-1989) targeted lower secondary school children.

To summarise, Romanian CL during communist times was affected by the political context of that period. The educational role of literature was emphasised from an ideological perspective, which nevertheless required high aesthetic standards. Censorship was applied even to works produced before 1947 and propaganda literature was common. For obvious reasons, such literature has not survived in post-communist times. At the same time, as an attempt to escape ideological pressure, writers and poets created imaginative, "escapist" literature, some of which is still in print. Children's magazines and book illustrations also manifested the two trends outlined above. Finally, many international children's classics were translated in communist Romania.

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, political, economic, social and cultural changes impacted on Romanian CL. The few articles regarding CL in contemporary Romania paint a rather bleak picture. An exception is Constantinescu (2013), whose more positive tone can be explained by the later date of publication, which may signal significant improvements in contemporary Romanian CL. Firstly, the changing status of books and reading is discussed in several studies. According to Cernăuţi-Gorodeţchi (2008, pp. 13-20), books are now valued in Romania because of a belief that "children should read" and because they support intellectual snobbery. However, children and teenagers perceive them as outdated and boring and reading has become an obligation primarily associated with school. Moreover, both she and Morar (2009, pp. 249, 254-255) argue that there is increased competition from alternative media, such as computers, the internet and television, confirmed by the discussion in 4.3. Both authors also suggest that parents have a role to play in this decline of reading, for instance, by being too busy to read to children and abandoning them in front of computers and television sets, or for being undiscerning in selecting books for their children. However, Stoica's survey of 10 to 14 year-old school children (2012) shows that most of them still like reading, although they have different reading habits from previous generations. Their reading matter tends

towards contemporary popular fiction (in electronic abridged versions) and other texts they use for entertainment purposes (pp. 94-95).

Current scholarship also suggests that the main factors affecting contemporary Romanian CL are economic, as in the case of other Eastern European countries (see 1.6.). The difficulties arising from Romania's transition from a centralised to a market-oriented economy included the privatisation of publishing houses, which sometimes failed to function efficiently. For example, the main specialised publisher, Editura Ion Creangă, has gone out of business. Children's magazines were also affected. Cheşuţ (2008) maintains that nothing significant was published in this field in the early post-communist years, due to economic considerations (p. 149). Nonetheless, Constantinescu (2013), remarks on the establishment of several publishers specialising in CL and school books for children, such as Aramis, Corint or Coresi, and of CL collections published by pre- and post-1989 publishers, such as Humanitas, Nemira or Paralela 45 (p. 105).

The CL market and the overall quality of children's books were rather poor in the early post-communist years, but they seem to have improved recently. Morar (2009) estimates that although almost all publishing houses publish children's books, this amounts to an estimated figure of only 10% of all publishing activity in Romania; moreover, there are few specialised book fairs. Cernăuţi-Gorodeţchi (ibid.) describes the context of Romanian CL as characterised by a lack of collaboration between cultural and educational authorities, a lack of coherent criteria for the provision of cultural and educational offers, and the importation of principles and structures insufficiently adapted to the Romanian cultural space (reminiscent of nineteenth and early twentieth-century debates). Therefore, the reading public is faced with two options, i.e. obligatory school reading lists, seldom and unprofessionally updated, and glossy products intended for broad consumption. Nevertheless, Constantinescu (2013), while noting the low quality of books published in the early post-1989 years, notes that, from approximately 2006 onwards, there has been a significant improvement in the range and quality of books for children and young adults published in Romania (p. 106). She characterises such present-day literature as being "at a crossroads" of "experiments and innovations" (p. 111), although she acknowledges that there are few contemporary Romanian children's authors.

Indeed, translations (or adaptations) of international (mostly English language) books dominate the CL market, while Romanian-produced literature, especially written after 1989, is not prominent. Several authors indicate this trend (Chifane 2011, Morar 2009, Cernăuți-Gorodețchi 2008, Mustafa 2008, Constantinescu 2013). Constantinescu also notes the recent, widespread publication of books for young children (0-3 and 4-7 years old), imported mostly from Portugal, Germany and Belgium, which preserve the illustrations, format and even the original collection name and translate only the short texts, often without mentioning the translators' names (p. 106). She notices a tendency to "disney-ise" the illustrations, including those for traditional Romanian fairy tales (p. 107), which highlights the significant influence of American culture on Romanian CL. My own survey of several Romanian CL publishers confirms that most of their publications are translations, usually from Anglophone countries (see Appendix D).

The authors above also generally argue that the predominance of translations is caused by publishers' profit-oriented policies. Translations seem cheaper to publish than new Romanian books. This appears to be correlated with a low status of literary translators, in general, and translators of CL, in particular. Thus, many publishers pay their translators on a once-off basis, for a contract by which the translator renounces the copyright in favour of the publisher, for at least ten years. Moreover, according to Cernăuți-Gorodețchi (2008, p. 19), many published translations are anonymous, which is another indicator of low professional prestige. She also maintains that many translations are of poor quality, which could indicate that translators are badly paid and that, as she claims, publishers are not professional enough. Furthermore, there is no professional association for CL translators, just as there is none for literary translators. This is stated by Chifane (2011) and confirmed by Bâldea and my own research; for example, the Romanian Translators' Association focuses on technical translation and does not have a specialised section for CL.

Besides translations, two other categories of books which are preferred by publishers, probably also for financial reasons, are established classics (which are also out of copyright), and mandatory school reading (Morar 2009, pp. 260, 264). My survey of publishers' catalogues confirms that the classics (both foreign and Romanian) continue to be in print (Appendix D). Likewise, several books produced during communist times, some of them reprinted with the original illustrations. These

observations are supported by Constantinescu (2013, p. 107), who states, for example, that Romanian classic children's authors (nineteenth to twentieth century), such as Creangă, Sadoveanu, Arghezi, or Chiriță, Gruia and Colin, are constantly re-published.

Under these circumstances, remarks about the decline in new productions by Romanian authors (Chifane 2011; Constantinescu 2013, pp. 107-108) seem justified. Chifane quotes statistical data provided by the Romanian Writers' Union, according to which the Union's prize for the best Romanian writer of children's and young adult literature was only awarded twice between 2002 and 2009. Mustafa (2008, n.p.), a CL author herself, describes her own experience and that of other writers and illustrators, stating that publishers constantly attempt to obtain the most profitable deals, even unethically and to the disadvantage of writers and illustrators. Illustrators are also in a difficult situation, as generally they are paid on a once-off basis and do not own their work's copyright. Consequently, according to Mustafa, some illustrators have stopped working on children's books. My observations confirm that there are relatively few new books by Romanian authors. Nevertheless, some of them, particularly picture books, are quite remarkable. I would, therefore, at least partly argue against Cernăuți-Gorodețchi's criticism regarding the low standards of publishers, as many children's books authored and illustrated by Romanians look well designed and are not very expensive.

To summarise, due to the post-1989 political changes, economic factors have become a significant influence. Such factors affect the selection and quality of the books published, and have caused a decrease in original Romanian productions in favour of international best-sellers and classics whose copyright has expired. Careless and unethical conduct on the part of publishers is also noted by scholars and writers. Finally, the declining status of reading is discussed, which supports the findings in 4.3.1., regarding the competition it is facing from contemporary entertainment media.

4.5. The Romanian language

This section examines the translation context for Potter's tales from the perspective of the target language. The main characteristics of Romanian are discussed, with an emphasis on the particular features which may pose challenges for Potter's translator. The state of contemporary Romanian is also explored, as increased contact with Western and especially Anglophone cultures has resulted in the significant influence of English.

4.5.1. Main features

The Romanian writing system is based on the Latin alphabet and agrees with European writing conventions, namely, writing horizontally, from left to right, with capitalisation at the beginning of main clauses. This eliminates the potential challenges involved in transferring Potter's translated texts and syntexts into different writing systems, such as the Chinese, Arabic or Hebrew.

Word stress, not marked graphically, can sometimes differentiate semantically or grammatically different homographs. To take Cojocaru's examples (2003, p. 18), if the word "veselă" is stressed on the first syllable, it means "cheerful" (adjective, singular feminine form), while a stress on the second syllable changes its meaning to "plates" (collective feminine noun). Stress can also differentiate verb tenses, for instance, "intră" [to come in], third person singular, is either Present (stress on first syllable) or Past (stress on the last syllable). This is significant for Potter's translation, because it involves an additional comprehension effort for readers (especially children), who need to use the context to identify the meaning and grammatical features of such words.

Liaison between words (one ending, the following one beginning, with a vowel) occurs either by syneresis or by elision. Syneresis, the contraction of two vowels into a diphthong, occurs mainly in spoken Romanian. When syneresis is not possible, elision occurs, either in fixed grammatical structures, such as combinations of unstressed pronouns and verbs, or as a feature of spoken or informal Romanian. In writing, hyphenation is obligatory in the case of elision and optional for syneresis. As Cojocaru points out (ibid.), if syneresis is marked by hyphenation, it is done

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deliberately, to suggest spoken language. The association between liaison and spoken or informal language in Romanian needs to be taken into consideration by Potter's translators. Potter's language has varying degrees of formality and orality, and hyphenation and elision could be used in the Romanian translation to suggest these nuances.

Furthermore, inflection characterises Romanian to a much larger extent than English, applying to nouns, adjectives, determiners and verbs. Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and articles vary in gender, number and case. Nouns have two numbers (singular and plural), three grammatical genders (feminine, masculine and neuter) and five cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative and vocative). Indefinite articles precede nouns, whereas definite articles are added as endings to nouns, which also causes changes in the noun forms. Pronouns have stressed and unstressed forms, and the latter sometimes have to be used together with nouns in reduplicative structures, having the same case, gender and number as the nouns. For example, the sentence "I saw your brother" translates as "L-am văzut pe fratele tău", in which *l-* is the unstressed, third person, singular, masculine personal pronoun in the accusative, correlated with "fratele", a singular, masculine noun in the accusative. Formality (referred to as "politeness" in Romanian) is expressed by two types of polite pronouns. "Dumneavoastră" is formal and is used with plural form verbs, whereas "dumneata" is less formal (though not informal) and used with singular verbs. Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives also have shorter informal variants, for instance, "asta" for "aceasta" ["this", feminine form]. Finally, adjectives and adverbs form the comparative and the superlative by the addition of adverbs and inflected demonstrative adjectives in front of them, resulting in somewhat similar structures to the comparative and superlative of long adjectives in English.

The features above have several implications for Potter's translation into Romanian. Firstly, the fact that nouns have grammatical gender and that adjectives and determiners agree in gender with them, having different endings for different numbers and cases, poses challenges for translating names of animals, especially since Potter marked her characters' gender both verbally and visually. While generally Romanian has different words for male and female animals, sometimes there is only one generic word for the species, either masculine or feminine, and forming a word for the other gender would result in an uncommon (though

potentially humorous) word. For example, "squirrel" is "veveriță" (feminine), with no masculine counterpart. In *SN*, Nutkin is identified as a male by the use of masculine pronouns. The Romanian translator would have to choose between forming a new word, "veverițoi", by adding a masculine suffix, or using the generic feminine form, "veveriță". "Veverițoi" sounds amusing, but might become irritating if repeated. "Veveriță" may, in the best-case scenario, be slightly puzzling if accompanied by masculine pronouns and adjectives. Alternatively, a consistent use of feminine determiners would turn Nutkin into a female, which, considering his misbehaviour, would contradict the traditional view that boys are naughtier than girls, held by some Romanian parents.

Secondly, frequent reduplication of nouns by unstressed pronouns, especially when paired with the common use of the preposition "pe" for direct objects, might result in longer translated sentences than Potter's. This is challenging for a translator, given the importance of preserving the original text length on individual pages and thus the relationship with the corresponding illustrations. Thirdly, as the English pronoun "you" does not supply any indication as to the degree of formality necessary, the translator has to use contextual clues to decide when to use polite pronouns and which type of such pronouns to use, when rendering the speech of Potter's protagonists. Simply trying to avoid the use of subject pronouns, while theoretically possible in Romanian (the subject can be inferred from the verb form), would not solve the problem, since verbs are either singular or plural, depending on which type of personal/polite pronoun is used. Similar formality-related decisions would need to be made regarding the use of informal demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. Fourthly, the fact that Romanian has one way of forming comparative and superlative forms for adjectives and adverbs, while English has two, makes it impossible for the translator to exactly reproduce the humorous structure "the most beautifullest coat" in *TG* (p. 52).

Romanian verbs also have different forms, depending on number, person, gender (for participles and adjectival gerunds), tense, mood, and voice. Unlike in English, Romanian verbs do not necessarily require pronominal subjects, since their form generally offers enough information (person, number), which, together with contextual clues, indicate their subject. Moreover, auxiliary verbs are not necessary to form the negative and interrogative. The negative is formed by placing the adverb

"nu" [no, not] in front of the verb, while the interrogative is marked by ascending intonation in speech and a question mark in writing. All this has implications for the length of the translated sentences, by potentially making them shorter.

The challenges posed by the features of Romanian verbs include the use of three past tenses for narratives, "perfect simplu" [simple perfect], "perfectul compus" [composed perfect] and "imperfect" [imperfect], similar to the French "passé simple", "passé composé" and "imparfait", respectively. The "simple perfect" is at present used widely only in narratives, while its use for everyday communication is limited to a south-western region of Romania. The "composed perfect" is the common form used in direct communication to refer to past events and can also be used in narratives. The "imperfect" is used mainly to describe background events and settings. English, however, uses the Past Simple for actions and descriptions (with state verbs, for instance), in literary narratives and in real life. Consequently, Potter's translator would have to make the distinction between the three uses and employ the correct Romanian tenses. Finally, Romanian has a future tense which is considered informal, "viitorul popular" [the popular/people's future]. It will be therefore necessary to establish precisely the level of formality or informality in characters' speech, to decide when to use it.

In conclusion, several features of Romanian need to be taken into account in relation to translating Potter's works, such as its highly inflected nature, additional ways of marking formality and direct speech and a more complex system of narrative verb tenses.

4.5.2. The influence of English on contemporary Romanian

Several authors point out that English, especially American English, is the strongest foreign influence on contemporary Romanian (Cojocaru 2003, p. 12; Ţuchel 2007; Stoichiţoiu Ichim 2006). According to Stoichiţoiu Ichim's comprehensive study, English affects Romanian in several social contexts and is assimilated into Romanian to various degrees. Social attitudes to this phenomenon vary, as there is much criticism, but also considerable tolerance. "Romgleza" [Romglish] is used by several professional and social categories, including specialised professionals (in information technology, economics, finance, communication and public relations, advertising and

art), journalists, politicians and adolescents (ibid. pp. 7-13). To this list could be added, according to my observations, pre-teens and even younger children, depending on how much contact they have with computer games and television. Stoichiţoiu Ichim (pp. 14-25) categorises borrowings into "necessary" and "luxury", the distinguishing feature being the existence of Romanian words with the same meaning for the latter. Several reasons for the use of "luxury" loan words are, according to Stoichiţoiu Ichim, "linguistic snobbery", poor Romanian language proficiency, laziness or haste, the latter preventing reflection on the most appropriate translation choices for specific words or structures. Stoichiţoiu Ichim (pp. 29-63) also explains that linguistic assimilation of English occurs to various degrees. While complete assimilation or non-assimilation occurs less frequently, the tendency of standard Romanian is to preserve the original spelling of the English words, due to social and psycho-linguistic factors, including prestige connotations for English words and the wish of Romanian speakers to write and pronounce English correctly. Romanian writing is also affected by the English convention of capitalising titles, which is sometimes used in press advertisements. Other loan words are given a Romanian spelling, based on an approximate pronunciation of the English originals. At the morphological level, assimilation occurs by the addition of inflectional markers, while syntactic assimilation consists in exact transpositions of English structures, in contexts where Romanian has different ones. Semantic assimilation involves, among other phenomena, the incorrect translation of false friends.

The significant recent influence of English on contemporary Romanian, therefore, occurs at different social and linguistic levels and is related to intense contact with Anglophone cultures. It is possible that the language of Romanian CL may also start to be affected by such changes, which in turn may affect the Romanian that children acquire. Potter's translator will therefore have to make a strategic, language-policy decision, regarding how linguistically "pure" the translated text should be, opting to reflect recent trends in contemporary Romanian or deciding to produce texts based on more conservative linguistic choices.

4.6. Conclusion

Chapter 4 has discussed the features of the Romanian translation context for Potter's tales and suggested their implications for the translation process, analysed further in Chapter 5. The analysis of economic, social and child-related aspects suggests issues that must be considered by Potter's Romanian publisher and translator, relating to extra-textual and textual translation challenges. In particular, establishing the target market and audience must take into account the on-going economic and social changes, associated with differences in income levels and lifestyles. From this perspective, Potter's most probable audience is middle-class urban children, while poorer children, who tend to reside in rural areas, might have less access to the books. Pricing strategies need to take into account the generalised economic difficulties, even among some sections of the middle classes. Promotion and advertising decisions should take into consideration that the most probable buyers are the children's female relatives and that children's book reading time and interest is subject to competition from other playing and educational activities, television, computer games and the internet.

Focusing on the books themselves, the translator must consider how contemporary Romanian mentalities interact with the views embedded in Potter's tales, for example, with regard to children, educational practices or gender. Additionally, horizons of expectations need to be taken into account, considering the overall makeup of Romanian CL familiar to children and their families, which may affect their reception of the translation. For example, parents who grew up with the beautifully illustrated books produced during communism may have high expectations regarding the visual quality of the books. Furthermore, deciding between a predominantly domesticating or foreignising approach has to consider the wide exposure that contemporary Romanians, including children, have to Western culture, mostly through television, translated books and the internet. This exposure also partly explains the influence of English on contemporary Romanian. This constitutes an additional translation challenge besides those due to the specific features of the Romanian language, as the translator will have to decide how linguistically "pure" the translated text should be. All these aspects are analysed further in Chapter 5, "The challenges of translating Beatrix Potter's tales into Romanian".

CHAPTER 5

THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING BEATRIX POTTER'S TALES INTO ROMANIAN[20]

5.1. Introduction

The challenges posed by a Romanian translation of Potter's tales are identified in this chapter by bringing together the general challenges of translating CL, identified in Chapter 1, the characteristics of the source texts and the challenges of translating them into other languages, discussed in Chapter 3, and relevant features of the source and target contexts, explored in Chapters 2 and 4. Furthermore, the Romanian translations of Potter's stories were examined, to establish which challenges suggested by the findings of previous chapters present themselves in the translated texts and to explore other possible challenges[21]. A Romanian translator's perspective is offered, by an interview with Bâldea, the translator of the 2013 edition. Other relevant persons were also contacted, such as the illustrator of the 1998 Romanian edition of Potter's tales[22] and Lovett, Penguin Books' Rights Assistant. Romanians' awareness of Potter's tales and their reception of the translated editions were gauged by key-word online searches, given that there are no relevant published studies and large-scale surveys could not be conducted within the limits of this research.

This chapter begins with an overview of the Romanian translations of Potter's tales. Next, the translation challenges are discussed under two headings, extra-textual and textual, and the connections between them are also indicated. The extra-textual translation challenges identified include selecting Potter for publication in Romania, selecting specific tales and book formats for publication, marketing the translated books and assessing reception. The textual translation challenges comprise visual and

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[20] This chapter includes passages from Cocargeanu 2014a and 2014b and develops points made in both articles.

[21] Samples of translation analysis are provided in Appendices E to J.

[22] The translator and the illustrator were interviewed and both inteviews were approved by the Research Ethics Committee in Dublin City University. The related documents are included in Appendix K, "Ethical clearance documentation". (The illustrator's interview was initially used for a conference presentation, which explains the different title of the research project.) Lovett stated that she was not available for interviewing since the details of their deals with other publishers are confidential, but offered to answer general questions by email. Consequently, her answers are marked as "personal communication" in the thesis.

verbal syntextual elements, culture-specific items, proper names, challenging vocabulary, read-aloud qualities, stylistic features, humour and narrative verb tenses.

5.2. Romanian translations of Potter's tales

Romanian translations of Potter's tales are recent and include two print editions and several translations posted online. The earliest translation is the 1998 *Aventurile iepuraşului Peter* [The adventures of the little rabbit called Peter] (henceforth *1998 Aventurile*), published by Editura Dacia. This edition contains six tales, namely, *PR*, *BB*, *JPD*, *SN*, *JF* and *TK*. Dacia was a relatively prestigious state publisher, which, like other publishers, faced increasing financial difficulties after its post-1989 privatisation and went out of business in 2012. Its publications included books for adults and comparatively fewer children's books. The most salient feature of the 1998 Potter edition is its syntext, which differs greatly from that of Potter's originals. The book is a paperback with an almost square, slightly larger format (5cm x 6.5cm). The original illustrations are replaced, there are few colour plates and most pages have running text and a small, black-and-white illustration at the bottom.

Another series of translations were posted in 2010 on a blog, "Beatrix Potter. Traduceri de Franco Sachetti" [Translations by Franco Sachetti] (Potter 2010a-h). "Sachetti" obviously wishes to remain anonymous, since the information in the "Profile" section refers to the fourteenth-century Florence writer and merchant of the same name. Although Sachetti announces that the blog will contain translations of all Potter's stories, only eight works are translated, namely, *SN*, *TG*, *TW*, *PPP*, *The Sly Old Cat*, *The Fox and the Stork*, *Three Little Mice* and *The Rabbits' Christmas Party*[23]. Each translation is presented linearly, that is, the text runs from top to bottom of the web page. The original illustrations are placed among units of text. Interestingly, each translation is accompanied by a lengthy "Note" with details about the original and images, such as Potter's picture letters and sketches. The translated texts also contain explanatory notes. The presence of these notes, the selection of less

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[23] As explained in Chapter 2, *The Sly Old Cat* was never finished. *The Fox and the Stork*, based on Aesop's fable, was originally included in *Tale of Jenny Crow* (1919), which was not published. *Three Little Mice* comprises Potter's illustrations for the British rhyme and *The Rabbits' Christmas Party* is a collection of illustrations. These works are not part of the series published by Warne, but are included in *The Complete Tales*, as "Other works".

well-known works and the high quality of the translations suggest that Sachetti has an interest in language and literary studies.

The third translation is a Romanian version of *PR* posted in February 2013 on the blog "Poveşti pentru copii" [Tales for children], which contains several tales in Romanian and English. The translator, Popescu, according to information in her Google+ account, was (or is) a Psychology student, is interested in literature and believes that she has good English language skills. The translated *PR* is prefaced by a short introduction, the content of which is similar to the Wikipedia entry for the tale. Although the introduction also claims that the translation approach was as faithful as possible, the text does not stay close to the original and contains translation errors and examples of incorrect use of Romanian. The original illustrations are trimmed to focus on the main characters and some are absent. The illustrations are placed either on the right or left of the page, with the text opposite them or, sometimes, below them. The entire presentation is linear, as in Sachetti's translations.

The most recent translation was published in November 2013, under Warne's licence, by Editura Arthur (henceforth Arthur). Arthur is the CL branch of a larger publisher, Grup Editorial Art. The translator of this edition, Bâldea, is at present a journalist with the Romanian Broadcasting Company and contributes to several cultural and literary magazines. She also wrote prefaces for books published by Arthur, before translating Potter's tales. Although she translated several books for adults, Potter's book is her first translation for children. *Aventurile lui Peter Iepuraşul* [The adventures of Peter the Little Rabbit] (henceforth *2013 Aventurile*) is a replica of Warne's *Complete Adventures of Peter Rabbit* (henceforth *Adventures*). The book contains the four stories featuring Peter Rabbit (*PR*, *BB*, *FB* and *MT*). The Romanian edition, a hardback with a large, rectangular format (21cm x 28cm) is virtually identical to the English one in its pagination and syntext.

As can be seen, the Romanian translations of Potter's tales were published relatively recently, in various circumstances and through different media, and display a wide range of characteristics. A more detailed analysis of these translations supports the discussion of translation challenges below.

5.3. Extra-textual challenges

5.3.1. Selecting Potter for publication in Romania and selecting Romania as a market for Potter translations

The selection of Potter for publication in Romania (by a Romanian publisher) and of Romania as a market for publishing Potter's works (by Warne) is a significant challenge in the publishing process. A discussion of this challenge is justified by Potter's puzzling absence from the many children's writers translated into Romanian since the early twentieth century, when translations of her works began to be published elsewhere. The possible reasons for this absence and for the publication of the recent translations are explored below.

There is no reason to believe that Potter was not translated because translations for children were unimportant, or because of a lack of development of CL in Romania, in the early twentieth century. As shown in Chapter 4, Romanian CL developed considerably during that period and translations were an important contribution to that development. However, another explanation is more plausible. Pelea (2010b) shows that throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the most significant cultural influence in Romania was the French one (pp. 79, 83, 101). Moreover, the data provided by Moraru (2009, see Appendix C) regarding the collections of children's books (Libraries) published in early twentieth-century Romania shows that French-language authors are more numerous than British authors. It is possible, therefore, that Romanian publishers favoured French-language writers, rather than British ones, because the French cultural influence was much stronger than the British. Furthermore, when selecting those (fewer) British authors, Romanian publishers may have preferred those originally published in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, whose works were already established as successful children's books, for example, Defoe and Dickens (who are included in the Libraries), to relative newcomers such as Potter, whose tales began to be published and translated in the 1900s-1910s.

The most obvious explanation for the lack of Potter translations in the second half of the twentieth century (the communist decades) is the strong influence of Soviet culture and political censorship, which rejected Western European cultural products. This explanation has been proposed regarding the translation of Potter's books in

Russia and Lithuania (see Chapter 3) and is supported by the apparent absence of translations of Potter into other Eastern European languages (see Appendix B). However, while it may be true of the early communist period in Romania, when Soviet influence and censorship were particularly strong, the explanation cannot apply to later communist times. As explained in Chapter 4, most international children's classics continued to be translated in the last decade of the communist regime, including nineteenth and early twentieth-century British works such as Carroll's *Alice* books, Barrie's *Peter Pan and Wendy* and Wilde's *Happy Prince* (see Appendix C). These books originated in the same culture as Potter's tales and their cultural specificity is comparable to that of Potter's stories. Therefore, it is unconvincing to claim that Potter was deemed too Western and subversive to be translated. While copyright issues or financial difficulties may have played a part in her exclusion, further historical research is necessary to establish the reasons more precisely.

After the fall of communism, the earliest translation to appear is the *1998 Aventurile*. Subject to the economic difficulties and possibly the lack of professionalism in Romanian publishing during the 1990s, this edition has a comparatively modest appearance. Its lack of visual appeal may explain why it has not become widely popular, so that as late as 2013 Romanian bloggers interested in children's books were referring to Potter's originals (Vida-Rațiu 2013a, 2013b) and in January 2014, CL translator, Frunză, stated that the *2013 Aventurile* was the first Romanian translation of Potter's works (Frunză 2014a).

As the above suggests, some Romanians have been aware of Potter's stories in the original, owned them and read them to their children. This awareness is mostly probably due to increased contact with the West after 1989 the fall of communism, through the internet, the entertainment industry, migration, travel and the importation of Western consumer products, including children's books. Thus, indications of Romanians' awareness of Potter and her stories begin to occur online from September 2006, on a parenting forum, where one of the members posted a link to the Project Gutenberg collection of Potter tales (Dianami 2006)[24]. The biographical film "Miss Potter", premiered in November 2007 in Romania, appears to have contributed to increasing interest in Potter and her works. From 2008, several

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[24] Project Gutenberg is an online collection of digitised books.

positive remarks about the film appeared in Romanian online forums, including statements that some people were searching for further information about Potter and were interested in buying her books, after watching the film (Svety 2008, Frunză 2010, Luckyrock 2011, Kid_Rainen 2012, Pete 2012, Silving 2013). Others state that they received Potter's books from friends abroad, or bought them online, and some regret the lack of Romanian translations (Vida-Rațiu 2013a, Silving 2013). There is also evidence of some awareness of the animated series "The World of Peter Rabbit and Friends" (Pete 2012, Popescu 2013). According to Bâldea, the 2013 translator, she first saw a Potter book in 2006 in the Victoria and Albert Museum shop. Finally, in 2011, Potter's tales were available in the English Bookshop "Anthony Frost" in Bucharest. It can be concluded, therefore, that some Romanians were interested in Potter's stories in the late 2000s – early 2010s. It was probably the desire to make them available in Romanian which motivated the authors of the online translations. Such phenomena indicate a potential market demand for a translated version of the tales and may have contributed to Editura Arthur's decision to publish them. Nonetheless, Warne may not have been aware of this, or may have considered it insufficient for publishing the books in Romania[25]. According to Lovett, the Rights Assistant at Penguin Books, they had not been interested historically in Romania as a target market, due to a perceived low popularity of Potter in Romania, in comparison with other countries, and it was the Romanian publisher that contacted them (personal communication, January 2014). No doubt, Warne's lack of interest contributed to delaying the publication date of the first licensed edition to 2013.

On the Romanian side, the impetus for selecting Potter came from her translator-to-be, Bâldea. Bâldea states that she saw a book by Potter in Arthur's offices, a present for the child of an employee. As Bâldea had wanted to translate the tales for her three-year-old daughter, she told the publisher that she would like to translate them and her suggestion was well received. To explain the publisher's openness to Bâldea's idea, some characteristics of their publishing policy should be noted. Like many other Romanian CL publishers, Arthur publishes mostly translations from the Western, Anglophone world, mainly Britain and the United States. Moreover, Arthur selects prestigious authors such as Dahl, Sendak, Jansson and Kästner, and values the art of book design and illustration. Its books are carefully designed and beautifully

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[25] For convenience and consistency, Warne is considered the decision-maker in relation to Potter's books, as it is not clear to what extent Penguin or Pearson control their publishing policies.

illustrated, its website features a special section dedicated to the illustrators of their books and the online presentation of its parent company mentions that the "group" are very careful about the visual aspects of their books (Editura Art n.d.). These general characteristics of Arthur's publishing policy favour the selection of Potter for publication, as she is a famous British children's writer still popular at present and her books feature artistically accomplished illustrations.

Nevertheless, although the initiative was taken by the Romanian publisher, publication would not have been possible without Warne's permission. The British publisher, who still claims copyright for Potter's tales, had the power to decide whether the stories would be published in Romania at that time, by Arthur. According to Lovett, Warne was willing to publish only if they found a publisher "who would commit to the brand and was right for it" and Arthur had to demonstrate that they met Warne's criteria for acting as a licensee. Judging by the criteria outlined by Lovett, Warne's primary concerns were business-oriented. The Romanian publisher had to undergo a credit check, present a marketing plan and sales forecast and demonstrate "good distribution in all sales channels". Yet, the weightiest factor was Arthur's experience in "managing literary brands". This seems particularly important for Warne and its owner, the conglomerate Pearson, who have developed a wide range of products derived from Potter's books and are particularly concerned with securing copyright for her work. Moreover, it suggests that the increasing commodification of British CL, discussed in Chapter 1, also influences the selection of publishers for translated British books, based on commercial criteria.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the selection of Potter for publication in Romania and of Romania as a market for Potter's tales are linked to political, economic and cultural factors, which account for the late date of publication of Potter's tales in Romania and for the small number of translations published to date. These factors include the relationships between the SC and TC, the cultural influence exerted by other countries and the publishing policies of the SC and TC publishers. Individual translators have also prompted the translation of Potter, in print and online versions.

5.3.2. Selecting tales and book formats

The selection of particular tales for publication and several related issues constitute another challenge for a Romanian edition of Potter's tales. This challenge was taken into consideration by Potter and her publisher and by later translators and publishers of her works, as explained in Chapter 3, and is manifested in particular ways in a Romanian context.

Since Potter's work is introduced to a relatively new wide audience, publishers must take particular care with the selection of tales to be first published. This is because (unless all tales are published at the same time) the success of those tales published first can stimulate interest in the next tales to be published. Therefore, a Romanian publisher must consider which tales are more likely to attract interest and be favourably received by Romanian children and adults. Furthermore, publishers must decide whether to publish individual tales, either one or several at a time, or a collection of tales in one book. In each of these cases, the original format and layout may be preserved or altered, which, considering their important contribution to the narratives and the reading experience, discussed in Chapter 3, is bound to affect the Romanian readership's perception and reception of Potter's work. The case of the 2013 Romanian edition illustrates the complexity of decision-making regarding the questions above. Due to the particular nature of the relationship between the British and Romanian publishers, licensor and licensee, Arthur's decision-making was somewhat circumscribed, by having to select books from Warne's product range and to preserve their formats and layouts. Warne did not impose a specific tale or edition; however, Lovett's statement suggests that Arthur's choices were limited to Warne's books: "Our publishing programme is constantly changing and so sometimes as new formats come up a publisher feels that this would be right for their market" (personal communication, January 2014). As shown in Chapter 3, Warne publishes Potter's tales both in their original small format and in modified formats. The Romanian publisher selected *The Adventures*, considered "a good way to introduce the brand into the market" (Lovett, personal communication, February 2014). This was a strategic move to introduce Potter to a Romanian audience by means of her most popular character, featured in four stories all in one book. Indeed, Bâldea states that she translated all the tales in early 2013, but to date only the four Peter Rabbit stories have been published, partly due to marketing strategy (personal communication, July

2014). Furthermore, Warne appear to have specific policies about publishing abroad, namely, the foreign editions must retain the format and layout of the English ones. This is the case, for instance, in the French edition of the *Complete Tales* (Potter 2007). This policy places an additional constraint on the Romanian publisher, as can be seen in the 2013 edition, which also reproduces the format and layout of the English original. Arthur's choice of *The Adventures* has significant consequences at the textual level and for the reception of Potter's works. Since many of the original syntextual elements, including format and layout, have specific functions and effects, their modification produces different versions of Potter's books and it is to these versions that Romanian children are introduced.

Other challenges related to the selection of tales for publication include deciding the date and order of publication of particular tales. Similarities and differences between the SC and TC and the increased influence of Western culture in Romania are significant in this respect. For example, *TG*, a Christmas story, may fare better if published before Christmas, also celebrated in Romania. Easter is also important and the Easter Bunny is becoming increasingly popular among children since its post-1989 importation from the West, although it is not part of Romanian traditions. Therefore, Potter's rabbit tales may also sell better around Easter. Furthermore, when deciding the order of publication of several tales, publishers need to keep in mind the intratextual character of Potter's tales, to ensure a logical sequence of publication, for example, publishing *PR* before *BB* and both before *FB* and *MT*.

To conclude, the challenges of publishing Potter's stories in Romania include the selection of tales to be published initially, a challenge related to the tales' ability to ensure positive reception of the tales to be translated next; selecting formats and layouts for the books; and deciding the time and order of publication. Such decisions depend on financial and marketing concerns, publishers' policies and contractual relationships, the features of Romanian culture and the intratextual character of Potter's tales.

5.3.3. Marketing the translated books

As shown in Chapter 1, marketing is a significant aspect of children's book publishing. It is also important for the publication of translated Potter tales in Romania, in relation to which several challenges arise, such as identifying the characteristics of the target audience, pricing, sales and promotion.

Establishing the characteristics of the target audience can assist decision-making about pricing, sales and promotion, forecasting reception of the translated tales and selecting translation strategies. Romanian publishers may take into consideration social aspects such as those analysed in Chapter 4, which concludes that Potter's most probable readers are urban middle-class children with university-educated parents and the most probable buyers are their female relatives. Other significant issues include the increasing competition for children's leisure time from other media and the declining status of reading among children; the multitude of extra-curricular activities of middle-class children and the need for children in low-income families to work, both of which can dramatically reduce the time allotted to reading; and the possibility that a percentage of parents do not read to their children, or are not interested in their educational advancement, including their reading activity.

These characteristics of the potential Romanian readership must be borne in mind when making decisions regarding pricing, sales and promotion. With regard to pricing, it must be remembered that, although many Romanian families can be categorised as middle-class due to their educational level and values (for example, appreciating education, culture and reading), their financial resources are still relatively limited. It is necessary, therefore, to establish a price that may be deemed reasonable in light of the level of average salaries in Romania. This is also bound to affect the overall appearance of the book. For example, the low proportion of colour illustrations in the 1998 edition may have been the result of the publishers' wish to ensure affordability, according to its illustrator. In the case of licensed versions, such as the 2013 and possibly subsequent ones, such drastic changes would not be possible, considering Warne's policy of preserving the originals' syntext in translated editions. Therefore, a Romanian licensee would have to ensure an affordable price, while producing books of a quality equal to Warne's. And in fact, although the *2013 Aventurile* is almost identical to the English original, its retail price (35 RON) is

approximately half of the British edition's price (£12.99)[26]. Dispensing with the book jacket of the British edition may be a strategy to achieve this lower price.

Furthermore, Potter's Romanian publishers also need to decide about sales and promotion strategies. According to my observations, the most common points of sale for children's books in Romania are book shops, hypermarkets and street stalls (especially for magazines and comics); book shops and publishers also sell online and some book shops are online only. The 2013 edition is available both in bookshops and online. Other sales and promotion strategies used by Arthur corroborate claims by British scholars that CL publishers target schools for marketing their products, given the schools' role in determining children's reading matter (see 1.6.). Soon after the publication of the licensed edition, Arthur's representatives were active in schools, where they presented the book to children, and the children's parents bought the books. Each copy is accompanied by a "Reading Diary", an activity book in which children can write down their reactions to the stories (Luciangabriel. 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). Moreover, it appears that Arthur established partnerships with several schools, whereby the schools founded reading clubs for which Arthur produces one book a month (Berger 2012). There were reports that the *2013 Aventurile* and its Reading Diary were introduced at such reading clubs (Carţiş and Dume 2013). This shows that some Romanian teachers are more open to new titles than the British teachers mentioned in Squires' discussion, who prefer a small range of "safe" options (see 1.6.). This strategy can also be related to adults' concerns about children's decreasing interest in reading and books, which Arthur seems to target. For example, Arthur states that its books are for those children and adolescents who "still make the effort to read" (Editura Arthur n.d.) and organises an annual competition for literary creation and illustrations by children, "Locuieşte în poveste" [Live in fairy tales] (Editura Arthur 2014). Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 4, primary school education includes the optional subject "Children's Literature", for which Potter's tales are also relevant. Publishers might, therefore, also target primary school principals and teachers, to persuade them to use the books.

Potter's Romanian publishers may also consider selling the books in Moldova, since the shared language between Romania and the Republic of Moldova enables the

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[26] According to the exchange rate of the National Bank of Romania on 1 November 2013.

exchange of children's books between the two countries without translation. This entails additional challenges, such as identifying the characteristics of the Moldovan audience and adapting marketing strategies accordingly.

As regards advertising, Romanian publishers need to establish which media are the most suitable and whether to target both children and adults, or only one category. In relation to children, television commercials and online advertisements seem the most far-reaching, given that, as shown in Chapter 4, television and the internet are popular with Romanian children. Specialised television channels such as Minimax or Disney Junior may be one of the first options for broadcasting commercials. Advertising strategies may also target a female audience in particular, given that women are the most likely buyers of books for children in contemporary Romania.

A Romanian publisher wishing to promote translations of Potter's tales may also want to reach as wide an audience as possible, including not only those Romanians already familiar with Potter and her tales, but also those who need to be introduced to Potter and persuaded to purchase the book. For this purpose, Arthur seems to have emphasised Potter's established status as a popular children's author abroad. This strategy is visible in the syntextual elements of the *2013 Aventurile*, some of which display telling differences from those of the English edition. Thus, the English edition offers promotional information about Potter and her stories on the jacket flaps. The front flap presents the book, in a way that is appropriate for an audience already acquainted with Potter's tales:

> All four stories featuring Peter Rabbit are brought together here to be enjoyed as one continuous adventure (…). This is the perfect collection for Potter fans, and all those who have ever wondered what happened after *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*…

The back flap text presents Potter as an internationally famous author and mentions Potter characters not featured in that edition, so as to arouse curiosity and encourage purchase of other tales. Since the Romanian edition does not have a jacket, the two promotional texts are placed opposite the half-title page. However, their order is reversed: the information about Potter comes first, possibly to introduce her and her work to a new audience and thus prepare it for the subsequent presentation of the

four tales[27]. The text is also slightly altered. For example, the rather vague "Potter is regarded as one of the best-loved children's authors" becomes "Potter este una dintre cele mai îndrăgite autoare de cărţi pentru copii" [Potter is one of the best-loved authors of books for children], which states Potter's status in absolute terms and allows less room for doubt. These elements appear intended to reassure potential buyers that Potter is well established abroad and thus persuade them to purchase the book.

Promotion can also be made through a strategy used since Potter's lifetime, that is, selling merchandise such as character soft toys and derivative books. The publisher can choose either to launch the spin-offs at the same time as the books, as a way of arousing curiosity and attracting potential book buyers by the cuteness of the toys, or to wait until the books become popular, which would boost sales for the merchandise. The time of publication of derivative books, for instance, Thompson's *Further Tale of Peter Rabbit* and *Christmas Tale of Peter Rabbit*, also needs to be considered. At present, no Potter merchandise is sold by Arthur, although some Romanian book shops, such as Cărtureşti, sell them online, or provide the option of placing orders for them.

In summary, marketing issues related to publishing Potter's translated tales in Romania include establishing the characteristics of the target market, pricing, sales and promotion. Publishers need to consider the demographic features of their intended audience and other phenomena, such as the competition for Romanian children's leisure time with television, the internet, extra-curricular activities or the need to work. Such characteristics must be taken into consideration when making decisions regarding pricing, sales and promotion. Pricing must ensure an affordable price for a readership with limited financial resources. Sales and promotion can be conducted both in Romania and Moldova and they may target both children and adults, through displays at points of sale, promotions in schools, television and online advertising and commercialisation of merchandise.

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[27] This may be the reason why the title of the Romanian edition is [The Adventures of Peter Rabbit], which leaves out the word "Complete" in the original *The Complete Adventures…*, more relevant for a readership already acquainted with the individual stories featuring Peter Rabbit.

5.3.4. Assessing reception

Establishing the potential and actual reactions of a Romanian audience is another challenge for publishers, linked to decisions to be made about the books on the textual level. Gauging potential reactions of the target audience, prior to publication, is important for publishers, who want the books to sell well. It also is important for translators intending to render the translation accessible to children and have it accepted by adult gatekeepers. In addition, once a translated edition is published, identifying actual reactions to it informs decisions regarding subsequent editions of the same book and translations of other Potter tales.

When assessing possible reception, publishers and translators must take into consideration several factors related to the TC. These factors include its literary tradition and conceptions regarding CL, its relationships with the SC, the current children's book market, the existence of previous translations of Potter's works and the target audience's familiarity with the originals.

Romanian publishers and translators need to bear in mind the tradition of CL and conceptions regarding CL in Romania, because such tradition and conceptions may have shaped the tastes, sensibilities and expectations of adult gatekeepers. Romanian adults may therefore appreciate particular children's genres or aspects of children's books and have specific expectations regarding the qualities of children's books. As shown in Chapter 4, in Romania there is a long-established tradition of illustrations for CL. Many parents and grandparents of contemporary Romanian children grew up during the communist decades, when accomplished graphic artists illustrated CL. Furthermore, as there was little or no competition from television programmes or the internet, reading was, no doubt, a more common pastime among children. That the memory of such books and their illustrations still lingers with contemporary Romanian adults can be seen by the establishment of websites and blogs dedicated to them and the visitor responses posted there[28]. Consequently, there is a high probability that many adults nowadays have learnt to appreciate the visual aspects of children's books by frequent contact with visually pleasing books in their childhood.

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[28] For instance, "Cartilecopilarieimele" [The books of my childhood], "Catecevadesprecartilecopilariei" [Some things about childhood books] post the complete scanned books, extracts or a description, accompanied by bibliographic information. "ColoRo" is dedicated to Romanian illustrators between 1950-1990 and features biographical information and images of the illustrators' works. The visitors' comments are generally enthusiastic about such projects and express admiration and nostalgia about their childhood books.

Given this aesthetic sensibility of many adult Romanians, it is likely that Potter's original illustrations will contribute to favourable reception by them. Indeed, in the reactions to Potter's works (either in the original or translated versions) posted online, the illustrations were most often singled out for praise (e.g. Frunză 2010, Narcisa 2010, Pete 2012). In addition, one of the functions of CL, according to Romanian scholarship, is developing children's aesthetic sensibility. Since such scholarship is often produced for teacher training institutions, it is probable that Romanian educators will also favour Potter's works and recommend them to children. As regards literary genre, Potter's imaginative tales would be easily accepted since Romanian CL comprises a wide range of fairy tales and fantasies. Furthermore, many of the tales carry a moral message – at least apparently – while also being enjoyable and carefully written. This also matches conceptions of CL in Romania, according to which literature for children should be well written and transmit moral values. That morally-oriented views are held not only by scholars is suggested by the various reactions to and interpretations of *PR* identified by my online research, which represent it mainly as a story of "what happens when children do not listen to their parents" (Frunză 2010, Vida-Rațiu 2013a, Valentina 2014). Finally, publishers and translators need also identify ideas regarding what counts as a good translation for children and how challenging children's books can be, and then decide whether to adhere to such ideas or challenge them.

An awareness of the current state of the CL market in Romania is also important to publishers, especially when selecting a particular author for publication. Publishers who know what is published most and least, what is bought more and less frequently, may decide to publish either an author whose works are similar to already popular titles by other writers, which may ensure positive reception, or an author whose books possess an element of novelty which may be perceived as potentially interesting for prospective buyers. In the Romanian case, given the abundance of CL translated from English (and also its apparent market success), the publisher may consider whether publishing another translated book, rather than a book by a Romanian author, is a good strategy. As discussed above, the Romanian publisher Arthur chose to act according to the main trends in contemporary Romanian children's book publishing, by selecting a foreign, Anglophone author.

Furthermore, Romanian publishers and translators might seek information about existing Romanian translations of Potter's tales and identify readers' reactions to the particular features of those editions, either visual (in the case of the print *1998 Aventurile*) or textual (for both the print and the online translations). This could inform decision-making regarding translation approaches to Potter's books. Since such reactions do not seem to exist in the Romanian online environment with reference to translations predating 2013, special surveys would be necessary to evaluate them.

Moreover, before deciding to publish Potter's tales, Romanian publishers are likely to assess if there is already an interest in them among their target buyers. If the target buyers are already familiar with the originals and have a positive opinion about them, they may be more eager to purchase the translated versions for their children and recommend them to others. In light of this, it is relevant to consider to what extent the SL, English, is understood by the target Romanian readership, both adults and children, and how much contact Romanians have with the SC and its products (i.e. what are the chances of coming across or purchasing a Potter book and related products). In contemporary Romania, English is taught widely in schools (Stoica 2012, p. 130). Furthermore, many Romanians have daily exposure to English through television and the internet and in their workplace. According to my observations, many educated adults, at least those who matured after 1989, have at least reading comprehension skills. Among the younger age ranges, frequent contact with television programmes and the internet very probably enhances their knowledge of English. According to a Romanian book shop representative, some Romanian children even read English books in the original (Bogdana 2010). Therefore, some knowledge of English seems common among Romanian adults and children, maybe all the more so in middle-class families with university-educated parents, the most likely buyers of Potter's books. In addition, contact with Western, Anglophone culture appears to be a widespread phenomenon in contemporary Romania. Whereas in big cities, products from such backgrounds are abundantly available, the influence of television, cinema and the internet is more far-reaching and extends to smaller towns and rural areas. Migrant friends or family constitute another link with the Western and Anglophone world. Finally, Romanians' international travelling has

developed since 1989, when the travelling restrictions imposed by the communist regime ceased, and was enhanced by Romania's 2007 EU accession.

Such factors may explain why, as discussed above, even if Romanian translations of Potter's works were not widely available until 2013, at least some Romanian adults and children were aware of her stories. Although it cannot be exactly established how widely Potter was known in Romania, such information suggests that there was – and still is – a potential for favourable reception of the translated tales. Nonetheless, such familiarity would also involve specific expectations. For example, if Romanian readers liked Potter's illustrations, a publisher would have to work hard to ensure positive reception of a translated edition in which the original illustrations were eliminated or replaced. And indeed, as explained above, in the online comments and posts, the illustrations of Potter's books are often praised.

Potential reactions to specific content in Potter's tales also need to be gauged, to predict whether the tales will become popular in Romania. Such content includes the rural and natural world as a setting for the tales and ideological aspects, including the representation of gender, of children and their relationship with adults. With regard to the setting for Potter's tales, it was shown in Chapter 2 that this was a consequence of Potter's attachment to nature and the rural environment, in turn connected to the wider context of Victorian Britain, in which unprecedented industrialisation and urbanisation fostered a nostalgia for the rural and the natural world. In contemporary Romania, as discussed in Chapter 4, although slightly more than half of children and adolescents live in rural areas, they are more exposed to social problems, which may hinder their access to the translated Potter tales. Nevertheless, this does not totally rule out the possibility that some of them at least could read the tales. In that case, their familiarity with the countryside and the natural world may increase the chances of the books becoming popular[29]. As regards Romanian urban middle-class children, the most likely readership for Potter's tales, it is probable that their contact with the rural and natural environment is less frequent than that of rural children. However, several situations facilitate urban children's engagement with the countryside and nature. Firstly, the intense industrialisation and enhanced educational opportunities in communist times, and the associated movement of people from rural to urban areas

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[29] I am referring here to those areas where Potter's representation of the British countryside is similar to Romanian rural life. Significant differences would count as culture-specific items and constitute a different translation challenge.

make it probable that many urban families come originally from rural areas. In this case, some might keep contact with their relatives in their home villages and return there for visits or holidays, which would give children the opportunity to experience rural life. Similar opportunities are provided by the fact that, as pointed out in Chapter 4, some urban residents also conduct agricultural activities in the countryside. Secondly, there are specially created places where children can experience rural life, such as the farm park "Ferma animalelor" [Animal farm], located relatively close to Bucharest. Thirdly, as argued in Chapter 4, a significant amount of Romanian CL is set in rural environments. Finally, it may well be that children become at least virtually familiar with rural life and the natural world through television and the internet. It is likely, therefore, that many Romanian children are not unfamiliar with the rural and natural world to the extent to which Potter's tales would seem unenjoyable or uninteresting. Awareness of this may lead a publisher to be interested in Potter as an author to be published in Romania and perhaps recommend a certain translation approach to the translator of the tales; such awareness would also influence the textual translation strategies of translators themselves, when deciding how to translate the references to rural life and nature.

As for representations of children, adults and their relationships, it was shown in Chapter 3 that Potter's approach to these issues is somewhat ambiguous. Potter's child-like protagonists are generally cute and vulnerable, and their characters range from exemplary to downright naughty. The tales sometimes suggest that listening to adults is advisable, while at other times, adult authority seems overbearing and invites disobedience. While adults are generally caring towards the children, their educational approach is either indulgent or strict, including corporal punishment such as beating. It is likely that the cuteness and vulnerability of Potter's child characters would strike a sensitive chord among many Romanians, given the emotional value they invest in children, discussed in Chapter 4. The Romanian translations tend to use diminutives in relation to such characters, which shows a sensibility vis-à-vis their child-like nature and diminutiveness (see 5.4.5. and 5.4.8.). In addition, Romanian CL comprises a wide range of child characters, many represented in their complex mixture of niceness and naughtiness. Therefore, it can be surmised that an adult readership familiar with this literature would not perceive Potter's characters as problematic. Finally, the discussion of educational approaches in Romania showed

that they are not uniform and that corporal punishment is still used in some families. As Potter represents an equally wide range of educational approaches in her books, it is reasonable to assume that Romanian adults would approve of some, while disapproving of others, and therefore this would not constitute an impediment to their purchasing the books. Translators, however, if given the opportunity, may have to make decisions regarding potentially controversial issues such as corporal punishment, based on their own conceptions and perceptions of what counts as acceptable for their audience. For example, in the 1998 and 2013 translations of *BB*, where Mr. Bunny "… whipped [Benjamin] with the little switch" (p. 51), the translators add a quantifier to Mr. Bunny's strikes, "câteva" [a few, several], which somewhat tones down the harshness of the punishment.

A similar situation occurs with regard to the representation of gender and gender relationships. In both Potter's tales and the Romanian contemporary context, there are both conformity and challenge to traditional views of gender roles. This would make it more difficult for publisher and translator to assess their target audience's reactions to certain representations in Potter's tales, as these reactions can vary from reader to reader.

Although much has been said so far about Romanian adults' potential reactions to Potter's translated tales, it must be remembered that the tales are translated (in principle, at least) for a child audience. Publishers and translators may consider children's reactions to the stories because positive reception may convince children's parents to buy more books by Potter. Moreover, dedicated publishers and translators, genuinely interested in children's enjoyment and benefit, would tailor their approaches to these aims. Nevertheless, predicting children's reactions is more difficult than in the case of adults, and such predictions will most likely be based on adults' conceptions of children and on their personal experiences with children they know. For example, one of Bâldea's statements indicates that the child she translated for is most likely an urban child unfamiliar with the natural world: "the child of today … may have never seen a rabbit and has no clue what a lettuce is". Furthermore, Frunză, the CL translator, reports disappointedly that her daughter was not too enthusiastic about Potter's books, unlike Frunză herself (2014b). Overall, online mentions of Romanian children's reactions to Potter's tales are less numerous than those of adults' reactions. Only one article on school children's interaction with

the *2013 Aventurile*, written by children themselves, states that they enjoyed it (Carţiş and Dume 2013).

In conclusion, the potential and actual reactions of the Romanian audience to Potter's translated tales must be taken into consideration by Romanian publishers and translators when deciding whether to publish Potter and what publishing and translation strategies are most suitable for this enterprise. Several factors must be kept in mind, such as the CL tradition and the conceptions regarding CL in Romania, which entail specific attitudes to and expectations of CL; the current state of the Romanian children's book market, which publishers may choose to follow or go against; Romanian readers' reactions to previous translations of Potter, which may help decision-making regarding publishing and translation strategies; the existence of an interest in Potter's books prior to publication, which creates the potential for positive reception; a familiarity with the countryside and nature, and diverse conceptions of children and attitudes to gender, which can affect the reception of Potter's tales. Publishers and translators would also need to find ways to gauge the potential reactions of Romanian children to Potter's tales, which may differ widely from those of their adult carers.

5.4. Textual challenges

5.4.1. Two general challenges

The textual challenges of translating Potter's tales into Romanian arise out of the interaction between specific features of Potter's work and the Romanian translation context. Before exploring them, it is necessary, however, to mention two general challenges. Firstly, given the specific features of Potter's books, analysed in Chapter 3, the initial challenge for a Romanian translator is being able to identify them. This ability requires visual literacy and specialised knowledge in literary studies and linguistics, which should therefore be a part of translators' professional competence. The Romanian translations explored below display different levels of awareness of significant characteristics of Potter's books, partly attributable to the translators' professional competence. Secondly, although the analysis below is based on the premise that translators are the main decision-makers regarding the textual characteristics of the translated tales, it needs to be borne in mind that several people

may have an impact on these characteristics, including the publisher and the copy editor, who may not be equally qualified to make translation decisions, or may have different priorities for the translated books.

5.4.2. Visual syntextual elements

Given the important role played by visual syntexts in Potter's work, they need to be taken into consideration in any translation project. The visual-verbal interdependence must be taken into account by publishers when deciding to preserve or replace the illustrations, format and layout of the books. Translators must also consider the information provided on both the verbal and the visual levels and the potential effects of their interaction. The relationship between the illustrations and the verbal texts was the only visual aspect mentioned by the 2013 translator, Bâldea, who states that she tried to render the "dialogue" beween them, in a way which was "faithful to the original but also friendly and accessible to an audience perhaps less familiar with Potter's works". The discussion below focuses on format, layout, the correspondence between units of text and illustrations, framing, typography and the interaction between the verbal text and such visual syntexts.

The format and layout of Potter's books have certain effects, such as creating a particular narrative rhythm and suspense, encouraging a specific reading pace and a concentration on the text and image on each double spread. Therefore, Romanian publishers' decisions regarding the preservation or alteration of the original format and layout have implications for the narrative and the reading experience. For example, in the *1998 Aventurile*, most pages comprise large units of running text and a small, black-and-white illustration at the bottom, which gives the text prominence over the illustrations. Therefore, the reader's attention is unlikely to be as equally distributed between them as in the case of the originals. Furthermore, because there are larger narrative units on each page, without complex illustrations to match them, the reading pace is potentially increased, the events in the stories carry less weight and suspense is reduced. Such characteristics, together with the new illustrations, can foster a significantly different reading experience from that prompted by the originals and therefore create a different impression of Potter's work.

Even in the licensed 2013 edition the format and layout are different from those of Potter's originals. As explained above, this edition reproduces Warne's *Complete Adventures of Peter Rabbit* and consequently has a larger format and modified layout. Most double spreads contain four to six original spreads and thereby offer more information, which potentially reduces the suspense of the tales and the importance of both text and pictures. In *MT*, the visual information on individual double spreads is also richer than in the original small-format book. Nevertheless, as there is a smaller number of illustrations per page than in the other three tales, the discrepancy is not so great. Moreover, due to variations in the size and position of the illustrations, the visual dynamism is increased, by comparison with the orderly, symmetrical original. This is the version of Potter's tales to which Romanian children are being introduced, one in which changes in format and layout combine with the changes in the verbal text of the translation. As discussed above (5.3.2.), these changes stem from publishing policies, such as Warne's diversification of their product range, Arthur's selection of tales for introducing Potter's works into the Romanian market and the characteristics of the licensor-licensee relationship.

The translations published online (Sachetti 2010, Popescu 2013) display other features, influenced by the nature of this medium and by their authors' individual choices. The translations are presented in a common web page format, that is, a vertical sequence of units of text and illustrations. This means that both text and illustrations are available upon scrolling down the page and therefore more easily available than in the original books. The reading experience is thus more linear and the narrative does not have the rhythmic regularity of the original. Such variation in format and layout is made possible not only by the technical possiblities of the online environment, but also by the relative freedom the internet allows to individuals, in contrast with publishers. Since the translations posted are not for financial gain, bloggers need to worry less about copyright issues and Warne's requirements. Moreover, they are not subject to Romanian publishers' demands, which gives them more freedom to select the format and layout.

Preserving the original correspondence between units of text and illustrations is another challenge related to visual syntexts. As suggested in Chapter 3, Potter created her illustrations to correspond to specific units of text. Therefore, Romanian publishers and translators must take into consideration this correspondence and

decide whether and how to preserve it or compensate for it. Insufficient attention to this matter may result in modification of the original tales. This happens in the *1998 Aventurile*, in which the text-picture relationship is not closely adhered to. For example, the first colour plate in the translated *JPD*, featuring Jemima's first encounter with the fox, is placed on a recto page (p. 29), preceding the pages actually narrating the encounter in the text (pp. 30-31). Thus, the illustration anticipates the text and can be a "spoiler". Such mismatches, according to the illustrator, occurred because of technical printing matters, that is, sheet folding and cutting, over which he had no control. This indicates the publisher's potential lack of professionalism, which, as the illustrator and the discussion in 4.4.2. suggest, was a feature of 1990s Romanian CL publishing.

Preserving the original correspondence between units of text and illustrations has particular implications for a Romanian edition licensed by Warne, where the syntextual elements are reproduced as exactly as possible. Complying with standardised syntexts is a significant challenge for translators, compelled to produce units of text matching the length of the original ones. Several related difficulties, discussed in Chapter 3 regarding translations into other languages, are also relevant for a Romanian translation. For example, the translation may become longer than the original if Potter's concision tempts translators to use explicitation. Indeed, explanatory structures are also inserted in the *2013 Aventurile* and many lengthen their respective sentences. For example, "dropped half the onions" becomes "pierdu jumătate din cepele strânse în batistă" [lost half of the onions gathered in the handkerchief] (p. 34). Moreover, translators may feel bound to increase the appeal of Potter's reserved style by adding words to render it more lively or dramatic. For instance, "a mixture" is replaced by "un mare talmeş-balmeş" [a great hotchpotch] (p. 45). Finally, some features of Romanian may account for longer translated texts. Unstressed pronouns often reduplicate nouns in Romanian and courtesy titles (commonly used by Potter) are not abbreviated in literary texts. Therefore, in the verbatim translation of "The cat looked up and saw old Mr. Benjamin Bunny", "Pisica privi în sus şi-l văzu pe Bătrânul Domn Iepuraş Benjamin" (p. 37), the unstressed pronoun *–l* reduplicates the noun "Domn" [Mister], written in full, which lengthens the translated text. Nevertheless, in the *2013 Aventurile* the original text-illustration correspondence is generally preserved, on the same pages as in the

original. This can be explained by the occurrence of deletions which shorten the text, for example, "a little spud which he used for digging" is reduced to "o sapă de plivit" [a spade for weeding] (p. 59). Potter's cumulative "and" is also often replaced by commas. Some features of Romanian also render sentences shorter than their English equivalents. Romanian verbs do not necessarily require a pronominal subject, and auxiliary verbs are not necessary to form the negative and interrogative. Such factors contribute to meeting the required length for the translated text and thus the preservation of the correspondence between units of text and illustrations.

Framing is another characteristic of particular relevance for Potter's books and their Romanian translation. The analysis in Chapter 3 concluded that framing or lack of framing can create a sense of detachment or involvement for the reader and that Potter's illustrations are placed mid-way along this continuum, being vignettes without clear frames. *TG* is an exception, as its illustrations are framed to create the sense of historical distance and to enhance visibility of objects placed in white winter landscapes. Therefore, adding or deleting frames necessarily changes the effect of the books on the reader. For example, the *1998 Aventurile* has decorative, black-and-white frames at the corners of pages, bordering both text and illustrations. The frames remind readers that they are reading a tale and do not encourage the degree of involvement associated with Potter's originals. The same effect is achieved by placing large page numbers at the top centre of the pages, emphasising the fact that "this is a book". By contrast, in the original, the page numbers are much smaller and placed at the bottom, clearly dominated by their text or illustrations.

Typography also constitutes an important aspect of Potter's books and is an issue that should be considered in translation. The font size and style, and the arrangement of the text on the page in the originals suggest that Potter used typography purposefully, for example, to suggest how the tales might be read aloud, to create an impression of playfulness and to suggest interpretations of the text. Such aspects must, therefore, be considered by translators. Moreover, editors and publishers must also be aware of them, to avoid dismissing typographic idiosyncrasies as a translator's whim and consequently dispensing with them in the editing process. An exploration of the Romanian translations reveals, for example, awareness of this issue in the *2013 Aventurile*, which generally preserves the original typography. This indicates that the translator and the others involved were aware of the significance of typography and

attempted to retain it. It is therefore difficult to explain why italic type is occasionally removed, particularly in the symmetrical structure '*I* have never felt sleepy after eating lettuces; but then *I* am not a rabbit' (p. 43), in which the second 'I' is not italicised in the Romanian version. Moreover, supplementary italicisation is introduced in the case of onomatopoeia (both coined by the translator and already established in Romanian), which may indicate an emphasis on its aural quality. The online translations have various approaches to typography. For example, Sachetti eliminates italic type in *SN* and *TG*, but preserves capitalisation and italicises the songs and riddles in *SN* and *TG*. Sachetti even adds colour to the typed text, harmonising it with the illustrations, which enhances the aesthetic qualities of the material.

The specific types of interaction between the verbal text and the illustrations in Potter's books (complementary, counterpointing), which contribute to the realisation of narrative elements such as characterisation and setting, must also be borne in mind by a Romanian translator. Extra-textual or textual factors can influence the translators' approach to this interaction. For example, their perceptions of Romanian children's visual literacy may persuade them to verbalise information which is originally given only in the illustrations. Such a tendency is not visible in the available Romanian translations of Potter's tales, which indicates that the translators trusted children's (or accompanying adults') visual comprehension skills. However, some information is verbalised in the *1998 Aventurile*, in cases where there is no matching illustration for sentences whose meaning depends entirely on it, for instance, "This is what those little rabbits saw round that corner!" (*BB*, p. 40) and "This looks like the end of the story" (*SN*, p. 52).

With regard to the realisation of narrative elements through the text-illustration interaction, other features of the Romanian translations further demonstrate the challenging character of Potter's visual syntexts. In the *1998 Aventurile*, in which the original illustrations are replaced with new ones, characterisation and setting are modified, due to the illustrator's artistic views, the fact that he did not actually read the originals and did not collaborate with the translators. His artistic approach is less closely bound to the characters' actual anatomical features, which weakens the original human-animal ambiguity, significant in Potter's works. Setting elements are also reduced to a minimum and, except for items of clothing, are not specific to any

culture, unlike Potter's settings. Such changes are not characteristics of the other translations, which preserve Potter's illustrations. However, in these translations there are occasional mismatches between the text and the illustrations, which affect the narrative elements in question. For example, the *2013 Aventurile* translates "marched" in "Then he [Mr. Bunny] took out the handkerchief of onions, and marched out of the garden" as "ieşiră hotărâţi" [walked out determinedly], in the third person plural, thus including Mr. Bunny, Benjamin and Peter (p. 39). This contradicts the picture, in which only Mr. Bunny is "walking determinedly", whereas Peter and Benjamin are hunched and crying, having just been whipped. Also, "blacking brush" is translated as "o bidinea veche" [an old painting brush] (*FB*, p. 51), although the accompanying image shows a blacking brush.

As can be seen, the visual syntexts in Potter's books are challenging for any translation enterprise, due to their specific functions. In a Romanian context, their translation was influenced by the economic situation and publishing policies, including the collaboration between publisher, translators and illustrator for the 1998 edition; the relationship between Warne and Arthur; the features of the Romanian language; the translators' and illustrator's personal approaches.

5.4.3. Verbal syntextual elements

Several verbal syntexts are significant in relation to a Romanian translation of Potter's tales, namely, verbal text within the illustrations and front matter, other verbal elements of the front and back matter, dedications and titles.

Verbal elements within the visual ones occur on the half-title pages of the small-format books, which are framed by characters holding books bearing the titles of several tales. Furthermore, on some occasions the illustrations feature English-language text. For example, the *BB* frontispiece contains a sign stating Mrs. Rabbit's occupation; *JPD* features the "Tower Bank Arms" sign (p. 42); in *TG*, the mice's note "No more thread" is visible in the illustration (p. 55). Such foreign-language elements are unfamiliar to most young Romanian children and are thus potential candidates for change or deletion. As explained in Chapter 3, Potter and her publishers took this into account regarding a French translation and removed the writing from a *FB* illustration. Intervention on the originals is also technically

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possible at present, through digital technology; in the 2002 edition of *JPD*, Warne amended one illustration (p. 26), by adding trousers for the fox. Nevertheless, in the *2013 Aventurile*, the Romanian edition which preserves the original illustrations and for which such technical means would have probably been available, the English text in the *BB* frontispiece is retained. This indicates that making changes within the original illustration was deemed too great an effort by both Warne and Arthur, by comparison with the importance of that illustration in the book and given the English language competence of educated Romanian parents. Furthermore, as the half-title pages of the small-format books were not preserved in *The Adventures*, on which the Romanian edition is based, their translation did not constitute a challenge for the Romanian publisher. This shows that the choice of a specific edition for translation also impacts on the translation challenges involved. The decision whether or not to preserve the original illustrations also influences this translation challenge, since in an edition for which new illustrations are produced, such as the *1998 Aventurile*, it is not difficult to eliminate or replace original elements. For instance, in this edition, there is no illustration showing the Tower Bank Arms in *JPD*, which eliminates the challenge of dealing with its English-language sign.

Other verbal elements in the books' front and end matter, changed by Warne in the English editions, can be manipulated in translated editions to adapt to the specific TC. An examination of such elements in the *2013 Aventurile* shows both how the Romanian edition follows the original and how changes were made to suit its new target audience. Thus, on the copyright page, the information regarding Warne and the publishing history of the English edition are reproduced in English. In addition, the running heads, inserted to remind readers of the title of each tale within the collection, are translated and positioned as in the original edition, just like other book design elements. Nonetheless, the copyright information in the Romanian edition dispenses with the original lines detailing the location of Penguin Group branches, probably deemed unnecessary. Moreover, as discussed above, the original promotional text on the jacket flaps is moved opposite the half-title page and manipulated to serve marketing purposes specific for a new audience. The Romanian edition also adds Arthur's logo on the cover and the half-title page, matching its colours to their chromatic ranges. An important addition to the copyright page, in the data regarding the Romanian edition, is the translator's name. Bâldea's name occurs

three times, once together with those of the copy editors and typographer, and twice in the bibliographical description by the National Library of Romania. Despite this, her name is not very prominent. Not only does it not feature on the title page, but there is nothing to distinguish it from other information on the copyright page, which features the same minute type size throughout and where the only bold type words are the book title, Potter's name and the heading signalling the National Library description. Bâldea herself described the visibility of her name as "almost nil". This is an indication of the low status of translators working for Arthur and, more generally, in Romanian children's book publishing today. A somewhat different situation applies to the *1998 Aventurile*, where the translators' names are on the title page and in bold type, albeit in smaller font than the book title and the author's name.

Another important verbal syntextual element are Potter's dedications. The translation of the dedications represent a challenge because they include names of characters, of real people and toponyms, and are therefore related to the specific challenges of translating such items. Furthermore, decisions regarding them may take into consideration book design (namely space available, placement), the dedications' relevance for a contemporary audience, the purpose of the translation and the nature of the translation producers. This may explain why, of all Romanian translations, it is only Sachetti's that preserve Potter's dedications. As explained above, Sachetti manifests a scholarly interest in Potter, which may justify the preservation of the dedications. However, they may have been considered unimportant by the authors of the *1998 Aventurile* and they were not a challenge in the *2013 Aventurile*, which is a replica of *The Adventures*, where the dedications were not included by Warne.

The translation of tale and book titles is a translation challenge considering their main functions in Potter's works, identified in Chapter 3, that is, indicating literary genre (tales) and fostering expectations regarding content (focus on a character or object). As most tale titles include the name of a character, their translation is also related to the translation of proper names. In the Romanian context, although many children's story titles dispense with the introductory "tale of", titles like Potter's are not uncommon. For example, some tales by the classical writer Creangă have titles structured like Potter's tale titles, such as *Povestea porcului* [The hog's tale] and *Povestea unui om leneş* [Tale of a lazy man]. Therefore, preserving this structure is a

viable option for translators, especially if their translation philosophy foregrounds faithfulness to the STs. Choosing a lexical item to translate "tale", however, is more complex, since the two most probable candidates, "basm" and "poveste", bear specific associations. As explained in Chapter 4, "basm" is most often used in relation to Romanian folk tales that feature supernatural elements. Its name immediately brings to mind a particular narrative genre and specific examples of Romanian tales. Although Potter's tales feature talking animals, they have a much lower degree of "supernatural-ness" than the respective folk tales. Furthermore, the word "basm" is so closely related to a specifically Romanian culture that its use for stories coming from other cultures may be perceived as inappropriate. A better candidate is "poveste", which, although used to refer to the classical Romanian CL tales, such as those by Creangă or Slavici, is also used for translated fairy tales and as a general term for children's tales. The word, used in all Romanian translations of Potter's stories, is acceptable to a Romanian audience and has the additional advantage of integrating the translated tales in the Romanian CL tradition.

Different challenges are entailed by collection titles, such as "The Complete Adventures of Peter Rabbit". As mentioned above, the word "complete" makes more sense to an audience already acquainted with Potter's individual tales, since it emphasises the exhaustive inclusion of the tales featuring Peter Rabbit in one book. For a Romanian publisher who believes that the Romanian audience is not familiar with Potter's works, it is more reasonable to entitle a similar collection "The Adventures of Peter Rabbit". A translation approach focused on fluency may also dispense with the word "complete" [complete, plural feminine form], since the simple "Aventurile lui…" [The Adventures of] sounds more naturally Romanian in the respective context. It is also used in several CL classics in Romania, such as Nosov's *Adventures of Dunno* and Twaine's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Another challenge related to this type of collection title is matching it to the tales in the collection and to the cover design. The *2013 Aventurile* follows the English original, whose title foregrounds Peter Rabbit and whose cover design is also centred on Peter. However, in *FB* Peter is only mentioned twice and he has no significant role in the tale, which somewhat undermines the collective title. Furthermore, the *1998 Aventurile*, although bearing the same title focused on Peter Rabbit, includes four stories unrelated to him and only two which

feature him. The cover design is consistent with the selection of the tales, as it shows several of the characters in them, but not consistent with the title above them. In this case, the inconsistency can be explained through the lack of collaboration between the illustrator and the other producers of the book, and by the illustrator's personal approach: his idea was that the cover should be attractive, by presenting several characters featured in the book.

In conclusion, the verbal syntexts examined above are challenging in translation due to their linguistic and cultural specificity, their relationships with visual elements, book design and the narratives, and their connection with publishing policies. These elements were preserved, removed or changed in the Romanian translations of Potter's tales, due to the characteristics of Romanian CL tradition (regarding title structure) and of each translation enterprise, i.e. the collaboration between Warne and Arthur for the 2013 edition, the significant changes of the 1998 edition, associated with publishing policies and the illustrator's approach, and the scholarly inclinations of the blogger Sachetti.

5.4.4. Culture-specific items

Given the wide range of cultural references in Potter's books, it is expected that their translation will constitute yet another challenge for a Romanian edition. The discussion below focuses on culture-specific items (CSIs) following the definition of Aixelá (1996), who proposes that not all cultural references are CSIs in translation, since some may be shared between the ST and TC. Consequently, CSIs are "linguistically represented reference[s]" which either do not exist or have a different value in the target culture, a value given, for example, by "ideology, usage, frequency" (p. 57).

It is necessary, therefore, to establish first which of the cultural references in Potter's tales are actually CSIs in the case of a Romanian translation. To identify them, I used specialised studies and websites regarding Romanian flora and fauna (AgroRomânia n.d.; Cotta 1982; Şelaru 2012) and my own first-hand, established experience of Romanian culture. As a result, the cultural references in Potter's books were divided into three categories, namely, CSIs, non-CSIs and specialised, technical terms.

Non-CSIs, the cultural references which would not be problematic for a Romanian translator, since they are shared by the ST and TC and are quite common in Romania, include flora and fauna (fir tree, blackberries, sparrow); building elements (chimney, eaves); household items (tea cup, cupboard); clothing (jacket, shoes, flaps); food (brown bread, sausages); rural items (rake, scarecrow); occupations (baker, butcher); landscape (fields, wood, snowy winter); religious feasts (Christmas); cultural practices (giving herbal tea to sick children, spring cleaning). Such terms are generally subject to little manipulation in the Romanian translations of Potter's tales. Translators used common Romanian lexical items and the few instances of variation are attributable to other factors than a perceived cultural difference, including the availability of near synonyms to translate specific words, a wish to enhance the impression of historical distance, or mistranslation.

Another category of lexical items which cannot be definitely categorised as CSIs in relation to a Romanian translation of Potter's tales are relatively "specialised" or "technical" terms, referring, for instance, to flora, fauna, agricultural occupations and tools which exist in Romania, but whose names may not be well known. These include gooseberries, currants and foxgloves; oak apples; blackbirds, robins and jays; pollarding and hoeing. Since it would be practically impossible to ascertain the exact extent to which Romanians are aware of these items and of their specific names, it is not possible to establish whether such cultural references have a different value in terms of frequency of use, and if therefore they constitute CSIs in relation to a Romanian translation of Potter's tales. However, their "technicality" represents another type of translation challenge, discussed in 5.4.6., "Challenging vocabulary".

The CSIs proper are categorised below. When necessary, a more detailed discussion follows specific categories. The strategies used in the Romanian translations are then listed, followed by a discussion of possible reasons for their selection.

- Items which do not exist in Romania: pignuts, sash window, pipkin, willow pattern, patchwork quilt, dinner service, hot water bottle, tam-o'shanter, spud, cucumber frame; playing marbles; all units of measurement and most food items; cultural practices such as those associated with Christmas (baking pies, eating geese and turkeys); British songs, rhymes and riddles.

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- Items which may have existed in Romania in the past, but which are made potentially problematic for translation by the distance between that period and the present: four-post bed, coal scuttle, tailcoat, tester bed, wash basin, warming pan, monkey soap, periwig, blacking brush, bonnet, walking stick, salt cellar, dresser.

- Items which are less common in Romania than in Britain: leaded window panes, wooden wainscot, cathedral clock and tower, lattice, mantelpiece, fender, oatmeal, gig, burning sulphur.

- Items for which the Romanian language does not have a specific common noun: sand bank, robin's pincushions, vegetable marrow, wood shed, rushes, briars.

- Items which have different characteristics in Romania: rabbit, ditch, wall, rubbish heap, bazaar, staircase.

While the items in the latter category have literal translations in Romanian, their characteristics in Potter's texts, stemming from Potter's cultural context, are different from those commonly known in Romania. For example, a stone "wall", which occurs repeatedly in several stories, on the verbal and visual levels, encloses countryside houses and yards, or demarcates land boundaries. However, in Romanian rural areas, fences are more common as enclosures for houses, and landed properties outside villages are not typically enclosed by walls, either. The denotation of the word "rabbit" is also quite different in Romania. Potter's wild rabbits, such as Peter and Benjamin, belong to the species *Oryctolagus cuniculus*. Their characteristics include being born blind and helpless, dependent on the rabbit mothers for up to one month, living in colonies in underground burrows, in areas with sandy soils, giving birth and nursing in a separate nest in the burrow (Şelaru 2012, p. 70). These features are represented verbally and visually by Potter. The McGregors' aggressive attitude to them is justified by the threats they usually pose to agricultural crops, although since Potter's times, their numbers have decreased and they have been categorised as "Near Threatened" by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (Smith and Boyer 2008, Tislerics 2000). Nevertheless, this type of rabbit is uncommon in Romania (ibid. p. 71), where wild rabbits are hares (*Lepus europaeus*). Hares have longer ears and hind legs than rabbits, live in open spaces, preferably plain areas, and

are usually solitary, except during the mating season. Their young are not born blind and within one week can leave the nest and look for food. Finally, although hares can also damage agricultural crops, they only go into village gardens when food is scarce (ibid. pp. 66-68).

- Potential non-CSIs on the verbal textual level, shown to be culture-specific by their visual representation: lettuce, radish, mouse, brick oven, dresser.

For these items, Potter uses a generic word such as "lettuce" or "mice", for which there are similarly generic words in Romanian. However, her illustrations show specific types of lettuce or mice, which do not correspond to the generic image of those plants or animals in Romania. For example, the lettuce shown in *BB* (pp. 30, 53) is Romaine lettuce, rather uncommon in Romania, where "lettuce" is generally understood to be of the Butterhead type. The same applies to the mice in *BB* (p. 34), which are brown and quite round, whereas the common perception of mice in Romania is that of a grey, slender animal. If translators appreciate that such differences may puzzle children, they will treat them as CSIs, which may entail, for instance, adding intratextual glosses when the items first occur.

- Items which are present only at the visual level, where their appearance is different from that of their Romanian equivalents.

An example of this is the kind of spades used by McGregor (*PR*, pp. 22, 42). These have u-shaped handles which are different from the usual, straight shape of spade handles in Romania. Since they are not mentioned in the text, they do not seem likely to represent a translation challenge, except in the case of translators who might wish to add an explanation about the unusual shape.

Several strategies were used to tackle these CSIs in the Romanian translations. These strategies, based on Aixelá's categories (1996, pp. 61-65), include:

- Repetition (preservation of the original reference)

In Sachetti's translation of *TG*, "groat" and "penny" are preserved as such and accompanied by an explanatory footnote, in which "penny" is subject to orthographic adaptation ("peni").

- Linguistic translation

In the *2013 Aventurile*, several phrases are translated verbatim: "seed cake" [prăjitură de seminţe], "cowslip wine" [vin de ciuboţica-cucului].

- Extra-textual gloss

Sachetti is the only translator who uses explanatory notes, with reference to "leaded window-panes", "patchwork quilt" and "groat" in *TG*, and to his own translation of "Humpty-Dumpty" by "Hopa-Mitică", a traditional Romanian toy, featured in a short rhyme. The note gives the original name and explanations about it, referring also to Carroll's homonymous character.

- Intratextual gloss

Explanatory paraphrases replace the original CSIs. For example, Sachetti translates "periwigs" (*TG*, p. 7) by "perucile de felul celora pe care le poartă avocaţii" [wigs like those worn by lawyers]; in the *1998 Aventurile*, "tam-o'shanter" (*BB*, pp. 20, 27) is "bască scoţiană" [Scottish beret] (pp. 20, 21), and in the *2013 Aventurile*, "spud" (*MT*, p. 12) is "sapă pentru plivit" [spade for weeding] (p. 59).

- Synonymy

Sometimes translators avoid using exactly the same translation solution for a particular CSI. For example, in *FB*, the phrase "rubbish heap" occurs three times (pp. 11, 12, 28). The 2013 Romanian translation offers two versions for it, thus: "grămada de gunoi" [the rubbish heap] and "movila de gunoi" [the rubbish pile] (*2013 Aventurile*, pp. 44, 45, 48).

- Absolute universalisation

This strategy involves replacing a specific reference with a more neutral one, such as a superordinate term. It is used, for instance, in the *2013 Aventurile*, where "window sashes" (*MT*, p. 34) becomes "ramele ferestrelor" [the frames of the windows] (p. 71), and "tam-o'shanter" is translated as "pălărie" [hat] (pp. 31, 32).

- Naturalisation

Or domestication, in Venuti's terms, occurs with regard to imperial units of measure, which become metric in both translations where they occur (*1998* and *2013 Aventurile*); games such as "marbles" in *SN* (p. 27), translated as "zaruri" [dice] in the *1998 Aventurile* (p. 60), and "popice" [ninepins] in Sachetti's translation; food,

for example, "(rabbit) pie" (*PR*, p. 11), translated as "friptură" [roast] in the *1998 Aventurile* (p. 7); and agricultural tools such as "cucumber frame" (*PR*, p. 27), translated as "solar"/"răzor"/"răsaduri"… "de castraveţi" [cucumber greenhouse/bed/seedlings] in the three different translations of *PR*.

- Deletion

Deletion is used, for instance, for naturalisation in the *2013 Aventurile*, where "dinner service" becomes "serviciu" [service], a common term in Romania.

These strategies can be explained based on Aixelá's "explanatory variables" (ibid. pp. 65-70). Firstly, "textual" factors that influence the treatment of CSIs include the existence of illustrations, which can restrict available translation options. The close visual-verbal relationship in Potter's books also limits translators' options. For example, the house mice in *TG* are described, verbally and visually, as brown (pp. 12, 32, 52). In Romania, however, house mice are grey. Therefore, the word "brown" is a candidate for deletion or change; however, the presence of the illustrations makes such strategies unnecessary (deletion) or even impossible (change), if inconsistencies between the text and the illustrations are to be avoided. If the illustrations are eliminated, the translators have relatively more freedom to adapt CSIs, although the translators and the illustrators must collaborate to avoid inconsistencies. Such an inconsistency occurs in the *1998 Aventurile*, where a verbal CSI, translated close to the original, has a different visual representation. Thus, Jemima wears a "poke bonnet" (*JPD*, p. 12), which is translated as "bonetă cu bor" [brimmed bonnet], but the illustration shows that she is wearing a contemporary type of hat (p. 28). This contradiction is explained by the illustrator, who stated that he did not read the original and the translation, and he had no contact with the translators. Moreover, in his approach to the illustrations, absolute faithfulness to the tale was not important.

Secondly, "the nature of the CSI" can influence its treatment in translation. If a CSI is semantically "transparent", translators may use "linguistic translation" (approximately verbatim translation), if "stylistically acceptable and easily understandable for their readers" (Aixelá ibid. p. 68). Such appears to have been the case with "seed cake", "cowslip wine" and "hot water bottle", translated literally as "prăjitură de seminţe", "vin de ciuboţica-cucului" and "sticlă de apă fierbinte" in the

2013 Aventurile (pp. 59, 86). In the former two cases, particularly, the literally-translated versions are more acceptable because the cake and wine are for wild rabbits, rather than human beings.

Thirdly, "intratextual" factors refer broadly to the place and significance of CSIs within the ST. Such factors include "relevance" and "recurrence", that is, the more important or often repeated a CSI is, the more likely translators are to preserve it where possible (Aixelá ibid. p. 70). With regard to the second factor, "recurrence", Aixelá also notes that TC stylistic conventions can influence the treatment of recurring CSIs. If a "good style" requires that "loaded or unnecessary terms" should not be repeated when placed close to each other, such items may be deleted or replaced by synonyms (ibid.). An example when such a convention seems to have been applied is in Sachetti's translation of *TG*. In the original, the tailor gives Simpkin a groat (four pence) and sends him to buy food and thread, each item worth one penny. The tailor uses "penny" twice, "pence", twice, and "penn'worth", three times, in the repetitive "buy a penn'worth of bread, a penn'worth of milk and a penn'worth of sausages" (p. 16). The Romanian translation renders "penny", "pence" and "penn" by the English word "penny". Consequently, if all the original monetary references were replicated, "penny" would occur seven times in eight lines of text. The translator, however, replaces two, in the enumeration above, which then reads "… un penny …, un altul … şi cu al treilea …". [one penny…, another one… and the third one…]. This strategy is used also when the repeated items are not so close to one another, for example, "rubbish heap" in *FB* (in *2013 Aventurile*), discussed above.

Finally, extra-textual factors can also influence the treatment of CSIs in translation. Aixelá discusses the role of publishers in establishing editorial policies with regard to the treatment of units of measure, or genre conventions, which may weigh more than individual translators' decisions. In this respect, it is significant that, out of the three Romanian translations of tales which mention imperial units of measure, only the one by Sachetti (an individual not linked to any publishing house) preserves most of them; the other two, the *1998 Aventurile* and the *2013 Aventurile*, replace them with metric units of measure, also used in Romania. While this change may be the result of the translators' choices in the first place, it is not impossible that the editors played a part in it.

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Other extra-textual factors include the translators' perceptions regarding the target audience and the audience's expectations (Aixelá ibid. p. 66). Since CL has a dual audience (children and adult gatekeepers), the treatment of CSIs in a Romanian translation of Potter may include adults' notions about what constitutes a good translation for children, the familiarity of either category with the SC and ideas about how much foreignness children can tolerate in a book. The canonical status of an author or text can also explain approaches to the STs, as canonical texts tend to benefit from a more respectful treatment (Aixelá ibid. p. 67). Such concerns are visible in Bâldea's statements. She acknowledges the cultural specificity of Potter's tales and states that her approach was to adapt the text to "a reader who does not … know what *Tam o'Shanter* is and for whom the translation should place Potter's books in time and space and, simultaneously, preserve the universality of tales which delight even today's child".

The above factors, therefore, can account for the wide range of strategies adopted by the Romanian translators of Potter's tales, from preservation to adaptation of CSIs. The great variety of translation solutions demonstrates that the translation of CSIs represents a significant challenge for a Romanian translation of Potter's tales.

5.4.5. Proper names

Translating proper names in Potter's tales must take into account their intratextual character, that is, the fact that some characters are mentioned in several tales. Consequently, when such tales are translated, care must be given to ensure consistency of the recurring names. This aspect seems to have been considered in the Romanian editions which comprise more than one tale (*1998* and *2013 Aventurile* and Sachetti's translations), in which the recurring character names are consistent. Furthermore, intratextuality, proper names and syntexts are related in the *2013 Aventurile*, which preserves the endpapers of the British original, featuring a "Map of Potter's World", with toponyms and character names, many of which are not part of the stories in the book. The Romanian edition translates the names in the "Map" and therefore, for the purpose of consistency, these names must be correlated with the proper names in the other tales, not yet published.

The relative lack of Romanian translations of Potter's tales until the *2013 Aventurile* is relevant for the translation of proper names, particularly those included in story titles. More specifically, as noted in Chapter 1, Romanian retranslations tend to preserve widely popular character names and titles of stories. Consequently, the lack of popular translations of Potter's works until the 2013 edition implies that its translator was free to make her own choices regarding the proper names and tale titles. However, if that edition becomes popular and retranslations are done in the future, translators may have to preserve the names and titles in it.

Additional challenges are posed by the translation of proper names in a Romanian context. Most human first names in Potter's tales are English names of Biblical origin, either from the Old Testament (Jemima, Tabitha, Benjamin), or from the New Testament (Peter, Tom). Since Christianity has a long tradition in Romania, many of these names have Romanian equivalents. Despite this, Romanian names are usually taken from the New Testament or Christian saints. With a few exceptions, Old Testament names are not as widespread as the former category. Consequently, translating the names of Potter's characters involves the challenge of deciding whether to preserve the New Testament English names, or replace them with their readily available Romanian equivalents. Moreover, translators must decide whether to preserve more uncommon Old Testament names (Jemima) and New Testament-based ones which do not exist in Romanian (Thomasina), or replace them with more familiar ones. In the Romanian translations, in almost all cases, the English names were kept as such, irrespective of whether they had Romanian equivalents or not. This strategy, which preserves the locational and sociological functions of the names, may be explained by a general familiarity with Anglophone culture in Romania, to the extent that English names are not considered problematic for Romanian children.

In the case of names semantically related to animals, however, the strategies are markedly different. The associated translation challenges are, firstly, identifying the animal species and the particular animal feature that Potter is alluding to; secondly, rendering this semantic content in a form which imitates a proper name, as Potter did; thirdly, integrating other features of Potter's writing, such as its euphonic qualities. The variety of approaches in the Romanian translations demonstrate the complexities of these challenges. The *1998 Aventurile* makes very little attempt to render the semantic content of the names and generally preserves the original English

names. This approach eliminates almost completely the semantic function of the names, while enhancing their locational and sociological ones. The 2013 translator, Bâldea, states that she tried to render Potter's originality while translating in an amusing and nuanced way, adapted to the Romanian language. This explains why her translation often attempts to retain all original functions and the semantic content of the names; for example, Samuel Whiskers becomes 'Samuel Mustăciosul' [Samuel the Moustached]. Moreover, when the names have euphonic and humorous qualities, the Romanian tries to achieve similar effects (Tiggy-Winkle is "Arici Scrobelici"). Sachetti seems to oscillate between trying to evoke the original meaning (Nutkin is "Ronţăie-alune" [Nibbles-hazelnuts]), and being creative, which sometimes leads to inconsistencies between the characters' names and the stories, as is the case with "Tiggy-Winkle", translated as "Strânge-Lucruri-Pierdute" [Collects-Lost-Clothes].

Another challenge is the translation of the word "Rabbit", used by Potter as a last name for Peter. All translators preferred a diminutive, "iepuraş" [little rabbit] to the more precise Romanian translation "iepure"[30]. Using this diminutive for a child-like character can be correlated with a tendency to use diminutives for common nouns referring to small animals or other child-like characters, visible in the Romanian translations. This strategy is described by Stolt (2006, pp. 75-77) as a sentimentalising translation approach, associated with adult perceptions of children as cute little beings. Nevertheless, using diminutives in relation to small animals and young children is quite common in Romania. For this reason, translators may have felt Potter's vocabulary too harsh for the TC and adapted it accordingly. This strategy has been identified in other Romanian translations for children (Stoica 2012) and may therefore be a norm. In Potter's case, however, the strategy gives Peter Rabbit and Benjamin Bunny the same last name, since "Bunny" is translated by the same "iepuraş" [little rabbit]. Consequently, family relations are slightly blurred and Flopsy's change of family name after marrying Benjamin Bunny is not obvious.

The characteristics of the Romanian language also entail translation challenges in relation to proper names. As discussed in Chapter 3, one of the most frequent structures of proper names in Potter's tales is a human first name (Peter, Tommy)

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[30] Sachetti hesitates between this diminutive form and "iepurilă", commonly used in Romania in the euphonic phrase "Rilă Iepurilă" to refer to rabbit-like toys or characters.

followed by the name of the species (Rabbit, Brock). In this case, the Romanian translators oscillate between treating the last name as a description (Peter the rabbit), or rendering it as a conventional last name (Peter Rabbit). What this involves in terms of Romanian language use is whether the last name receives a definite article (description), or not (real last name). It also necessitates deciding whether to use a capital letter for the last name and whether to place the family name in front of or after the first name. Some of these alternatives occur in the Romanian translations, where Peter is called "Peter Iepuraşul" [Peter the Little Rabbit], "Iepuraşul Peter" [the Little Rabbit Peter], and "iepuraşul Peter" [the little rabbit called Peter], therefore using the last name as a description of the first name. This strategy sometimes leads to inconsistencies which reduce the scope for proper names to indicate family relations. For example, in the *2013 Aventurile*, Peter Rabbit is "Peter Iepuraşul" [Peter the Little Rabbit], while Mrs. Rabbit is "Doamna Iepuraş" [Mrs. Little Rabbit]. This relationship is even weaker in the *1998 Aventurile*, which preserves most of the original names, but not Peter's last name, so that Peter is "iepuraşul Peter" [the little rabbit called Peter], and Mrs. Rabbit is "D-na Rabbit" [Mrs. Rabbit].

Other challenges stemming from the characteristics of the Romanian language relate to the translation of courtesy titles such as "Mr." and "Mrs.". The most salient feature of the Romanian translations, in this respect, is the influence of English-language abbreviation and capitalisation of courtesy titles, which do not normally occur in Romanian. In written Romanian, courtesy titles are written in full, with a minuscule, for example, "domnul McGregor" [Mr. McGregor], or "doamna McGregor" [Mrs. McGregor]. Nevertheless, in the *2013 Aventurile*, all such titles are capitalised and in the *1998 Aventurile* they are both capitalised and abbreviated ("Dl. McGregor", "D-na McGregor"). This phenomenon is attributable to the pervading influence of English in contemporary Romania, noted in Chapter 4, which may have lead the translators to adopt the English writing conventions.

Translating humorous names that have double meanings or constitute puns poses another challenge, as Romanian translators must decide where to strike the balance between preserving one or both meanings of the originals and possibly their humorous effects. Examples included in the Romanian translations are "Ginger", the marmalade cat in *GP*, Isaac Newton, the newt in *JF*, and Maggoty (a magpie) in

PPP. In the *2013 Aventurile*, "Ginger" is translated literally as "Ghimbir" (the name of the ginger plant, *Zingiber officinale*), which, together with the literal translation of "Pickles" ("Murătură"), achieves an overall humorous effect through its culinary references, but no longer indicates the cat's orange colour. In the *1998 Aventurile*, the original English names, including Isaac Newton, are preserved as such and therefore the pun is eliminated. Sachetti's solution to Maggoty's name and to a pun in the text shows that he tried to preserve both the association with "maggots" in the magpie's name and the textual pun. In the original, Maggoty is mentioned as a possible saviour for the dog, Duchess, who thinks she has swallowed a patty-pan in a pie: "… fetch Dr. Maggotty …: he is a Pie himself, he will certainly understand." (pp. 43-44). In the Romanian version, the magpie is called "Înghite-Viermişori" [Swallows-Little-Maggots], and the sentence reads "… du-te după domnul doctor Înghite-Viermişori … . Ca o coţofană ce este, va înţelege situaţia." [Go fetch mister doctor Swallows-Little-Maggots …. Since he is a magpie, he will understand the situation].

In summary, translating the proper names in Potter's tales is challenging because of their particular features, functions and relationship with other characteristics of Potter's writing, such as intratextuality, read-aloud qualities and humour. Translation challenges are increased by the features of the Romanian language and culture, publishing policies and individual translator philosophies.

5.4.6. Challenging vocabulary

Potter's tales contain lexical items which can be challenging to translators and their readers, and even to native speakers of English. Such items include specialised terms and less common vocabulary.

Specialised, or technical terms, are lexical items referring to flora and fauna and to fields of human activity, such as agriculture or tailoring. In relation to a Romanian translation, such items are not culture-specific, because the elements to which they refer also exist in Romania. What is challenging about their translation is that they may not be well known to a Romanian readership and may therefore be perceived by translators as increasing comprehension challenges for Romanian children. Consequently, translators may preserve these terms or modify them, based on their

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perceptions of their audience and on their conceptions regarding the appropriate level of readability of CL. The purpose of the translation may also play a part in decision-making, in this respect. On the one hand, if a translation is due mainly to interest in Potter and her work, as those by Sachetti appear to be, it is more probable that the specialised terms will be rendered more accurately and with less concern for making them "accessible" to a juvenile audience. On the other hand, Bâldea, who initially wanted to translate Potter's tales for her daughter and appears to target a mainly urban child readership, states that she tried to strike a balance between adapting the tales for "today's child, who may have never seen a rabbit and has no clue what a lettuce is" and preserving the specificity of Potter's tales.

Such specialised vocabulary may be a challenge not only for readers of Potter's tales, but also for the translators themselves. Many such technical words require precise knowledge of biology, agriculture, architecture and other specialised fields. If translators are not already familiar with such matters, specific research must be conducted to identify the exact lexical items to translate Potter's specialised terms. Since such research may be time-consuming, not all translators may be willing to conduct it, considering other external factors, such as the pressure of deadlines. In this case, it is probable that they may try to replace such terms with less technical ones (for example, using superordinate terms, or the names of more common species), or that mistranslations may occur, due to lack of careful verification. Furthermore, since many such items are also represented in Potter's illustrations, inconsistencies may occur between the images and the text. Translators may also strive to render such items as accurately as possible because they adhere to translation philosophies which emphasise accuracy and loyalty to the author (especially in the case of prestigious writers such as Potter), and to the belief that children's knowledge would be expanded by such specialised terms.

The above considerations can account for the various strategies apparent in the Romanian translations. In Sachetti's translation of *TG*, the specialised terms related to tailoring, clothes and fabrics are translated accurately and some are even explained in notes. A concern for accuracy is also apparent in the *2013 Aventurile*, in the translation of flora names such as "wood sorrel" or "dog darnel". However, since Bâldea's strategy was to balance accuracy and accessibility, accurately-translated terms coexist with adapted ones. Similar strategies are visible in the other editions.

For example, "black-currant bushes" (*PR*, p. 59) is translated as "tufe de afine" [blueberry bushes] in the *1998* and *2013 Aventurile* (p. 14 and p. 22, respectively) and as "tufe de coacăze" [currant bushes] in Popescu's translation. "Gold fish" (*PR*, p. 52), for which the specialised Romanian term is "caraşi aurii", is translated as "peştişori aurii" [little golden fish] or "peşti aurii" [golden fish] in the three translations of *PR*. Some mistranslations also occur, for instance, "the pollard willow" which serves as a home for the fox (*MT*, pp. 8, 43), is rendered as "trunchi de trestie" [stump/portion of reed], whose thinness would never allow a fox to live inside it (*2013 Aventurile* pp. 57, 74). A contradiction between the translated text and the illustration occurs in the same edition, where "blackbirds" in the sentence "… hung up the little jacket and the shoes for a scarecrow to frighten the blackbirds" (*PR*, p. 60) is translated as "ciori" [crows] (p. 23). This choice is potentially more acceptable for a Romanian audience, given the usual association between "scarecrow" and "crow" in Romania. However, Potter's illustration shows blackbirds, not crows.

Apart from such specialised vocabulary, other lexical items which may be challenging to translate are Potter's "fine words", words which are not used on an everyday basis by native English speakers, such as "perplex" (*BB*, p. 54), "soporific", "overcome with slumber" (*FB*, pp. 7, 19, 27), and "alacrity" (*MT*, p. 14). Translators may decide to preserve, delete or alter these words, based on their perceptions of their intended audience and on their educational and translation philosophies. Another consideration that may weigh significantly is how such words relate to the general stylistic features of the translated text, which may differ from those of the originals. In the case of reoccurring words, stylistic conventions requiring the avoidance of repetition may also prompt translators to use deletion, synonymy or paraphrase. The translation of Potter's "fine words" in the Romanian editions reveals some of the concerns above. Firstly, there appears to be a tendency to use comparatively more common, everyday Romanian vocabulary, such as "cum a putut mai bine" [as well as he could] for "with alacrity" (*2013 Aventurile*, p. 59). Secondly, the stylistic effects of using such words, and repeating them, for example in *FB*, may not have been obvious to the translator of the *2013 Aventurile*, who uses alternative, relatively common, phrasings for the three instances when "soporific" is used, and two different verbs for "overcome" in "overcome with slumber".

It can be concluded, therefore, that the translation of technical terms and uncommon lexical items is a challenge when rendering Potter's tales in Romanian, given the significance of such vocabulary in Potter's works, the greater comprehension challenge it poses, the demands it makes on translators' knowledge and translators' purposes, philosophies and conceptions regarding their child readership.

5.4.7. Read-aloud qualities

The read-aloud qualities of Potter's tales which pose challenges for a translation into Romanian are discussed below, with reference to the particular devices through which they are achieved.

The typographical peculiarities of Potter's tales (italics, capitalisation and placement of the text on the page) can indicate intonation, emphasis and pace when reading aloud, in addition to emphases in the narration itself. The first challenge associated with this use of typography is identifying its connection with reading aloud. Sometimes this connection is quite obvious, for example, capitalisation in *TG*[31], which marks an emphasis in speaking and was preserved in Sachetti's translation. However, in other instances, more reflection or research are necessary to identify the relationship between typography and reading aloud. This is the case, for example, of the italicised words in the text of *SN* (pp. 16, 23, 24, 32, 36, 43, 48), which are the answers to Nutkin's riddles, and can be read with an emphasis to children, to provide clues as to the riddles' solutions. Italic type, irrespective of how difficult it may be to find its connection with reading aloud, is eliminated in most of the Romanian translations, with the exception of the *2013 Aventurile*, where it is partly preserved. While in the *1998 Aventurile* and Popescu's translation, the removal of the original typography related to reading aloud is most probably due to insufficient care or professionalism, suggested by several other inconsistencies and mistranslations in the texts, the absence of italic type in Sachetti's translations and sometimes in the *2013 Aventurile* is more difficult to explain. In Sachetti's case, it is possible that the translator considered italicisation inefficient as a form of emphasis, which led to an attempt to compensate by verbal structures, such as translating "[The stitches of

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[31] "'Simpkin,' said the tailor, 'where is my twist?' But Simpkin … looked suspiciously at the tea-cups. … 'Simpkin,' said the tailor, 'where is my TWIST?' … if Simpkin had been able to talk, he would have asked – 'Where is my MOUSE?'" (pp. 28, 31).

those button-holes were] so neat—*so* neat—that…" (*TG*, p. 57) by "…atît de graţios, dar atît de graţios…" [so gracefully, but really so gracefully…]. Finally, translators may wish to underline the specific character of certain read-aloud devices by using typography, although originally the respective phrases were printed in common type. This appears to be the case in the *2013 Aventurile*, in which some onomatopoeia are in italic type, irrespective of whether they are creative solutions provided by the translator ("*ţop-hop-ţop*" for "a skip, hop and a jump", p. 27), or conventional Romanian onomatopoeia ("*lipa-lipa*" for "lippitty-lippitty, p. 20).

Another category of literary devices related to reading aloud is punctuation, in particular the frequent use of dashes and semi-colons, which signal short breaks and give Potter's texts a jerky immediacy suggestive of oral storytelling. The challenge that this poses for a translation into Romanian is that this use of punctuation may be perceived as somewhat deviating from conventional punctuation rules in Romanian, especially if the translated texts are seen primarily as written texts. In Romania, there is a degree of linguistic prescriptivism, visible in the periodical publication of rules for language use by the "Academia Română" [Romanian Academy], for example, in *Gramatica Academiei* [The Academy's Grammar] (Guţu-Romalo 2008) and *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române* [The Dictionary of Spelling, Pronunciation and Morphology of Romanian] (Vintilă-Rădulescu 2005). Such publications regulate language use, especially in the written medium, and provide official sanction for changes that occur in language at the popular level. Although literary authors can allow themselves a measure of freedom from these regulations, it is likely that CL translators feel more bound to respect them or internalise them to a greater extent and therefore wish to write their translations in "correct" written Romanian. This may explain the consistent approach visible in all the Romanian translations with regard to the dash, which is always replaced by a colon when it prefaces direct speech, deleted or replaced in other contexts, and generally preserved when its use conforms to the conventions of punctuation in Romanian, for example, for asides such as "oh, joy!" in *FB* (p. 16) and *TG* (p. 52). Semi-colons also tend to be replaced by commas and full stops in most translations, which changes the original rhythm of reading, lengthens the time until the reader is allowed to pause and imparts a more written literary quality to the texts. The only exception to this is the *1998 Aventurile*, in which the original semi-colons are

generally preserved, possibly an indication that the translators wished to retain this feature or considered it useful for making the texts more accessible to children, since the semi-colon breaks divide longer sentences into shorter ones.

Alliteration and assonance are a translation challenge due to the widely different characteristics of the language pair involved, English and Romanian, which makes it more difficult to find similar words to use in the same combinations. Furthermore, translators have to take into account other textual constraints when translating Potter's sentences containing alliteration or assonance, for instance, the original semantic content, syntactic structure, or language register. Therefore it is not surprising that the original instances of alliteration and assonance in Potter's stories are generally not preserved in the Romanian translations.

Specific challenges are also entailed by the onomatopoeia and interjections in Potter's tales. Not all conventional English onomatopoeia have a direct equivalent in Romanian, for example, "to hoot" (*MT*, p. 34) or "squeak" (*SN*, p. 48). In this case, if translators decide to preserve the onomatopoeia to some extent, they can provide their own creative solutions, or something completely different which is still logically coherent within the text, or explanatory paraphrases. In most translations analysed, the former two approaches are more common. For example, "to hoot" is translated as "a uhui" in the *2013 Aventurile* (p. 69), a word coined by the translator to imitate the sound of an owl's hooting, and Nutkin's "squeak" is translated by Sachetti as "un zgomot puternic: trosc!" [a loud noise: crash!]. A different approach is evident in the *1998 Aventurile*, where several original onomatopoeia are either transliterated or reproduced with slight changes, for instance, "squeak" becomes "scuic", and "Cuck-cuck-cuck-cur-r-r-cuck-k-k!" (*SN*, p. 57) is rendered as "Cuck-cuck-cuck-cuckuruckuuuuu" (p. 66). The implication of this strategy is that, whereas in English "squeak" is a common verb, relatively accessible to children, "scuic" cannot be associated with anything in Romanian and may leave children wondering about the source of or reason for the noise. Moreover, the Romanian pronunciation of "cuck", the repeated syllable, is /kuk/, the same as the Romanian word "cuc" [cuckoo], which may again lead to misunderstandings.

Other onomatopoeia, such as "buzz" or "quack", for which there are conventional Romanian equivalents, do not pose significant translation challenges. However, they

may be approached in a more creative vein by translators wishing to enhance the read-aloud qualities and the playfulness of the tales. In the *2013 Aventurile*, the "trit-trot, trit-trot" [of a pony] (*BB*, p. 7), which can be conventionally rendered by the Romanian "trop-trop", becomes "tropoti-trop, tropoti-trap" (p. 27), a combination of the verb "a tropoti" [to tramp, to walk noisily], the noun "trap" [to trot, with reference to horses], and the common onomatopoeia "trop". Indeed, Bâldea was particularly concerned with onomatopoeia, which, she states, she used to render the quick pace of Peter Rabbit's adventures.

Furthermore, Potter's tales include more uncommon onomatopoeia, for example, "scufflement" (*SN*, p. 48), "lippity-lippity" (*PR*, p. 48) and rhythmical structures, such as "drip, drop, drop drip" (*MT*, p. 64), "scr-r-ritch, scratch, scratch, scritch" (*PR*, p. 55). The challenges associated with such onomatopoeia include finding appropriate corresponding expressions in Romanian and preserving their original cadences. Sometimes common Romanian onomatopoeia are available, such as "lipa-lipa" for "lippity-lipitty". In this case, translators may choose between using the conventional Romanian onomatopoeia and providing more creative alternatives. Probably for convenience, "lipa-lipa" was used in all three translations of *PR* (*1998 Aventurile*, Popescu, *2013 Aventurile*). For most of the other uncommon onomatopoeia, the Romanian translators use Romanian onomatopoeia which fit the context to some extent, create new ones, use onomatopoeic verbs or nouns which summarise the more developed originals, transliterate the originals, or provide neutral translations by super-ordinate terms. However, the rendition of Potter's cadenced onomatopoeia appears to have been particularly challenging, since these cadences are generally not preserved. Even in the *1998 Aventurile*, which transliterates the "scr-r-ritch, scratch, scratch, scratch" to "scrici-scraci, scrici, scraci" (p. 14), the grouping of the two words is symmetrical, rather than alternative, as in the original.

Finally, interjections such as "oh", "ah", "now", "indeed" or "alack" pose two challenges besides that of finding appropriate expressions in Romanian. Depending on translators' competence and how influenced they are by English, inaccurate verbatim translations may be given to interjections such as "now" and "indeed". In contexts like "Now, my dears, said Mrs. Rabbit…", Romanian has no equivalent for "now". "Indeed" is translated by "într-adevăr" [in truth] when used adverbially, but a

more appropriate translation for its interjectional use is "aşa" [like this, so], which indicates that the speaker is listening and following. Inaccurate (verbatim) translations occur repeatedly in the *1998 Aventurile*. However, the *2013 Aventurile* either deletes "now" or provides Romanian expressions suited for the particular communication contexts, such as "fiţi atenţi" [pay attention] and "gata" [that's all now] (pp. 13-14). The second challenge is posed by the archaic connotations of "alack", which chime with other marks of archaic language in the speech of the Tailor of Gloucester. Although a translator wishing to render the impression of an older historical period may want to find a suitable archaic Romanian equivalent, an eighteenth-century interjection may be unfamiliar to a contemporary Romanian readership. This may explain why Sachetti used several alternative expressions, two of which are now commonly used in Romania ("Vai de mine şi de mine" [Woe to me] and "Of, of", a sigh), and one which is slightly dated ("Sărăcan de mine" [Poor me]).

Narrator comments, which enhance the oral storytelling qualities of Potter's stories, are another challenge for a Romanian translation. Direct narrator comments are not uncommon in Romanian CL, as visible, for example, in the tales of the classical writers Creangă and Slavici. Nevertheless, in the Romanian translations, such comments are sometimes deleted or else modified, for instance, by replacing the Present Tense with a Past Tense, or by transforming exclamations into statements. Thus, the *2013 Aventurile* deletes "I think" in the sentence "… so that I think he might have got away altogether if he had not unfortunately run into a gooseberry net…" (*PR*, p. 35). While it is possible that this deletion may be prompted by a concern for brevity related to required text length, it is more probable that the translator wished to avoid adding another clause to an already complex sentence. Sachetti regularly transforms narrator's exclamations into statements in *TG*, probably because he considers the abundance of exclamation marks in this tale, outside characters' direct speech, stylistically inappropriate. The use of the Present Tense, which refers to the narrator's present, may also have seemed at times less stylistically appropriate than the Past Tense, with which it is sometimes replaced in Sachetti's translation. Nevertheless, in the *1998 Aventurile* and Popescu's translation there are also instances when the translators acted in the opposite way, transforming Potter's statements into exclamations and adding adjectives which express an emotional

attitude on the part of the narrator. For instance, Popescu adds a qualification in "His mother … gave a dose of it to Peter!" (p. 67), by replacing "Peter" with "năzdrăvanul său fiu" [her mischievous son]. In such cases, the voice of the tales' narrator incorporates the voices of both the original author and the translators and the overall impression of storytelling is enhanced.

Traditional British songs and riddles also contribute to the read-aloud quality of Potter's tales. In this case, the main associated challenge is preserving their read-aloud qualities, while considering their relationship with the surrounding text and their culture-specific content. For example, in *SN*, the answers to Nutkin's riddles are words integrated in the surrounding text of the tale, and in *TG*, the rhyme "Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle" is given new meanings by being included in the scene when the cat Simpkin sees many other cats celebrating Christmas[32]. In such cases, identifying the connection between the text and the song (rhyme, riddle), their culture-specific content and their read-aloud qualities, and making decisions regarding how to approach these issues in translation, can be considerable challenges. This is particularly clear in the 1998 translation of *SN*, in which Nutkin's riddles are often translated literally and their rhyme is not always rendered; furthermore, their answers in the text are not italicised and are sometimes replaced by unrelated words, for example, "twig" instead of "nettle" (p. 58).

Finally, Potter's syntax has several features that point to orality, such as the predominance of coordination by juxtaposition and by the conjunctions "and" and "but". Moreover, Potter uses a cumulative "and", one which links several elements in enumerations, not only the last two. The linking words used are generally simple and show little lexical variation. Potter also often repeats the same word in several sentences, rather than providing lexical alternatives. Such features may be perceived by Romanian translators as conflicting with the requirements of written literary style in Romanian and may therefore be altered accordingly. For example, in the *2013 Aventurile*, the syntax used is closer to written, rather than oral style. The original syntactic coordination is sometimes replaced by subordination. This clarifies the logical relationships, in a formal logic manner, or gives the text a more flowing literary quality. For example, "The window was too small for Mr. McGregor, and he

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[32] " … there were lights and sounds of dancing, and cats came from over the way. 'Hey, diddle, diddle, the cat and the fiddle! All the cats in Gloucester—except me,' said Simpkin" (p. 39).

was tired of running after Peter. He went back to his work" becomes "Fereastra era prea îngustă pentru Domnul McGregor, care obosise alergând după Peter, așa că se întoarse la treburile lui." [The window was too small for Mister McGregor, who had become tired by running after Peter, therefore he went back to his work'] (p. 19) In addition, the Romanian version uses a greater range of conjunctions and adverbs, perhaps to avoid the simplicity of Potter's repetitions. Potter's cumulative "and" is often removed, with the Romanian text tending to conform to norms of written Romanian, namely, coordinating elements in enumerations by commas and using "and" only in front of the final element. Lexical repetitions are also sometimes removed, or alternatives are provided where Potter used the same (simple) word, as in "So Mr. McGregor did not get his tobacco, and Mrs. McGregor did not get her rabbit skins. But … Tittlemouse got a present …", where three different Romanian verbs are used to translate "get" (p. 54). All these interventions impart a more literary quality to the translation, at odds with the more orally based characteristics of the original. Such tendencies are also visible, to various degrees, in the other Romanian translations.

Nevertheless, some of the translations, including the *2013 Aventurile*, display features usually associated with spoken Romanian, which enhance their read-aloud quality, such as informal expression of the future tense (the "Periphrastic Future" and the Present Tense); use of informal idioms, for instance "a da nas în nas cu" [to bump into, literally to bump one's nose into somebody else's nose]; and marking oral syneresis graphically, by hyphenation. This can be a consequence of stylistic considerations on the part of the translators, namely, the wish to make the style attractive to a contemporary audience. This point is explored in more detail in the next section.

5.4.8. Stylistic features

Potter's writing style is concise and reserved, and features a specific combination of language registers, sentence structure and punctuation. Since syntax and punctuation are discussed above, this section focuses on the former features.

Rendering Potter's contained style is a translation challenge because Romanian translators may hold different views regarding the appropriate style for CL and must

therefore decide whether or not to adapt the originals accordingly. Potter herself praised the modified, "spirited" style of the French *PR*, which she thought more appropriate for a French readership. An analysis of the Romanian translations from this perspective reveals a similar tendency. The Romanian translators use several strategies to make the texts more intense or dramatic, for example, transforming statements into exclamations. Thus, Mrs. Rabbit's "… don't get into mischief." (*PR*, p. 12) is transformed into an exclamatory sentence in all three Romanian translations of *PR*, and the final full stop in "But Flopsy, Mopsy, and Cotton-tail had bread and milk and blackberries for supper" (p. 68) is replaced by an exclamation mark in Popescu's translation. Emphasis or dramatisation are also created by specific lexical choices or additions of phrases. For instance, in the *2013 Aventurile*, "don't go into Mr. McGregor's garden" becomes "nu care cumva să vă aventurați …" [under no circumstances should you venture into … (p. 13), and "they agreed in disliking the wicked otters and Mr. Tod" becomes "Niciunul nu le putea suferi pe vidrele cele haine și, de asemenea, amândoi îl urau pe Domnul Vulpoi" [Neither of them could stand the wicked otters and, also, both hated Mister Fox] (p. 58). Such changes suggest that the Romanian translators had particular views regarding children's reactions to specific stylistic features and about the desirable style for a children's book, namely, that children like lively texts and therefore CL should be written in this manner. In this regard, Bâldea declares that she intended the "tone" of the Romanian translation to be "povestos" [tale-like] but also "playful", "sfătos" [the tone of a kind wise elderly person who likes to tell stories and gives good advice] but also "naïve" – in other words, she wanted to combine the tone of the story-teller with that of the innocent child.

The image of the innocent and endearing child is discernible in another "intensifying" strategy: using diminutives to translate common nouns. Such diminutives occur in all the Romanian translations, mostly in relation to child-like characters or small animals, for their names, clothes, body parts, physical features, relatives and environment. This strategy concurs, to some extent, with current attitudes and practices in Romania, where diminutives are used to address or refer affectionately to young children and baby animals. Moreover, the synthetic nature of diminutive formation in Romanian (by suffixation) facilitates a more frequent use of

diminutives, since it does not involve the potentially irritating repetition of the word "little", as in English.

Nevertheless, the translators adapted Potter's style not only by intensifying, but also by toning down. This is particularly visible in Sachetti's translation of *TG*. The original comprises more emotionally-loaded language (including an abundance of "little") and many narrator's exclamations. Such intensity appears to have been considered exaggerated by Sachetti, who tones it down by transforming the exclamations into statements, and eliminating some (though not many) of the diminutives.

Another translation challenge, posed by Potter's concision and her use of understatement, is choosing between preserving these features or spelling out what Potter left unsaid. This challenge is related to readability and translators' perceptions of children's comprehension abilities, since translators may wish to clarify specific structures which they deem too obscure for their readers. This tendency is visible in all the Romanian translations, which use explicitation in several ways. Firstly, they clarify elliptical sentences and unstated meanings. For example, "… they crept up to the window to listen" is rendered in the *2013 Aventurile* as "să asculte ce se întâmplă" […to listen to what was going on] (p. 51). The ambiguous "he had heard about cats…" (*PR*, p. 52), is partly clarified by Popescu in "Auzise niste lucrurile (sic!) nu tocmai frumoase despre pisici…" [he had heard some not so nice things about cats]. Secondly, adverbs such as "apoi" [then] and "acolo" [there] are added to clarify the chronological and spatial connections in the tales. For example, in the translation of "… and went … to the baker's. She bought a loaf of brown bread and five currant buns" (*PR*, p. 15), either "acolo" [where] or "de unde" [from where] are inserted to link the two sentences, in the three available translations. Thirdly, logical markers (conjunctions and adverbs) are inserted to clarify the logical relationships between sentences which originally are coordinated by punctuation or "and". For instance, in "Jemima was rather in awe of the collie; she told him the whole story" (*JPD* p. 40), the semi-colon is replaced by "aşa că" [so, therefore] in the *1998 Aventurile* (p. 36); in the translated sentence from *FB*, "They certainly had a very soporific effect upon the Flopsy Bunnies!", the translator of the *2013 Aventurile* (p. 43) inserts "însă" [but], to mark the contrast with the preceding sentence. Finally, understatements are sometimes clarified, as in "your Father had an accident there"

(PR, p. 7), translated in the *1998* and *2013 Aventurile* as "a păţit-o" [ran into trouble] (p. 7) and "a fost prins" [was caught] (p. 13), respectively.

The particular combination of language registers in Potter's writing also poses translation challenges. Most of Potter's language is standard English, using simple vocabulary, while informal language is not very common. Potter also uses dated language, some of which can come across as very formal today, and other instances of high register; finally, the tailor's speech in *TG* is somewhat archaic. This involves several challenges in a Romanian context. Especially depending on the age group targeted by the translation, the simple lexical items may be perceived as not "literary" enough (i.e. of low aesthetic quality) and replaced with more literary alternatives. This tendency is present in the *2013 Aventurile*, for example, "go" is translated as "zburda" [hop playfully] and "aventura" [venture] (p. 13). Translators would also have to decide whether or not to preserve the historical character of Potter's writing, by using a somewhat archaic register to correspond to the dated forms in the tales. Choosing to do so not only increases the level of the comprehension challenge for the readers; such dated language, for example from the nineteenth century, carries with it its associations with the Romanian culture of that period and with CL classics written at that time in Romania. This would contribute to the acculturation of the tales in the Romanian context and would require matching strategies when translating proper names and culture-specific items.

The formal language present in the characters' speech and sometimes in the narrative, involves, in addition to the challenge of comprehension, issues related to the particular ways in which Romanian marks formality (politeness) in direct address. As discussed in Chapter 4, this is done by two types of polite pronouns, "dumneavoastră", used with a plural verb, and the less common "dumneata", used with a singular verb. The personal pronoun "tu" is used in more direct communication, such as between friends or relatives, often from older to younger people (certainly with children), or from superiors to subordinates, even if some perceive the latter two cases as rudeness. As such distinctions are not possible in English, Romanian translators need to look for contextual clues to gauge the appropriate form of address. Such considerations are relevant, for example, in *JPD*, to mark the variations in the formality of the fox's speech and to decide how the dog Kep should address Jemima, since the text and the illustration (pp. 40-41) suggest a

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subordinate-versus-superior relationship. These different relationships are marked in the *1998 Aventurile* by a switch from "dumneavoastră" to "tu" in the fox's speech, and a "tu" address from Kep to Jemima.

Other characteristics of the challenge posed by the combination of registers in Potter's tales in a Romanian context are suggested by the general features of the available translations regarding register. Before discussing them, it is necessary to specify that Romanian linguistics categorises the registers of Romanian differently from English and therefore the same categories cannot be applied. The registers of Romanian are "cultivated language" (standard Romanian, specialised languages and the language of the arts, including that of literature), and "popular language", in which "popular" means "of the people", "not cultivated" (Zafiu 2013). According to Zafiu, "popular language" has rural and urban variants, the latter comprising familiar (colloquial) language and slang. In the *1998 Aventurile*, the main register is standard Romanian. The first two tales, *PR* and *BB*, also feature many examples of "popular language", especially colloquial language. There are some instances of more challenging language that educated Romanians would use, but these may be a consequence of the strong influence of English on the language of the translation. Indeed, at times the phrasing is visibly English, rather than Romanian. Sachetti's translations combine "popular" with cultivated language (with more neologisms) and give a general impression of fluent and beautifully nuanced Romanian. The *2013 Aventurile* uses cultivated Romanian (standard and literary), together with numerous instances of "popular language" (colloquial and rural) and more archaic words. It is evident, therefore, that all translators used more colloquial language than Potter. The translators' preference for colloquial Romanian, with its many idioms, also featured in the translations, suggests that they wished to make the texts livelier, in line with the "intensification" tendency discussed above. Moreover, use of such language, together with standard Romanian, may be an attempt to make the tales more appealing to a Romanian readership. In addition, especially in the *2013 Aventurile*, the use of rural "popular" Romanian, together with literary language and slightly archaic Romanian, gives the texts a high literary quality and alludes to Romanian CL classics. Readers of Romanian literature are not unfamiliar with rural and slightly archaic vocabulary, which, due to its use in Romanian literature classics, might have become associated with high literature. As explained in Chapter 4, a connection

between the rural world and high literature has existed particularly since the nineteenth century. It may well be, therefore, that when Bâldea used rural and archaic vocabulary, she was drawing from this tradition.

In conclusion, Potter's stylistic features are challenging in a Romanian context due to different conceptions regarding the appropriate style for CL, related to translators' images of childhood, which generally explain the increased dramatism and use of diminutives. Furthermore, Potter's concision clashes with translators' concern for comprehensibility. Language registers are manipulated based on an apparent wish to bring the texts close to a contemporary audience, but also drawing on the Romanian CL tradition. Finally, the use of different levels of formality involves selecting appropriate polite pronouns.

5.4.9. Humour

Humour is achieved in Potter's tales both verbally and visually, through understatement, language register, an ambiguous combination of human and animal features for characterisation of the protagonists, wordplay, repetition and intentional grammar mistakes, euphonic elements and verbal-visual interaction. These humorous devices pose specific challenges for a Romanian translation, due to the characteristics of the Romanian translation context and to the connections between the devices and other features of Potter's tales, such as writing style and read-aloud qualities.

The translation of understatement is linked to literary and pedagogical considerations, that is, translators' views on the appropriate style and level of readability of CL. If Romanian translators deem that understatement makes the style of the tales too reserved, or that some examples of understatement are difficult to be understood by Romanian children, they may alter the tales accordingly. Such considerations, discussed above with reference to Potter's writing style, may account for the instances when understatement in the original is modified in the Romanian translations. However, many other examples of understatement are preserved, which indicates that it was not, on the whole, perceived as problematic, or that the translators wished to retain its original functions in the tales.

The humorous use of formal or poetic language in contrast with standard English poses challenges related to the translation of writing style, discussed above. The translations preserve formality in the characters' direct speech, which indicates that the translators understood the connection between register, humour and characterisation. Nevertheless, the instances of formality in the narrative and the standard language are not retained to the same degree and such changes affect the humour of the tales. In contrast, in the *2013 Aventurile*, the considerable amount of "popular" language creates different humorous effects, which can be considered a form of compensation.

The ambiguity between the human and animal features of Potter's characters constitutes a translation challenge especially in the case of the Romanian edition which does not retain Potter's original illustrations, the *1998 Aventurile*, because of the significant contribution of the illustrations to the human-animal duality of the characters. As the new illustrations are drawn in a freer artistic style, with less concern for anatomical accuracy, the humorous human-animal interplay is weakened. In the other translations, which preserve the original illustrations, the human-animal interplay is largely preserved; yet, when it involves wordplay ("Flopsy wrung her ears"), this is not preserved (*2013* Aventurile, p. 61).

Indeed, wordplay, a category generally acknowledged to be difficult, if not impossible to translate, appears to have been a considerable challenge for the Romanian translators. This is borne out by the fact that it is not preserved in the Romanian translations, which use more neutral language, or stylistic versions which are not humorous. A special case is the sentence "Flopsy wrung her ears", based on the phrase "to wring one's hands". Although Romanian does have a similar phrase, "a-şi frânge/frământa mâinile", in which the word for "hands" could have been replaced by that for "ears", in the *2013 Aventurile* the pun is not preserved. This indicates that the translator may not have been aware of it, or considered that the new combination was undesirable, possibly given the other meanings of the verbs ("a frânge" also means "to break", and "a frământa" means "to knead" or "to worry"), which make the pun potentially difficult to understand, or can lead to misunderstanding. Nonetheless, the solution given, "îşi zburli urechile" [approx. ruffled her ears, or made her ears become upright], retains a degree of humour and

can be an attempt at compensation, because the verb is commonly used to refer to an upward movement of fur, hair or feathers, but not ears.

While euphonic elements have been discussed above (5.4.7.), humorous repetitions also pose translation challenges. If their humorous function is not perceived, lexical alternatives may be preferred, rather than the same words, to conform to translators' stylistic standards. In addition, sometimes no Romanian equivalents are available; for example, "to go to bed" in Romanian is "a se culca", which does not include any reference to "bed". Therefore, the repetition "… he always went to bed in his boots. And the bed which he went to bed in, was generally Mr. Tod's." (*MT*, p. 52) cannot be rendered precisely in Romanian. These stylistic and lexical considerations can explain why, in the 2013 translation of *MT*, where most humorous repetitions occur, only one out of three is preserved. Intentional grammar mistakes ("killed him dead", "the most beautifullest") are not preserved, either, although creative solutions could have been found, for example, "îl omorâse total" [killed him completely] and "cea mai extraordinar de frumoasă" [the most extraordinarily beautiful]. Instead, the Romanian translators chose a "popular" idiom, "îl lăsase fără suflare" [left him without breath] (*2013 Aventurile*, p. 86) and a compensatory repetition, "cea mai frumoasă haină şi cea mai frumoasă vestă" [the most beautiful coat and the most beautiful waistcoat] (Sachetti), which preserve the denotation of the original phrases, but not their humorous effects.

The verbal-visual interaction represents a translation challenge in relation to translators' pedagogical concerns, namely, ensuring that the tales are comprehensible. From this point of view, the translators may decide to verbalise the information given only in the illustrations, to ensure that the readers will "get it". This tendency is not apparent in the Romanian translations, which suggests that the translators trusted their readers' visual literacy skills. Nevertheless, in the *1998 Aventurile*, the humorous effects are reduced due to the replacement of the original illustrations and the lesser number of the new ones. For example, in *JPD* (pp. 34-35), the fox is represented on all fours, without his gentlemanly attire, touching Jemima's eggs with his paw. This emphasises his predatory animal nature, in ironic contrast with the text: "The foxy gentleman admired [the eggs] immensely. He used to turn them over and count them when Jemima was not there." In the Romanian version, the picture relating to the fox's "admiration" of the nine eggs shows a nest with

numbered eggs under the lines recounting the episode (p. 34). This emphasises the idea of "counting", thereby benignly supporting the text, rather than ironically contradicting it, and thus reducing the humorous effect fostered by the original irony.

In conclusion, the transformations undergone by Potter's humorous devices in the Romanian translations are indicative of the challenges they posed. The replacement of the original illustrations and the smaller number of illustrations in the 1998 edition diluted the humorous human-animal duality in the characterisation of protagonists and reduced the humour originally created by the verbal-visual interaction. Translators' stylistic options, possibly related to literary norms for CL translation in Romania, account for the removal or modification of understatement, register and repetitions. A desire to ensure comprehensibility may also have led to the alteration of understatement. The great differences between the Romanian and the English languages can explain the difficulty of translating other repetitions and particularly wordplay.

5.4.10. Narrative tenses

The translation of the narrative tenses in Potter's tales is a challenge due to the characteristics of verb tenses in Romanian and their specific uses in literary texts. In Potter's tales, the most frequently used tenses are Past Simple, Past Perfect and Past Continuous for the narratives themselves and Present Simple for the narrator's comments. Of these, no doubt the most challenging to translate is the Past Simple, which is used the most often and in contexts for which the Romanian language uses different verb tenses. As explained in Chapter 4, the English Past Simple can be translated by three Romanian past tenses, "perfect simplu" [simple perfect], "perfectul compus" [composed perfect] and "imperfect" [imperfect]. These tenses have specific narrative uses. For example, the "perfect simplu" can express rapidly-occurring events, momentary states or an acceleration in the unfolding of the narrative events; it can also be used for descriptions of settings (for which the "imperfect" is commonly used), when the setting is foregrounded, rather than the narrative events (Got 2007, p. 35). Besides these past tenses, Romanian narratives, including folk-inspired children's tales, also use "prezentul" [the present] as the tense of narration.

For a Romanian translator of Potter's tales, therefore, the main challenge is to distinguish between the different values of the Past Simple and to render them using the appropriate Romanian tense. For instance, the Past Tense which sets the scene in many tales, such as "They lived with their Mother in a sand-bank…" (*PR*, p. 7) would normally be translated by the "imperfect". The Past which acts as a conclusion at the end of tales, for instance, in "… Peter was not very well during the evening. His mother put him to bed…" (*PR*, p. 67) is translated by the "perfect compus". The Past Tense events in the narrative can be translated by either the "perfect simplu" or the "perfect compus", but the former emphasises the speed of occurrence of events. Indeed, Bâldea declares that she preferred the "perfect simplu" so as to render the fast pace of Peter Rabbit's adventures. Translators may also wish to narrate the events in the present, to increase the dramatic effect of the tales. This strategy, which Potter considered appropriate for a French translation, is not used in the Romanian editions, which remain closer to the original past tenses. This is possibly due to stylistic conservatism, a wish to remain faithful to the originals and the availability of the "perfect simplu".

Therefore, the challenge of translating the narrative tenses in Potter's tales stems from the existence of several Romanian past tenses which can render the English Past Simple and their specific functions in literary texts. The availability of the Present Tense for narratives further increases the challenge.

5.5. Conclusion

The challenges posed by a Romanian translation of Potter's tales include selecting Potter for publication in Romania and Romania as a market for Potter's tales, selecting tales and formats for publication, marketing the translated books and assessing reception; and, on the textual level, translating syntextual elements, culture-specific items, proper names, challenging vocabulary, read-aloud qualities, writing style, humour and narrative tenses.

In the Romanian context, the challenges of publishing translations of Potter's works depend on a number of factors, many of which were analysed in Chapter 4. They comprise Romania's political, economic and social situation, and the situation of Romanian children and women; Romania's relationships with other countries,

including Britain, and the related cultural influences; features of Romanian culture and the CL tradition; the characteristics of the publishing environment and specific publishers' policies, including relationships with Potter's official publisher, Warne. Romanian translators also played significant roles in their publication. Warne's policies, some of which share more general characteristics of British CL publishing, also impacted on the publication of Romanian translations. Textual translation challenges arise due to the significance of several features of Potter's tales, discussed in Chapter 3, namely, their cultural and linguistic specificity, their functions in the books and their relationships with each other. Furthermore, in a Romanian context, they pose challenges because of the demands they make on translators' specialised knowledge and their creativity; the collaboration they require between translators and other people involved, such as publishers and illustrators, which did not always occur; the translators' motivations and approaches to the texts, which sometimes appear to be shared and may therefore constitute CL translation norms in Romania, for example, stylistic conventions regarding avoidance of repetition and use of punctuation; the translators' images of childhood and concern for ensuring readability (comprehensibility); the features of the Romanian language, culture and literary tradition; and publishing policies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has analysed the challenges posed by the translation of Beatrix Potter's work into Romanian, within a broad descriptive and transfer-oriented framework, based on the main theoretical principle of the Göttingen Centre for the Study of Literary Translation. The translation challenges were identified based on analyses which established the main features of the tales, explaining their relationship with their original context of production (Chapters 2 and 3); the characteristics of the target context which may impact on the translation process (Chapter 4); the main differences between the source and target texts, and a translator's perspective on the challenges she encountered during the translation process (Chapter 5). Complementary methods included identifying the main challenges of translating CL, as evident from existing scholarship (Chapter 1), and identifying the challenges of translating Potter's tales into languages other than Romanian, discussed by Potter-related translation scholarship and evident in Potter's correspondence (Chapter 3).

The research thus conducted has several implications for Children's Literature Translation Studies (CLTS). Firstly, the study fills a gap in CLTS, since Potter's work has been little researched from a translation perspective. The study assesses the extent to which Potter's work has been translated worldwide, analyses Potter's attitudes to the translation of her stories and reviews the existing literature regarding translations of Potter's works into other languages. It then extensively discusses the translation challenges posed by Potter's tales in a Romanian context. One of the study's merits in this respect is that it has remained abreast of the latest developments in the Romanian translation of Potter's tales and so includes a very recent, late-2013 edition. Moreover, by analysing both the online and print Romanian translations, it illustrates the variety of forms in which translations for children can be produced, in different circumstances. The features of these translations indicate the specific conditions of their production and suggest the various motivations of their producers (translators, illustrators, publishers). The analysis also reveals their similarities, which are indicators of shared ways of thinking about translating for children in Romania. Consequently, the study can also inform further research on children's literature translation in Romania.

Secondly, the study's focus on the context of publication of the source and target texts (SC and TC) is valuable in several respects. The translation analysis of Potter's tales benefits if the stories are placed in the context of Potter's life and times, rather than being analysed from a purely literary or linguistic perspective. This is because many of their characteristics, which may pose translation challenges, are closely related to this context and therefore are better explained through this contextualisation. For example, as shown in Chapters 2 and 3, the setting of the tales is rooted in Potter's love of the countryside and the natural world, itself linked to her family environment, which in turn was influenced by Victorian culture. Similarly, the visual characteristics of Potter's books were influenced by Potter's life and wider cultural developments of her times. Furthermore, the examination of the SC is useful for the translation analysis because the tales, which are linked in many ways with their original context of production, are transferred, by translation, into another cultural and linguistic context, that of contemporary Romania. An awareness of the differences and similarities between the SC and TC informs the identification of the potential translation challenges they involve.

The discussion of the TC itself is also an important contribution to CLTS because Romania has been little researched as a context for the translation of CL. This study analyses the context of production for Romanian CL and translations for children, by reviewing literature in relevant fields, such as Romanian history, sociology, childhood studies and literary studies. From a historical perspective, it is important to note that the study surveys the range of translations for children in Romania during the communist period, by original research into data bases. It also makes a significant contribution by identifying several trends in contemporary Romanian children's book publishing, such as the predominance of translations from Western and Anglophone countries, through surveys of the online catalogues of several publishers. Although some of these trends have already been identified by other Romanian scholars, their studies are not supported by the systematic research and factual data provided here. In addition, the exploration of the Romanian context contributes to scholarship about translations for children in Eastern Europe, given the important similarities (but also differences) between Romania and other countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Due to this, the analysis of the TC offers important insights regarding the challenges of publishing translations for children under specific political and economic

circumstances. It also supports the analysis of the textual challenges of translating for children, given that these challenges are affected by extra-textual factors. This is shown, for instance, in the discussion of the approaches to Potter's visual syntexts in the Romanian translations, influenced by the changing political and economic Romanian context.

Finally, the study challenges some generally-held ideas regarding translation for children in CLTS and thereby prompts a reconsideration of related research topics. Thus, as explained in Chapter 1, CLTS often identify tendencies of translators for children to verbalise visual information and to bring the style of the texts in line with standard registers. However, the Romanian translations of Potter's tales do not verbally explicate visual information and feature significantly more colloquial language than the originals.

Conducting research within a transfer-oriented approach was challenging in some respects, but also enriching and appropriate for the research question. On the one hand, the analysis of the source and target contexts necessitated reviewing scholarship published in a variety of fields, some of which are less likely to be familiar to a translation researcher with a background in English language, literature and culture. It was not easy to identify relevant studies regarding the Romanian translation context, particularly contemporary Romania, in relatively unfamiliar fields, such as sociology or childhood studies. This required contacting specialised scholars, besides bibliographic research. Moreover, the research involved a large amount of reading, all the more so because the relevance (or irrelevance) of some aspects emerged during the research process, rather than having been known from the beginning. Completing this reading, synthesising the material and analysing it in relation to the research question were labour-intensive tasks. They were also challenging given the time limits of the research project, which also had to accommodate the textual analysis. The textual analysis itself was demanding due to a combination of mostly quantitative factors. The complete texts of the seven tales in the research sample were analysed, rather than selected passages; the analysis included several features of the tales, each of them realised through several literary and linguistic devices; and each of the seven original texts had one to three Romanian translations, all of which were analysed. Finally, researching the agency of translators was challenging in that it was not easy, or even possible, to identify or

contact most of them. Indeed, the research would have benefitted if the voices of other Romanian translators of Potter's tales had been included, besides that of Bâldea, the most recent translator.

On the other hand, this approach was personally enriching and it offered a complex, informed perspective on the research subject. My understanding of the research subject, and the analysis presented in this study, benefitted from the extended reading regarding the source and target contexts, by the analysis of the source and target texts and by communication with the people involved in the production of the Romanian editions of Potter's tales, as the research topic was thus explored from several angles. The inclusion of a relatively large number of source and target texts, selected based on the criteria outlined in Chapter 1, gives more reliability to the findings than a smaller sample, and so does the analysis of their complete texts, rather than of selected passages. Moreover, analysing several significant features of Potter's tales and thus offering a general picture of the stories, rather than focusing on a smaller number of features, corresponds to the level of generality of the research question, which refers to the identification of the challenges of translating Potter's works, rather than to the challenges of translating only some of their characteristics. Finally, Bâldea's perspective, although not necessarily representative of the other translators' opinions and experiences, provides important insights regarding the possible backgrounds, motivation and agency of Romanian translators for children. In addition, Bâldea's translation was produced as the "authorised" Beatrix Potter edition. This potentially confers it higher status than that enjoyed by the other translations, which may positively affect its reception by Romanian adults. Furthermore, the absence of other translators' voices is partly compensated for by the inclusion of the illustrator of the 1998 Romanian edition, the only edition in which Potter's illustrations are replaced, and of the Foreign Rights assistant at Penguin Books, who provided valuable information regarding Penguin's criteria for selecting a Romanian publisher for Potter's tales.

The main findings of the study are presented below, in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter 1. Most CLT studies examine the selection of languages and books for translation from a target-oriented perspective and indicate that selection is influenced by the TC ideologies, the inclusion of the TC in spheres of influence, by commercial interests and aesthetic considerations. This study complements this

scholarship by including the source publisher's perspective. It shows that Warne's commercial interests were decisive for the late publication date of a licensed Romanian translation and for granting the licensee status to a particular Romanian publisher. This indicates that the increased commodification of British CL also affects the selection of foreign publishers of British books, based on commercial criteria. In terms of the TC, it is concluded that further research is necessary to explain Potter's absence from the international authors translated in Romania until the 1990s. Other CLT challenges, namely, facing political and economic changes and ensuring the collaboration between the producers of the translated books, are involved in Potter's publication in Romania. Romanian publishing was affected by the post-1989 political and economic changes, in ways both similar and dissimilar to other Eastern European countries. State support ceased and privatised publishers often struggled to survive in the face of widespread economic difficulties, which also meant that their readership could not afford to spend much on books. Moreover, in the 1990s and early 2000s, Romanian CL publishing was not as professional as it is now, in more recent times, and collaboration between the producers of translated books (translators, publishers, illustrators) did not always occur. This explains why the earliest Romanian translation of Potter (1998) is not of high quality and replaces the original visual syntexts with new ones. This edition does not appear to have become widely popular, but some Romanians were aware of Potter's original tales. This awareness can be attributed to other post-1989 developments, shared with other Eastern European countries, such as increased contact with the Western world through travel, migration, the entertainment industry and the internet. An admiration for Potter's books and a wish to have them translated into Romanian possibly motivated the posting of several translations online.

The publication of the most recent, licensed edition highlights the importance of translators' initiative and of publishers' policies, in the wider context of trends in Romanian publishing and culture. The instigator of the 2013 edition was its translator, Bâldea, who discovered Potter while travelling in Britain and wanted to translate the tales for her young daughter. Bâldea's idea was well received by the Romanian publisher Arthur because Potter's books share important features of their publications, in other words, "meet [their] general criteria and fit well with the list" (Parkinson 2013, see p. 20). Arthur, like other Romanian and Eastern European CL

publishers, mainly produces translations of Western, Anglophone books. In addition, they greatly appreciate the visual quality of books and select prestigious titles. Potter's works were favoured by these criteria, as she is a renowned Anglophone author, whose books are beautifully illustrated. Thus, although Romanian publishers may be motivated by financial interests to publish translations of Western books and fewer new books by Romanian authors, not all of them share the tendency identified by Fornalczyk (2012) and Woźniak (2013) in relation to Polish CL publishing (see pp. 16, 20, 21) to focus exclusively on profits and disregard quality. Finally, the challenge of identifying titles for translation, which for Anglophone editors is attributable to their lack of knowledge of foreign languages (p. 20), does not apply in the case of Potter and Romania, since many adult Romanians have at least a working knowledge of English.

Although the next challenge is not discussed separately in CLTS literature, but only seldom in Potter-related studies, this research makes a distinction between selecting an author (i.e. Potter) and selecting particular works by that author, for translation. This challenge is suggested by the selective publication of Potter tales in Romania to date, by the absence of widely-known translations until 2013 and by references to the selection of specific tales in Potter's correspondence with her publisher. Selecting tales is connected to the format and layout of the translated books, given the importance of these aspects for Potter's tales, and Warne's policies of publishing modified editions of Potter's books and of preserving their syntexts in translation. The Romanian publisher Arthur strategically chose to introduce Potter to the Romanian audience by means of her most famous character, Peter Rabbit, in a large-format collection of four stories produced by Warne. Consequently, the format and layout of the first Romanian edition presented to a wide Romanian audience are different from the original, meaningful ones.

The marketing of translated books and the assessment of potential reception are additional topics which appear under-researched in CLTS. This study discusses several relevant issues regarding the Romanian translation of Potter's tales. Marketing books depends on establishing the characteristics of the target market. Based on published sociological, gender- and child-oriented research, it is concluded that Potter's most probable readers are urban middle-class children with university-educated parents, and the most probable buyers are children's female relatives. Other

factors that publishers must take into account are the competition for children's leisure time by television and the internet, extra-curricular activities or the need to work.

Based on these characteristics, marketing strategies for a Romanian edition may include advertising through television and the internet, targeted especially at children and women. Pricing policies must ensure affordability for a readership with limited financial resources, while preserving the high quality standards of the original, in the case of a licensed edition. The sales tactics of Arthur included promoting the book in schools, which corroborates Squires's claims regarding the importance of the formal education environment for CL publishers. Nevertheless, Romanian teachers appear more inclined to welcome new titles than the British teachers mentioned by Squires, who favour safer options. The 2013 edition also attempts to reassure its prospective buyers that Potter is a world-famous children's author, by its verbal syntexts. Finally, Potter's books may also be sold and promoted in the Republic of Moldova, given the shared Romanian language, and in this case publishers would need to consider potential differences between the Romanian and Moldovan audiences.

With regard to the assessment of reception of the translated Potter books, the study concludes that there is a significant potential for favourable reception, due to the Romanian CL tradition including many imaginative and visually pleasing books, and to conceptions according to which CL should be well written and beautifully illustrated, morally improving and entertaining. Several other important aspects of Potter's tales are predicted to be well received or at least not significantly problematic for a Romanian audience. Although the rural and natural setting of Potter's tales may be unfamiliar to urban middle-class children, the study outlines several circumstances which may increase their knowledge of these environments and concludes that many Romanian children are not unfamiliar with the rural and natural world to the extent that Potter's tales would seem unenjoyable or uninteresting. Ideological aspects such as the representation of gender, of children and their relationships with adults, combine traditional and modern, conventional and subversive elements in Potter's tales. Because the same mixture of attitudes is characteristic of contemporary Romanian society, it is probable that some Romanian adults would approve of some features, while disapproving of others, and therefore

may still decide to purchase the books. Finally, the study underlines the importance of publishers' gauging children's reactions, which may differ from those of adults.

CLTS scholarship underlines the importance of visual elements in children's books and identifies several related challenges, such as deciding whether or not to verbalise visual information, having a limited range of translation options, due to the interrelationship between verbal text and illustrations, making decisions regarding potentially unacceptable images and complying with the terms of the source and target publishers. Extra-textual factors are also shown to weigh significantly, including the acquisition of rights, profitability concerns, forecasting reception, collaboration between the producers of the translated edition and differences in illustrators' styles. Similarly to other children's books, in Potter's tales visual elements are important, because they interact meaningfully with the verbal texts, thereby shaping the narratives and influencing the reading experience. Their significance justifies the term proposed to refer to them, "visual syntexts", which emphasises their "together-ness" with the verbal texts. The analysis of the Romanian translations of the tales and of the Romanian translation context demonstrates that the original format and layout are modified in all Romanian translations, which alters their original functions. These changes are attributed to the economic environment and the policies of Warne and the Romanian publishers. The online translations, however, allowed their authors more freedom in dealing with visual syntexts than the print edition licensed by Warne.

Preserving the original correspondence between units of verbal text and illustrations was shown to be particularly relevant for the 1998 and 2013 print editions. In the former, mismatches between the verbal text and the new illustrations were probably caused by the publisher's lack of professionalism. In the latter, complying with the standardised syntexts of the original edition required the translator to preserve the original length of the verbal texts. The changes to the original framing and typography in some of the Romanian translations show that translators, publishers and illustrators had to make decisions influenced by their competence, styles and policies.

In contrast to a tendency noted in CLTS regarding translations for children and other translations of Potter's tales, the Romanian editions generally do not verbalise visual

information, which indicates that the translators trusted their readers' visual literacy. The only exceptions occur in the *1998 Aventurile*, when the meaning of the text depends entirely on the original (removed) illustrations. The original relationships between the illustrations and the verbal texts are also generally preserved, again, with some exceptions in the *1998 Aventurile*, caused by the lack of collaboration between the illustrator and the translators, the fact that he was not provided with the STs and TTs, and his own artistic approach. Occasional mismatches also occur in the *2013 Aventurile*, for instance, when adaptation of a cultural reference in the verbal text entails a contradiction with the accompanying illustration. The discussion of Potter's visual syntexts in Romanian translations, therefore, corroborates most findings of CLTS and Potter-related scholarship, but a significant difference in the Romanian context is the lack of verbalisation of visual information.

The analysis of syntextual elements also looks at verbal syntexts in translation, discussed in CLTS as "paratexts". Such discussions generally focus on book titles, which are found to be often adapted by publishers, to attract potential buyers. The verbal syntexts analysed in relation to the translation of Potter's tales into Romanian include the verbal text within the illustrations and front matter, other verbal elements of the front and back matter, dedications and titles. Their preservation, removal or alteration in the Romanian translations is attributed to the characteristics of the Romanian CL tradition and of each translation enterprise, i.e. the collaboration between Warne and Arthur for the 2013 edition, the publisher's and illustrator's approaches to the 1998 edition, and the scholarly interests of the blogger Sachetti.

Cultural references represent another challenge often discussed in CLTS scholarship and relevant for a Romanian translation of Potter's tales. CLT scholars show that cultural references are challenging to translate due to children's limited world knowledge and adults' concerns that too much "foreignness" might alienate them, or that such references should be used to enhance children's intercultural knowledge. Furthermore, translation strategies are influenced by commercial and ideological (including pedagogical) considerations. Although the concept of "cultural references" is not always clearly defined in CLTS, this research adopts Aixelá's precise definition of "culture-specific items" (CSIs), that is, linguistically-represented references which either do not exist or have a different value in the TC. Consequently, in relation to a Romanian translation, the "cultural references" in

Potter's tales are categorised into CSIs proper, non-CSIs and specialised, technical terms. Categorisations are then provided of CSIs and the various strategies employed in the Romanian translations. The strategies suggest several factors which made CSIs challenging for the Romanian translators, including the representation of the CSIs on both the verbal and the visual levels, which restricts available translation options or else leads to verbal-visual inconsistencies, especially if the collaboration between the producers of the translated edition is faulty, as in the case of the *1998 Aventurile*; the degree of semantic transparency and stylistic acceptability of the CSIs; Romanian stylistic conventions which explain the provision of lexical alternatives for reoccurring CSIs; and translators' approaches, motivated by their image of their target readership and pedagogical considerations, but also by their loyalty to the original author.

CLTS also investigate the translation of proper names, concluding that their cultural specificity and the functions they fulfil in CL pose translation challenges. A number of factors which influence translation strategies are identified, either textual (e.g. characteristics of the proper names, their relationships with other elements of the texts) or extra-textual (e.g. translators' "frame of reference", including their personal ideologies and their professional and cultural environment, and their awareness of earlier translations of the same work). The discussion in Chapter 3 explores the structure and functions of the proper names in Potter's tales, and their relationship with other characteristics of Potter's writing, such as intratextuality, read-aloud qualities and humour. The analysis of the Romanian translations and of the Romanian context indicates the factors likely to affect the translation of the proper names in Potter's tales. These include the familiarity of many Romanians with English names and the influence of English on contemporary Romanian, the characteristics of the Romanian language, Romanians' attitudes to children, the preservation of the original syntextual elements in licensed editions and translators' professional philosophies. The discussion, therefore, largely supports the findings of Van Coillie and Fornalczyk (see p. 28).

CLTS examine issues of "readability", although such discussions sometimes lack a precise definition of the term, or emphasise the difficulty of assessing it objectively. Readability, defined here as ease of comprehension, is also relevant for the Romanian Potter translation. In Chapter 3, two readability-related issues are

identified, namely, syntax and vocabulary. While syntax is dealt with in the analysis of read-aloud qualities, this study features a separate section on the challenging vocabulary in Potter's tales, including specialised (technical) terms and less common lexical items. Such vocabulary poses a challenge in translation due to its significance in Potter's works, the demands it makes on translators' knowledge and the greater comprehension challenge it entails. In the Romanian translations, the challenging vocabulary is translated accurately, replaced with more common words (or synonyms, if the lexical items are repeated) and possibly even mistranslated. These strategies can be explained by the translators' purpose and conceptions of their target audience, their translation philosophies and the stylistic conventions of literary Romanian.

CLTS also show that the read-aloud qualities of literary texts are particularly important in CL and pose challenges in translation. Potter's tales feature devices which give them aural qualities, including typography, punctuation, alliteration and assonance, onomatopoeia and interjections, narrator comments, songs and riddles, and syntax. The challenges they posed for the Romanian translators include identifying their connection with reading aloud, dealing with the culture-specific character of the songs and riddles, integrating other textual constraints, complying with the stylistic and punctuation norms of literary Romanian and meeting the creativity challenge posed by the considerable differences between English and Romanian. A significant feature of the Romanian translations is the transformation of Potter's idiosyncratic punctuation and orality-based syntax to conform to Romanian punctuation conventions and more written literary style. Nevertheless, the translators, particularly Bâldea, enhanced other read-aloud qualities, by emphasising onomatopoeia typographically and adding features of spoken Romanian.

The challenge of translating the stylistic features of Potter's tales is related to the considerations above, particularly those regarding punctuation and features of orality. CLT studies suggest that stylistic features are challenging due to the demands they make on translators' competence and the influence of TC literary and educational norms. Two tendencies noted by such studies are the standardisation of less common uses of language and the sentimentalisation of matter-of-fact styles. Potter's writing style is characterised by concision and reserve, and specific language registers, sentence structure and punctuation. As shown above, the latter two features were

modified in the Romanian translations, in line with Romanian punctuation and written literary norms. This finding supports the tendency to standardise identified by CLTS. Other changes were most likely motivated by translators' views regarding the appropriate style for the tales. For instance, Potter's reserved style is often made more dramatic and affectionate. Although the latter tendency corroborates the sentimentalisation hypothesis above, it is also in line with Romanian endearing attitudes to children. Readability concerns most probably justify the use of explicitation to clarify Potter's concise texts. Finally, although different combinations of language registers are used, all translations feature more colloquial language than the originals, possibly because the translators wished to enliven the texts and to bring them closer to a contemporary audience. This phenomenon, however, is different from the standardisation tendency often mentioned in CLT studies.

The challenge of translating humour is increased, in translations for children, by concerns regarding children's ability to understand it and children's limited knowledge of the source culture. Humour is a feature of Potter's tales, achieved both verbally and visually, through understatement, language register, the human-animal duality of her characters, wordplay, repetition and intentional grammar mistakes, euphonic elements and the verbal-visual interaction. Several challenges posed by these devices are visible in the Romanian translations. Because the original illustrations are not preserved in the 1998 edition, which also features a smaller number of illustrations, the humour originally fostered by the verbal-visual interaction and the protagonists' human-animal duality is diluted. In the other editions, this type of humour, including irony, is largely preserved, which again indicates more trust in children's (or their parents') intellectual abilities than in other cases signalled by the literature. Understatement, register and repetition are removed or modified, possibly due to compliance with literary norms for CL translation in Romania, or translators' personal stylistic views. Comprehensibility concerns may also justify the alteration of understatement. Finally, the considerable differences between Romanian and English generally explain the removal of wordplay.

The challenge of translating the narrative tenses in Potter's tales into Romanian is caused by the availability of three Romanian past tenses which can translate the English Past Simple, depending on context and desired stylistic effects. Moreover,

the Romanian Present Tense can also be used in narratives. None of the translators, however, ventured to change Potter's Past into the Romanian Present, and preferred to use past tenses.

Except for the translation challenges above, other challenges discussed in CLTS include appointing translators, adding explanatory paratexts, translating intertextual references and grammatical gender. Due to space limitations, these challenges are not included in this study, although they are relevant for the translation of Potter's tales into Romanian and constitute important topics for further research. For example, a discussion of the appointment of translators must consider the differences between the self-appointed authors of the online translations and the translators of the print editions, whose appointment depended on their publishers. However, the translator's initiative and her previous collaboration with the publisher also played a part in the appointment of the 2013 edition's translator. Furthermore, as briefly indicated in Chapter 4, the presence of grammatical gender in Romanian nouns can have implications for the translation of the words Potter uses to refer to her animal characters and is worth further investigation. Other topics which merit further research include the reasons why Potter's tales appear not to have been translated before 1998, in relation to which possible explanations were suggested in Chapter 5. It would also be interesting to follow the history of the publication of the licensed editions by Editura Arthur, for example, how the *2013 Aventurile* is received by the Romanian audience, or whether further tales will be published, and in which formats or order. Finally, further research is necessary on the translation of CL in Romania and in the wider, Eastern European context. All this clearly shows that the translation of Beatrix Potter's tales across space and time, from early twentieth-century Britain to contemporary Romania, is a rich, captivating research topic, which, although explored to a significant extent in this study, also offers many other possibilities for further investigation and opens avenues of research into less explored contexts for the translation of children's literature.

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