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INTERCULTURALISM IN MODERN POLISH TRANSLATIONS OF LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

The aim of the article is to explore the phenomenon of interculturalism in modern translations of literature for children in Poland. Foreign culture manifests itself in different ways in target texts, one of them being culture-specific items. Their presence in translated texts is nowadays perceived as an enrichment of child education. There exist two types of renderings in the case of literature for children: monocultural and intercultural translation.

The cultural elements in monocultural translation belong only to the target culture or are impossible to identify with a specific culture. For the translation to be intercultural, it needs the co-presence of elements referring to at least two different cultures – the target culture and the source culture. However, one can observe degrees of strangeness in intercultural translation.

TRANSLATION AS INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Today both translators and translation studies scholars find it quite obvious that the notion of culture, whether understood in a scholarly or intuitive way, plays a central role throughout the translation process. Since the last two decades of the 20th century, the ‘cultural turn’ (Bassnett and Lefevre 1990:1; Bassnett 1980/2002:23; 2007) has been influencing experienced scholars as well as those new to the field; an influence that has also manifested itself in major works of Polish translation studies (Pieńkos 2003:13; Bednarczyk 2005:11; Krzysztofiak-Kaszyńska 2011:9). Since language is perceived as a part of culture and a translator is a bicultural and intercultural mediator (Katan 1999:7-15; Steiner 1975:45; Taft 1981:53), it is both natural and common in modern translation studies research to bring together the process of translation and references to source and target cultures, although the term *culture* itself eludes a unified definition. According to *Oxford Dictionaries Online*,¹ culture denotes “*the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement*”, “*a refined understanding or appreciation of culture*”, as well as “*the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of*

¹ http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/culture?q=culture_Only area-relevant definitions have been quoted.

a particular people or society” and “the attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group”. These definitions correspond to the historical expansion of the term’s scope, as it was initially understood to signify the level of social advancement (in terms of education, technology, arts and architecture), and only later, with the development of research into primitive cultures, came to denote a community’s way of life. The modern understanding of culture is based on humanistic, anthropological and sociological definitions (Katan 2009:74). In translation studies the term is often used intuitively in a way that nevertheless corresponds to the above definitions.

The concept of culture and cultural mediation appears in studies discussing the translation of literature for children. According to Staniów: “the role of books in bridging gaps between cultures and generations in the modern world is impossible to overemphasise. They have the power to remove obstacles potentially preventing the reader from understanding and accepting the other who inhabits a different area, differs in appearance, religion, worldview or way of thinking.” (Staniów 2006: Introduction, my translation).

Nowadays, the large and growing number of translated books for children means that translations of such literature play an ever greater part in educating the young readers about the world and the cultures of other nations. Consequently, with the mounting impact of translated texts on both children’s education (Pascua 2003) and entertainment, an increasing amount of research is devoted to children’s literature and its translation (whether it is understood to encompass texts read to or by children). Researchers have been studying the features of translated texts, the communicative situations in which translations are created, as well as their historical context, reception, the role of illustrations and many other aspects. Numerous studies on the translation of literature for children discuss the presence of foreign elements in the translated text, often focusing on the treatment of culture-specific items, i.e. elements referring the reader to the source culture, also called culture-bound items or culturemes (Katan 1999, 2009).

MANIFESTATIONS OF CULTURE IN TRANSLATIONS
OF LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN²

MANIFESTATIONS OF CULTURE IN TRANSLATED TEXTS

Cultural elements, as the very term suggests, are these elements (units of text and features of its structure) which refer the reader to a different, strange cultural landscape (the concept of strangeness being used in a non-evaluative sense); elements that: “are particularly connected to the culture of a given country. From the perspective of a translator, their common denominator is that their cultural specificity (the fact that they are either restricted to the source culture or better known within it) causes translation problems.” (Hejwowski 2004:71).

Such elements can include proper names (although the author explicitly excludes names with established equivalent forms in the target language, see Hejwowski 2004:71), names and expressions referring to the life of the broadly defined source culture: customs, cuisine, festivals, literary quotations and references, allusions to music, film, painting, history, etc., whose referents belong to the source culture. Such an understanding of culture-specific items seems common in contemporary translation studies research.

A slightly different, methodologically deeper approach to strangeness in translation is represented by Katan (1999, 2009). Following Hall (1952/1990, 1982), he distinguishes three levels of cultural strangeness, applicable to translation research. The first of these is the informal level, with specific cultural elements ostensibly absent from the text, but present in the beliefs, upbringing, and representation of reality taught by school, family and the political system. The influence of this level of strangeness on the reception of a translated text can be illustrated by the case of *Czy Kasia to chłopak?* published by Siedmioróg in 1997, a Polish version of *Mademoiselle Zazie a-t-elle un zizi?* where the Polish translator uses children’s words for female and male genitals (*kuciapka* and *kuś*, respectively). The book was negatively received by some Polish parents,³ surely due to the differences between French and Polish attitude to sexual education.

² Regardless of the controversy surrounding the notions of ‘children’s literature’ and ‘literature for children’ (Oittinen 2000:61-71), for the purposes of this paper, they will be treated as synonymous, and ‘literature for children’ will be defined as one created for children, as well as by children and read to children (which does not preclude adult readership).

³ One comment posted on an internet forum by „Agnieszka,mamaAniZosiJulki” reads (in my translation): “The series is really great – my Ania learned to read from these books. However... Perhaps I should post this in a thread about names of genitals, anyway, that was the only book in the series I didn’t buy. The terms *kuś* and *kuciapka* seemed rather (to put it diplomatically) controversial and I’m not the only one to feel this way. Perhaps if I read the books aloud to my girls this wouldn’t be a problem, I’d just modify them, but Ania already reads on her own. The other books are excellent, the topics interesting for children”.

Evidently, cultural strangeness on this level can decide the success or failure of a translated text. The second level, formal one, refers to norms and standards prevalent in a given society that the translator needs to be aware of during translation (compare the analysis of Hebrew translations of classical Anglophone literature for children in Shavit 1981). Finally, the third, technical level, is the one most evident in the translated text and most interesting to translators themselves, requiring that all elements of the source culture be conveyed with minimum loss of meaning. Apart from allusions, according to Katan the most challenging items are culture-bound terms, or *culturemes*, which refer the reader to objects that mostly function in a single culture, such as geographical names, terms referring to traditions, institutions and technologies present exclusively in the source culture. It is this level of strangeness that becomes most transparent in translation. One can intuitively assume that a child will be more likely to identify a name such as *Thierry* as belonging to 'someone from a different country' than to recognize differences resulting from dissimilar political or educational systems.

Characteristically, all the above scholars value the presence of foreign cultural elements in a translated text, an attitude that predominates in modern translation research and criticism, regardless of text type and genre, since it is believed a translator should transmit and expand both language and culture. A strategy whereby elements of source culture are consciously introduced into the target text is usually called *exoticising* and perceived as a condition necessary if the translation is to be faithful to its source and author, and the foreign be received as foreign (Berman 1995). A text that contains elements referring to the source culture, consciously placed there by the translator, could be called *intercultural*, as it combines the familiar with the alien (Although, as discussed later on, *exoticisation* of the target text is a gradable concept, depending on particular decisions taken by the translator).

MANIFESTATIONS OF CULTURE IN TRANSLATIONS OF LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

Such openness to the outside world and other cultures, resulting in the *interculturality* of the translated texts, is also noticeable in the translations of literature for children. Until recently, such translations in Poland have favoured cultural adaptation procedures. Adamczyk-Garbowska, translator and translation scholar studying Polish renderings of English children's literature classics, noted in 1988 a: "pronounced, dominant tendency to adapt and naturalize. This results from neglecting the adult addressee and wholly conforming to the resident Polish conventions of children's literature; this, in turn, means impoverishing the

text in terms of lexico-grammar and style. Cultural items are especially susceptible to deletion and substitution for Polish references” (Adamczyk-Garbowska 1988:173, my translation).

Polish translations of literature for children have often involved unwarranted changes, shifts, omissions, amplifications and distortions, which according to Z. Shavit were due to contemporaneous views that situated children’s literature on the less interesting (Puurtinen 1998) periphery of literary studies. While in *Translating for children* Oittinen, too, opts for domesticating procedures that adapt texts to target culture expectations, most contemporary scholars studying translations of literature for children seem to favour renderings that allow the child recipient to come into contact with alien elements of the source culture; it is such foreignizing translations that are believed to open windows onto other worlds. Among Polish publications, Hejwowski, the author one of the most popular translation textbooks, remarks in a chapter discussing cultural items in translation: “I can see no reason to conceal from children the fact that people in other countries have other names. The argument that this impedes reception – unsupported, as far as I know, by any substantial research – seems untenable. After all, foreign names pose the same difficulty for adult readers with no command of the source language, and yet no-one will seriously propose to rename *Oliver Twist* as *Olgierd Kręciek*. *Pippi Langstromp* it should be, then, not *Fizia Pończoszanka*; *Christopher Robin*, not *Krzyś*” (Hejwowski 2004:98, my translation).

It seems modern scholars and practicing translators (the latter perhaps unconsciously) understand the necessary shifts in translating literature for children – discussed by Shavit (1981:172) – as an act of balancing procedures of adaptation and the preservation of cultural items, so that cultural otherness, introduced by the translation, may enrich the target culture (O’Sullivan 2000:74). Regardless of the views promoted by translation scholars, their diagnosis could be confirmed or overturned by comparative research examining Polish translations of literature for children.

Fornalczyk (2010) analysed the translation of personal names in classic texts of English literature for children translated into Polish before 1939, in 1945-1989, and after 1989. The results are very telling. Translations from before 1939 involved visible cases of modification, adaptation, and abridgement, and proper names are often omitted or arbitrarily changed. Between 1945-1989, still about 50 per cent of the names were domesticated, generally translators were more faithful to the source text. Finally, since 1989 the scholar notes a tendency to preserve foreign proper names, probably influenced by the ongoing globalization and changes in the education system; English is now present in the Polish child’s curriculum since kindergarten, and consequently Anglophone names could be perceived as more acceptable than ones derived from other, less popular languages. Research into this issue could potentially reveal the changes in the Polish society’s degree of openness to other cultures.

Meanwhile, Fornalczyk's claim appears to be substantiated by research into a corpus of French literature for children and young readers translated into Polish and published after 1989 (Kochanowska 2011): translators seem more and more eager to keep the proper names (including first names) in their source language form, as in "*Anne-Sophie de Villefranche wyprostowała się*", "*Matka Marie-Charlotte Vendeuil pochłipywała w chusteczkę*", or "*Amandine zwinęła mnóstwo pism swojej siostrze, a Antoine powiedział, że będzie śpiewał świńskie piosenki*"⁴. Still, the recipient's age often seems to be the decisive factor. Both the research of Fornalczyk and of Kochanowska suggests that books for kindergarten children and arguably early school-age readers contain no foreign elements at all or only trace elements of the source culture, so that the text virtually reads as if it were a target language original, in this case one written by a Polish author.

To summarize the results of the theoretical, descriptive and practical studies conducted on texts translated in Poland and abroad on which this paper is based, it can be concluded that there exist two types of renderings in the case of literature for children: the monocultural translation and the intercultural translation.

MONOCULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL TRANSLATION

MONOCULTURAL TRANSLATION

Some texts for children are revealed to be translations only by the title page, which features a foreign-looking name of the author and the name of the translator (or an enigmatic remark about the text having been 'adapted' by someone), a piece of information that often escapes both adult and child readers, who mostly choose a book for its attractive 'content'. This is most often the case with texts directed at the youngest children. In these translations, cultural elements, such as protagonists' names, place names, festivals and customs, either

- 1) belong only to the target culture, or
- 2) are impossible to identify with a specific culture.

Such translations can be described as monocultural; the text's cultural landscape can be understood by the readers to reflect their home culture.

The first variety, with only target culture elements present, can be illustrated by *Brodacz i maszyna do bicia*, a book aimed at 6-8-year olds published by Siedmioróg in 1998. The only cultural items featured in the source texts are children's names and the translator decided to domesticate all of them, rendering "*Dans*

⁴ *Piekielny pociąg* [The train from hell], Siedmioróg 1998. A series of books for children 10-13 years old.

la classe de Barbichu, il y a six enfants: Grégoire, Aurélie, Clément, Thierry, Guillaume et Solène” as “*W klasie Brodacza uczy się sześcioro małych dzieci: Marcin, Zyta, Teofil, Rafał, Wit i Halina*”. As a result, reading the text itself will supply the audience with no clues as to the French identity of the original.

The second variety can be illustrated by texts whose characters are referred to with meaningful, descriptive names. Although names are obviously cultural elements, it is impossible to guess a specific culture from such descriptive names as Pooh, Piglet, Eeyore, von Skalpel, Femur, or Beatrice Mon Stare⁵ or their Polish translations, in the absence of any other surviving source culture elements in the translated version, since the target version of these names are derived from target language common nouns.

INTERCULTURAL TRANSLATION

Before discussing the features of intercultural translation, it is important to note the aim of the following sections is neither to list procedures for rendering cultural items, nor to evaluate the correctness of any particular translation, but to illustrate research on a corpus of translated texts and investigate the way source and target culture elements function in these translations.

The notion of intercultural translation, as the very term suggests, describes texts that feature elements referring the reader to at least two different cultures, the first one being the home culture, into whose language the text has been translated, and the second one being the source culture, in whose language the source text originated. Such a translation makes it possible for the readers to move between two cultures and invites them to do so. Thus it corresponds to what translation scholarship calls exoticising strategy.

Analysing translations of literature for children, one could note two degrees of strangeness in intercultural translation:

1. Cultural elements in the translation refer only to the source language culture.
2. Cultural elements in the translation refer both to the target language culture and to the source language culture, with the ratio of these two depending on the strategies and procedures chosen by the translator.

⁵ The latter three quoted from *Monster Manor: Von Skalpel's Experiment*, translated into Polish as *Nawiedzone zamczysko: Doświadczenia Von Skalpela*, 2001, Wrocław: Siedmioróg.

CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE TRANSLATION REFER ONLY
TO THE SOURCE LANGUAGE CULTURE

The first of the two situations is very rare and difficult to illustrate in Polish translations of texts for children and young readers. In such a translation ‘all’ the names, surnames, place names, terms denoting customs, festivals, traditions, etc. (except lexically transparent ones, as discussed above) would refer to the source language culture, by their form or their referent’s identity. With proper names such as place names, it is possible to preserve the foreignness of the referent both by means of foreignized and domesticated forms; for instance, the Polish form of the proper name *Paryż* (for Paris) and *Nowy Jork* (for New York) does not cancel the fact that both names have foreign referents (i.e. denote cities in countries other than Poland). However, this is not so with personal names of protagonists, whose domestication (e.g. Zosia, Helena – names which look identical in both languages concerned (e.g. Robert) constitute a problematic case. Still, one can assume that at the least the pronunciation would match the phonetic system of the target language.) means neither their form, nor their referents point at the source culture. Thus, an intercultural translation of this type would need to feature either borrowed names in their original form, or names that might still refer to foreign entities despite their domesticated form. This is a perfectly normal occurrence in translations aimed at adults but hardly ever encountered in translations of literature for children. One example of this strategy could be found in the Polish-French translation of Wanda Chotomska’s *Drzewo z czerwonym żaglem*. The text was translated into French in 1980 as *L’arbre à voile* and it is already in the translator’s preface that the French reader is educated about the realities of daily life in the Polish People’s Republic and indirectly informed about the translation strategy, which involves borrowing Polish proper names in their original form. The following examples are representative of the translation as a whole:

1. « - Tais-toi ! / Witkowski me tire par la manche et Mirek m’envoie un méchant coup de pied, histoire de me faire tenir ma langue »,
2. « - Vas-y, présente-toi. Comment t’appelles-tu? / – Dis ton nom, matelot! m’encourage Witkowski. / – Son nom, c’est Benek, mais nous, on l’appelle matelot... »,
3. « - Montez dans l’arbre, Walczak! ordonna à ce dernier l’ingénieur d’une voix enrage »,
4. « - *Les habitants de la cité Zarzewie ont invité le journal télévisé...* »

These correspond to the following original excerpts:

1. „ - Cii... – *ciągnie mnie za rękaw Witkowski. / Mirek kopie mnie w kostkę, panowie zza kamery pokazują na mię, że mam nie przeszkadzać*”,
2. “- *No proszę, przedstaw się, powiedz jak masz na imię...* / – *Przedstaw się Marynarz – zachęca Witkowski. / – On się, proszę pani, nazywa, Benek, ale na niego mówią Marynarz*”,
3. “- *Walczak, włączcie na drzewo! – zezłościł się jeszcze bardziej inżynier*”,
4. “- *Mieszkańcy osiedla Zarzewie zaprosili dzisiaj kronikę telewizyjną...*”

However, even in this translation a careful analysis and comparison against the original will reveal two cultural elements omitted by the translator and replaced with culturally neutral items:

5. « *Toutes les îles étaient portées sur cette carte, de même que les golfes et les détroits entre les îles. Certains d'entre eux n'avaient pas encore de nom, mais la plupart avaient déjà été baptisés: L'archipel des Quatre Cuirassés, le golfe de Robinson Crusoé, le cap de Christophe Colomb, le détroit de Sindbad le Marin.* »
6. « Le capitaine n'est toujours pas d'accord. / – Eh! c'est le cinéma qui intéresse Madame, pas l'arbre! / Quant à Witkowski, il ne trouve rien de mieux que de dire bêtement: / – Tu as aussi des arbres au cinéma, des forêts vierges, avec des baobabs et tout... »

These are universalized versions of the following excerpts:

- ad. 5) „Wszystkie wyspy są zaznaczone, zatoki, cieśniny między wyspami. Niektóre nie mają jeszcze nazw, ale są takie, co się nazywają. Jest Archipelag Czterech Pancernych, Zatoka Robinsona, jest Przylądek Krzysztofa Kolumba i Cieśnina Sindbada Żeglarza.”
- ad. 6) „– Tę panią interesuje kino, nie drzewo! – jeszcze raz usiłuje mi przerwać Kapitan. / – W kinie też są drzewa. „W pustyni i w puszczy” pokazywali prawdziwy baobab! – wtóruje Witkowski.”

The decision to neutralize the references was surely influenced by their strong cultural connotations in the original text, which would be absent in the French culture. The Four Tank-men's Archipelago refers to the arguably most popular TV series of the Polish People's Republic, following the adventures of Polish soldiers during the latter part of WWII. *In Desert and Wilderness* by Sienkiewicz is a perennial classic and required reading for primary school pupils. Still, from the perspective of the French-speaking reader, all the noticeable cultural items (i.e. ones preserved by the translator) consistently refer to the culture of the Polish People's Republic.

Other representatives of this type of translation might include the increasingly popular bilingual or multilingual books, featuring the original Polish text alongside two or more target language versions. Here, source language versions simultaneously represent the reader's home culture, which reverses the typical translation situation: the reader of the original version and the reader of the translation(s) have roots in the same culture.

Presented in table 1 are examples of selected cultural items in two such publications which have recently appeared on the Polish market: *Thekla i jej chłopakowy świat* (alternative titles: *Thekla et les garçons. Thekla and the boys*, Dubus Barbara, Wytwórnia 2010. English translation: Agnieszka Rataj, French translation: Barbara Dubus) and *Smok Wawelski* (alternative titles: *The Wawel Dragon. Le Dragon de Wawel*. Halina Flis-Kuczynska, Polihymnia [no publication date]. English and French translation: Agnieszka Wrzesińska). Space does not permit a thorough and systematic analysis of all cultural elements in the cited translations. The examples were selected to be the most representative ones, concerning proper names, which constitute “the tip of the iceberg” and are potentially the stronger vehicles of foreignness:

Table 1:

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
		Polish version	French translation	English translation	
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation from the perspective of a target language reader	<p><i>Thekla i jej chłopakowy świat</i></p> <p>[<i>Thekla and the boys</i>]</p>	<p><i>Roman krzyczy, ale nie ciągle, czasami jest śmieszny i lubi swój komputer.</i></p>	<p><i>Roman crie mais pas tout le temps. Parfois il est drôle et aime l'ordinateur.</i></p>	<p><i>Roman shouts, but not all the time, sometimes he is funny, and he likes his computer.</i></p>	Reproduced in the original form
		<p><i>Mam kota Spoutnika. Jest dziki i szalony, ale ja go ubieram w ubranka dla lalki.</i></p>	<p><i>Spoutnik est mon chat. Il est très fou et sauvage. Je l'habille avec mes vêtements de poupée.</i></p>	<p><i>I have a cat named Spoutnik. He is wild and crazy, but I dress him up in my doll's clothes.</i></p>	Reproduced with minor modification (French version)
		<p><i>Witold jest miły, silny, kochany. Czasami wykręca mi nadgarstek.</i></p>	<p><i>Witold est gentil et fort. Il me tord parfois le poignet.</i></p>	<p><i>Witold is nice, strong and lovable. Sometimes he twists my wrist.</i></p>	Reproduced in the original form
		<p><i>Kocio jest leworęczny, podobnie jak ja, i lubi rysować.</i></p>	<p><i>Kocio est gaucher comme moi, il aime dessiner.</i></p>	<p><i>Kocio is left-handed like me, and he likes to draw.</i></p>	Reproduced in the original form
		Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation from the perspective of a target language reader	<p><i>Smok Wawelski</i></p> <p>[<i>The Wawel Dragon</i>]</p>	<p>Polish version</p>	<p>French translation</p>
<p><i>Był przed laty jeden [smok] w Polsce / W Krakowie, pod skałą, / Pod Wawelem wydrążył jaskinię całą.</i></p>	<p><i>Il y a longtemps en Pologne, à Caracovie, / Il y en avait un qui vivait sa vie / Dans une grotte à flanc de rocher sur lequel / S'élevait le château de Wawel.</i></p>			<p><i>Years ago on the Polish land, / Under Cracow's Wawel Hill / A dragon lived in a cave and / Filled peoples' hearts with thrill.</i></p>	Established target language equivalent + reproduction (Wawel)
<p><i>Na Wawelu zamek stoi / Królewski – jak wiecie. / Krak tam mieszkał z córką Wandą / Najpiękniejszą w świecie.</i></p>	<p><i>Wawel est connu pour son château / Royal-comme vous le savez. / Le roi Krak et sa jolie fille Wanda / Jadis y habitaient.</i></p>			<p><i>In the castle on top of Wawel, / A royal one-as you all know, / The king named Krak used to dwell / With his daughter Wanda, years ago.</i></p>	Reproduced in the original form

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation from the perspective of a target language reader	Smok Wawelski	<i>Niżej, w mieście, koło rynku / Młody szewczyk Skuba, / Myślał, myślał tak głęboko, / że aż w nosie dźubał.</i>	<i>Plus bas, dans la ville, près du marché, / Sko-uba, un jeune cordonnier, / Réfléchissait si profondément / Qu'il en fourrait les doigts dans le nez.</i>	<i>Next to market square of Cracow / Skuba-a young cobbler- / Was trying to figure out / How to kill the cattle gobbler,</i>	Reproduced with minor modification (French version)
	[The Wawel Dragon]	<i>[smok] Idzie popić wody słodkiej / Na nabrzeżu Wisły. / Pije długo, bo coś trzewia / Okropnie mu wyschły.</i>	<i>Puis il se rendit au bord de la Vistule / Pour s'empifrer d'eau fraîche; / Il but longtemps, car cette bête crétule / Pensait soulager ses tripes toutes sèches.</i>	<i>So he went to drink some water / At the Vistula River / He drunk a lot but there was no / Relief for his aching liver.</i>	Established target language equivalent

All the cultural elements – also the two reproductions involving modification, which can be treated as incidental, as they do not reflect the translators' overall strategy – refer the reader to the target culture, either through the identity of the referent (e.g. the Vistula River) or both through the referent and the linguistic form (e.g. Kocio). The translators' decisions were surely influenced by the assumption that the text was going to be received by native speakers of the source language, unlikely to experience any problems with Polish proper names.

CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE TRANSLATION REFER BOTH TO THE TARGET LANGUAGE CULTURE AND TO THE SOURCE LANGUAGE

The situation is more complex in the other case: that of translations containing references to both source and target language cultures. Such texts can, for instance, contain familiar-sounding names of customs and festivals, or first names (e.g. Polish ones in the case of translation into Polish), but also foreign-sounding surnames, perceived as belonging to the source culture, or terms with foreign referents, sometimes accompanied by reproduced original terms; a mixture of techniques making the translation an exoticising one. Such translation choices are common in books aimed at older children at higher levels of school education, who have already had foreign language classes.

As far as any tendencies could be observed (Kochanowska 2011), the cultural elements most likely to be domesticated in translations of literature for children are the first names of protagonists, and the ones most likely to be left in their original form are their surnames, as well as place names with no established, traditional equivalents in the target language. In practice, however, each translation of such texts represents a different ratio of source and target culture elements.

The following ‘examples’ of (selected but representative) cultural items illustrate the coexistence of source and target culture elements in the same text, which marks it as exoticising (table 2). They derive from Polish translations of books from *Le Petit Nicolas* series (Little Nicholas, translated into Polish as *Mikołajek*) and from a series of thriller/crime stories called *Lune Noire*, aimed at 10-13-year olds and published in Poland by Siedmioróg. Generally, the strategy used by the translators allows Polish readers to clearly identify the text as being a translation of a French novel, referring to French culture, despite the presence of some elements of Polish culture:

Table 2:

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
Cultural items refer to target language culture – foreign elements are adapted		French version	Polish translation	English back-translation	Established target language equivalent
		<i>En haut, de gauche à droite : Martin (qui a bougé), Poulot, Dubéda, Coussignon, Rufus, Aldebert, Eudes, Champignac, Lefèvre, Tous-saint, Charlier, Sarigaut.</i> <i>Au milieu: Paul Bojojof, Jacques Bojojof, Marquou, Lafontan, Lebrun, Dubois, Delmont, de Fontagnés, Martineau, Geoffroy, Mespoulet, Falot, Lafageon.</i> <i>Assis: Rignon, Guyot, Hannibal, Croutsef, Bergès, la maîtresse,</i>	<i>Od góry, od lewej: Martin (poruszył się), Poulot, Dubéda, Coussignon, Rufus, Aldebert, Euzebiusz, Champignac, Lefèvre, Tous-saint, Charlier, Sarigaut.</i> <i>W środku: Paul Bojojof, Jacques Bojojof, Marquou, Lafontan, Lebrun, Dubois, Delmont, de Fontagnés, Martineau, Gotfryd, Mespoulet, Falot, Lafageon.</i> <i>Siedzą: Rignon, Guyot, Hannibal, Croutsef, Bergès, nasza pani, Ananiasz,</i>	<i>Standing, top row: Martin (who moved), Poulot, Dubéda, Coussignon, Rufus, Aldebert, Euzebiusz, Champignac, Lefèvre, Tous-saint, Charlier, Sarigaut.</i> <i>Middle row: Paul Bojojof, Jacques Bojojof, Marquou, Lafontan, Lebrun, Dubois, Delmont, de Fontagnés, Martineau, Gotfryd, Mespoulet, Falot, Lafageon.</i> <i>Seated: Rignon, Guyot, Hannibal, Croutsef, Bergès, out</i>	

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
Cultural items refer to target language culture – foreign elements are adapted	Mikołajek Sempé, Gosciny	<i>Agnan, Nicolas, Faribol, Grosini, Gonzalès, Pichenet, Alceste, et Mouchevin (qui vient d'être renvoyé).</i>	<i>Mikołaj, Faribol, Grosini, Gonzalès, Pichenet, Alceste, et Mouchevin (którego później wydalono).</i>	<i>teacher, Ananiasz, Mikołaj, Faribol, Grosini, Gonzalès, Pichenet, Alceste, and Mouchevin (later expelled).</i>	Established target language equivalent
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation	Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa 1964, Translated by: Tola Markuszewicz, Elżbieta Staniszkis from: <i>Le petit Nicolas</i> Editions Denoël, Paris 1960	<i>En haut, de gauche à droite: Martin (qui a bougé), Poulot, Dubéda, Coussignon, Rufus, Aldebert, Eudes, Champignac, Lefèvre, Tous-saint, Charlier, Sarigaut. Au milieu: Paul Bojojof, Jacques Bojojof, Marquou, Lafontan, Lebrun, Dubois, Delmont, de Fontagnés, Martineau, Geoffroy, Mespoulet, Falot, Lafageon. Assis: Rignon, Guyot, Hannibal, Croutsef, Bergès, la maîtresse, Agnan, Nicolas, Faribol, Grosini, Gonzalès, Pichenet, Alceste, et Mouchevin (qui vient d'être renvoyé).</i>	<i>Od góry, od lewej: Martin (poruszył się), Poulot, Dubéda, Coussignon, Rufus, Aldebert, Euzebiusz, Champignac, Lefèvre, Tous-saint, Charlier, Sarigaut. W środku: Paul Bojojof, Jacques Bojojof, Marquou, Lafontan, Lebrun, Dubois, Delmont, de Fontagnés, Martineau, Gotfryd, Mespoulet, Falot, Lafageon. Siedzą: Rignon, Guyot, Hannibal, Croutsef, Bergès, nasza pani, Ananiasz, Mikołaj, Faribol, Grosini, Gonzalès, Pichenet, Alceste, et Mouchevin (którego później wydalono).</i>	<i>Standing, top row: Martin (who moved), Poulot, Dubéda, Coussignon, Rufus, Aldebert, Euzebiusz, Champignac, Lefèvre, Tous-saint, Charlier, Sarigaut. Middle row: Paul Bojojof, Jacques Bojojof, Marquou, Lafontan, Lebrun, Dubois, Delmont, de Fontagnés, Martineau, Gotfryd, Mespoulet, Falot, Lafageon. Seated: Rignon, Guyot, Hannibal, Croutsef, Bergès, out teacher, Ananiasz, Mikołaj, Faribol, Grosini, Gonzalès, Pichenet, Alceste, and Mouchevin (later expelled).</i>	Reproduced in the original form
Cultural elements refer to source language culture (Dubon) and target language culture (RosóŃ)		<i>Et puis, monsieur Dubon, le surveillant, nous a conduits en classe. Le surveillant, on l'appelle le Bouillon, quand il n'est pas là, bien sûr. On l'appelle comme ça, parce qu'il dit tout le temps: «Regardez-moi</i>	<i>A potem pan Dubon, wychowawca, zaprowadził nas do klasy. My go nazywamy „Rosólem”. Oczywiście wtedy, kiedy tego nie słyszy. Nazwaliśmy go tak, bo on ciągle mówi: „Spójrz-</i>	<i>And then Mr Dubon, our form tutor, led us into the classroom. We call him «Broth». When he's out of earshot, that is. We call him that, cause he always says: «Look me in the eyes», and</i>	Reproduced in the original form (Dubon) + established target language equivalent (RosóŃ)

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
		<i>dans les yeux», et dans le bouillon il y a des yeux.</i>	<i>cie mi w oczy”, a na rosole są oka...</i>	<i>broth has eyes of fat.</i>	
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation	Wakacje Mikołajka Sempé, Gosciny Nasza Księgarnia, Warszawa 1980,	<i>Quand il fait beau, et si on n'a pas glissé, on distingue très nettement la mystérieuse île des Embruns, où (...) le Masque de Fer a failli être emprisonné.</i>	<i>Więc jeśli się nie pośliznie, to przy ładnej pogodzie widać bardzo wyraźnie tajemniczą Wyspę Mgieł, gdzie (...) o mało nie uwięziono Żelaznej Maski* [przypis tłumaczkii: Żelazna Mask – tajemniczy mężczyzna więziony w twierdzy Pignerol, a następnie w Bastylli, gdzie zmarł w 1703 r. Zmuszony był zakrywać głowę kapturem na żelaznej obręczy. Ustalenie jego tożsamości budzi w dalszym ciągu spory wśród historyków.]</i>	<i>So if he doesn't slip, in fair weather he should be able to clearly see the mysterious Isle of Mists, where (...) the Iron Mask was almost imprisoned [translator's footnote: Iron Mask – a mysterious prisoner called the Man in the Iron Mask was kept in Pignerol fortress, and later in the Bastille, where he died in 1703. His head was always covered with a hood on an iron collar. Historians still debate his true identity.]</i>	Established target language equivalent (Żelazna Maska) Foreign elements absent in the original introduced into the text (Pignerol, Bastyllia)
Cultural elements refer to source language culture (Britania, Atlantyki) and target language culture (Morskie Skałki)	Translated by: Barbara Grzegorzewska from: <i>Les vacances du petit Nicolas</i> , Editions Denoël, Paris 1962.	<i>- Moi, je veux faire des ricochets ! j'ai crié. / – Tu en feras peut-être l'année prochaine, m'a dit Maman, si Papa décide de nous emmener à Bains-les-Mers. / – Où ça ? a demandé Papa, qui est resté avec la bouche ouverte. / – A Bains-les-Mers, a dit Maman, en Bretagne, là où il y a l'Atlantique, beaucoup</i>	<i>- Ja chcę puszczać kaczkę! – zwołałem. / – No to będziesz puszczał kaczkę w przyszłym roku – powiedziała mama – jeśli tata zdecyduje się zabrać nas do Morskich Skałek. / – Dokąd? – zapytał tata, który stał ciągle obok nas z otwartymi ustami. / – Do Morskich Skałek – powtórzyła mama – w Bre-</i>	<i>'I want to skip stones!', I cried. 'You'll skip them next year then,' said Mum, 'if Dad decides to take us to Stone-on-Sea [Sea Rocks]. 'Where?', asked Dad, who was standing next to us and still gaping. 'Stone-on-Sea,' repeated Mum, 'in Brittany, where we'll have the Atlantic, plenty of fish and a</i>	Established target language equivalent (Britania, Atlantyki) Telling names invented by the translator (Morskie Skałki)

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
		<i>de poissons et un gentil petit hôtel qui donne sur une plage de sable et de galets.</i>	<i>tanii, gdzie jest <u>Atlantyk</u>, dużo ryb i pewien miły pensjonat z oknami wychodzącymi na plażę z piaskiem i kamieniami.</i>	<i>superb hotel overlooking the sandy and rocky beach.</i> [Bains-les-Mers was given a plausible Polish name]	
Cultural items refer to target language culture – foreign elements are adapted		<i>Pour la leçon de la gymnastique, il y avait des tas d'autres types; mais ils sont de <u>l'hôtel de la Mer</u> et de <u>l'hôtel de la Plage</u> et nous, ceux du <u>Beau-Rivage</u>, on ne les aime pas.</i>	<i>Na lekcję gimnastyki przyszło jeszcze masę innych chłopaków, ale oni są z pensjonatów <u>Albatros</u> i <u>Mewa</u> i my ich nie lubimy. [hotel został przetłóżony jako <u>Rybitwa</u>]</i>	<i>There were lots of other boys at the P.E. class, but they were from <u>Albatross</u> and <u>Seagull</u> hotels and we didn't like them. [the 'Beau-Rivage' hotel was translated as 'Tern']</i>	Telling name invented by the translator

From the very first pages of the first book in the series, the strategy of the Polish translators is clear, as the caption under the photo at the end of the first chapter is rendered in a way illustrating interculturality. While the main protagonists' first names were rendered by their Polish equivalents, the first names of background characters (e.g. Paul, Jacques) and all surnames in the series remained French and thus refer to the source culture. The strategy is less transparent in the case of place names, but generally Polish equivalents are given to ones that are lexically transparent, descriptive, and serve to characterize their referent (in line with the tradition of translating lexically transparent names in literature in general, as indicated by research in literary onomastics). The equivalents can be traditionally established ones (as in the case of *Bretania* for *Bretagne* and *Iron Mask* for *Masque de Fer*) or names invented to trigger identical or similar connotations in the target culture – e.g. both *l'hôtel de la Plage* and *Mewa* (*Seagull*) evoke images of seaside holidays.

Despite this, from the perspective of the text as a whole, as perceived by a Polish reader, the presence of target culture elements (such as *Mikołajek* or *Ananiasz*) does not obscure the cultural landscape communicated throughout the series; the Polish reader is conscious of the fact the characters are supposed to be French, live, learn and work in France, visit the French – not Polish – seaside, etc. Their Polish first names, as well as the name of the hotel that would be familiar in Poland, are manifestly introduced to facilitate reception by Polish children (readability" principle). The translators probably assumed Polish readers would find

it difficult to follow the protagonists' adventures if they had to recall the French pronunciation of *Nicolas*, *Agnan* or *Geoffroy* every time the names appeared. As for the hotel, they obviously focused on the connotations that would be inaccessible to the Polish reader if the name was retained in its original form.

Intercultural translation may also be illustrated by the treatment of cultural items in the Polish versions of books from the *Lune Noire* series, aimed at older children (10-13). Selected examples, representative of the whole series, are presented in table 3:

Table 3:

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
		French version	Polish translation	English back-translation from Polish	
Cultural elements refer to source language culture (Muriel, Dżamel) and target language culture (Piotrek, Paskalina, Antek, Tomek, Patrycja, Wielki Włodzimierz, Fryderyk)	<p><i>Dzień mordców</i> [<i>Murderers' day</i>]</p> <p>Hubert Ben Kermoun, Siedmioróg, Wrocław 2000, Translated by: Barbara Janicka from: <i>Le jour des saigneurs</i>, Editions Nathan, Paris 1999</p>	<p><i>A la table devant moi, depuis un bon moment, Pierrick tentait de décider Paskaline – dans la rangée à sa gauche – à se faire un ciné, le surlendemain, mercredi. (...) / Un peu plus loin, à gauche, dans l'autre rangée, Antoine et Muriel, Thierry et Patricia conspiraient joyeusement... / Dans la rangée à ma droite, un petit groupe complotait beaucoup plus sérieusement. Le Grand Vladimir, Dżamel, Frédérique et quelques autres n'avaient qu'une préoccupation...</i></p>	<p><i>W ławce przede mną Piotrek od dłuższego czasu usiłował namówić Paskalinę – siedzącą w rzędzie ławek po jego lewej stronie – żeby pojutrze, w środę, wybrała się z nim do kina. (...) / Jeszcze dalej na lewo od niego, w następnym rzędzie, Antek i Muriel oraz Tomek i Patrycja umawiali się wesoło... / W rzędzie po mojej prawej stronie niewielka grupa debatowała na tematy o wiele poważniejsze. Wielki Włodzimierz, Dżamel, Fryderyk i jeszcze paru chłopaków zajmowało się tylko jednym...</i></p>	<p><i>At the table ahead of me, Piotrek was trying to talk Paskalina into going out to the cinema with him on Wednesday (...) Left of them, next row, Antek and Muriel, Tomek and Patrycja were happily making appointments, too (...) On the right a small group debated more serious topics. Big Włodzimierz, Dżamel, Fryderyk and some others had one thing in mind..</i></p>	<p>Reproduced in the original form (Muriel, Dżamel)</p> <p>Polish name introduced by the translator (Tomek¹)</p> <p>Established target language equivalents (Piotrek, Paskalina, Antek, Patrycja, Włodzimierz, Fryderyk)</p>

¹ The Polish equivalent would be a very rare name, *Teodoryk*.

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
Cultural elements refer to source language culture (Cerpe) and target language culture (plac Wyzwolenia)		<i>Elle non plus n'a rien dit, du moins au début. Jusqu'à ce que nous arrivions à l'angle du boulevard Cerpe et de la place de la Libération.</i>	<i>Ona też się nie odzywała, przynajmniej z początku, dopóki nie doszliśmy do skrzyżowania bulwaru Cerpe z placem Wyzwolenia².</i>	<i>She didn't say anything either, at least until we got to the <u>Cerpe boulevard</u> and the <u>Liberation Square</u>.</i>	Reproduced in the original form (Cerpe) + established target language equivalent (plac Wyzwolenia)
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation		<i>- Je suis ici à propos de votre camarade Grégoire Charcot ! a-t-il dit très lentement.</i>	<i>– Powodem mojej wizyty jest wasz kolega Grzegorz Charcot! – powiedział bardzo wolno.</i>	<i>'I am here because of your colleague, Grzegorz Charcot,' he said very slowly.</i>	Reproduced in the original form
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation		<i>Il s'est arrêté devant le tableau et, sous les noms des trois caravelles de Colomb (...) il a noté (...): Inspecteur Christophe Servandoni</i>	<i>Stanął przed tablicą i pod imionami trzech karaweli Kolumba (...), napisał (...): Inspektor Christophe Servandoni.</i>	<i>He stood in front of the board and wrote (...) below the names of Cololumbus' three ships: Inspector Christophe Servandoni.</i>	Reproduced in the original form
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation		<i>- Avenue de Versailles, c'est au numéro 30 !</i>	<i>– Aleja Wersalska, numer 30!</i>	<i>30, Versailles Avenue!</i>	Established target language equivalent
Cultural elements refer to source language culture and target language culture (Patryk)		<i>Saint-Wendel était sur le trajet du gros Patryk, au nord de Sarrebruck</i>	<i>Sankt-Wendel leżało na trasie grubego Patryka, na północ od Saarbrucken</i>	<i>Sankt-Wendel was on Patryk's route, north of Saarbrucken</i>	Reproduced in the original form
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation		<i>Anne-Sophie de Villefranche se redressa.</i>	<i>Anne-Sophie de Villefranche wyprostowała się</i>	<i>Anne-Sophie de Villefranche straightened up.</i>	Reproduced in the original form

² The words *bulwar* and *plac* are not emphasized in the Polish version, since – unless they are capitalized – they are treated as common nouns, not parts of proper names. French onomastic tradition presents an opposite view (see K. Jonasson, 1994, *Le Nom Propre. Constructions et interprétations*, Duculot, Louvain-la-Neuve).

Strategy of rendering cultural items	Source	Compared versions			Techniques used to translate cultural items
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation		<i>La mère de Marie-Charlotte Vendeuil pleurnichait dans son mouchoir.</i>	<i>Matka Marie-Charlotte Vendeuil pochliplywata w chusteczkę</i>	<i>The mother of Marie-Charlotte Vendeuil was sobbing into a handkerchief</i>	Reproduced in the original form
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation	<p><i>Piekielny pociąg [Train from hell]</i></p> <p>Michel Amelin, Siedmioróg, Wrocław 1998, translated by: Barbara Janicka from: <i>Train d'enfer</i>, Editions Nathan, Paris 1995.</p>	<p><i>Saint-Placide, Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Odéon, Saint-Michel, Cité, Châtelet, Les Halles, Réaumur-Sébastopol... A chaque station, Toni et Anne-Sophie observaient les gens qui montaient et descendaient. (...) Un groupe de flics monta à la station Strasbourg-Saint-Denis. (...) A Château-d'Eau, deux C.R.S. patrouillaient sur le quai.</i></p>	<p><i>Saint-Placide, Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Odéon, Saint-Michel, Cité, Châtelet, Les Halles, Réaumur-Sébastopol... Na każdej stacji Toni i Anne-Sophie obserwowali wchodzących i wychodzących ludzi (...) Na stacji Strasbourg-Saint-Denis wsiadła grupka policjantów (...) Na stacji Château-d'Eau dwaj inni policjanci patrolowali peron.</i></p>	<p><i>Saint-Placide, Saint-Sulpice, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Odéon, Saint-Michel, Cité, Châtelet, Les Halles, Réaumur-Sébastopol... At every station Toni and Anne-Sophie watched people getting on and off (...) At Strasbourg-Saint-Denis some policemen got on (...) At Château-d'Eau two more were patrolling the platform.</i></p>	Reproduced in the original form
Cultural elements refer to source language culture – exoticising translation		<p><i>- D'abord, ce ne sont pas mes parents. C'est la D.D.A.S.S.* [la note de l'auteur informe: D.D.A.S.S.: Direction départementale de l'action sanitaire et sociale (Départementalny Zarząd Akcji Sanitarnej i Socjalnej)] qui m'a placé chez ces abrutis (...) Ils habitent dans le XVIII à Paris</i></p>	<p><i>Przede wszystkim nie są moimi rodzicami. To D.D.A.S.S.* [przypis tłumaczki: Direction départementale de l'action sanitaire et sociale (Departementalny Zarząd Akcji Sanitarnej i Socjalnej)] umieściło mnie u tych kretynów. (...) Mieszkają w osiemnastym okręgu Paryża</i></p>	<p><i>Firstly, they're not my parents. I was put up with these idiots by D.D.A.S.S.* [note: Direction départementale de l'action sanitaire et sociale (Regional Social Services Department)]. (...) They live in the eighteenth district in Paris</i></p>	Reproduced in the original form with a translator's footnote

In this case, too, interculturality is manifested in the coexistence of source and target culture elements appearing side by side. Again, the reader is conscious the plot is set in France and the characters are French. As mentioned above, the translations were aimed at an older reader than those of *Le Petit Nicolas* series and it might have been this fact that determined the degree of foreignness or strangeness (fr. degré d'étranéité) source culture references were allowed to evoke; the degree of foreignness being understood as the measure to which a child reader will perceive a given cultural element as foreign (see Lewicki 2000, 132).

It seems reasonable to assume that reception will differ in the case of elements whose referent alone seems foreign, and those which have both foreign referents and linguistic form. Compare the following examples (table 4):

Table 4:

Proper names in the original	Foreignness based on the referent belonging to the source language culture	Foreignness based on the referent belonging to the source language culture AND having a foreign-sounding linguistic form
Christopher Robin	Krzyś (translated by Irena Tuwim) / Krzysztof Robin (translated by Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska) ¹	Christopher Robin (suggested by Krzysztof Hejwowski (2004: 98))
Anne-Sophie	Anna Zofia	Anne-Sophie
Paris	Paryż	Paris
Le Masque de Fer	Żelazna Maska	Le Masque de Fer

The above table suggests the element will be perceived as more foreign if both its 'form' and 'content' refer to the source language culture; e.g. Anne-Sophie is likely to strike the Polish reader as much more foreign than Anna Zofia, even though the context of the translation may indicate the latter character is French as well.

In view of this observation, although both *Le Petit Nicolas* and the *Lune Noire* translations exemplify intercultural translation, the subjective sense of foreignness will be more pronounced while reading the latter series, where the cultural elements, such as proper names, were more often retained in their source versions.

This is not to assert the suitability or unsuitability of any particular translation strategy. From the perspective of a Polish child reader, *Żelazna Maska* must be seen as a more transparent and user-friendly option than *Le Masque de Fer*, which would require a note explaining its meaning in Polish and the correct French pronunciation.

CONCLUSION

For many scholars and readers alike, the aim of translation is to constitute a window onto the source language culture; to educate the reader about the culture and to promote it. Since the target text is, obviously, written in the target language, the burden of transmitting elements of the source culture is unavoidably shifted to so-called cultural items.

Cultural items could include a text's structure and organization, but in literature for children foreignness is most typically lodged in its linguistic layer. Foreign names of characters, schools and institutions are what a child notices most quickly and directly, in line with the iceberg metaphor by E.T. Hall. In such a case the translation may be called intercultural; a text which brings source and target cultures together so that they may coexist, with the fact of translation openly pronounced, and the target text marked unambiguously as a derivative work. The opposite situation is encountered in monocultural translations, where the source culture is removed from sight and the target text seems an original work of the target culture. Perhaps in the era of progressive globalization, with an ever growing exposure to foreign languages (especially English) experienced by children, intercultural translations are likely to become more common, even in literature aimed at the youngest of child readers.

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