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**MANOLITO GAFOTAS AND THE  
TRANSLATION OF ITS CULTURAL  
REFERENCES INTO AMERICAN ENGLISH**

Trabajo Fin de Grado

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## Abstract

This study analyzes the translation of cultural references from Spanish to American English in the first novel of the children's literary series *Manolito Gafotas*. For this purpose, the translation techniques that Moriarty used for adapting these references have been considered. The translation of cultural references involves a high degree of difficulty, since they are elements that are closely linked to one culture and in many cases do not exist in another. In addition to this, censorship and correction are other fundamental elements that have governed the translation of this novel and have led to the elimination of some references in order to create a more accessible content for American readers. Finally, with this analysis we have tried to observe whether the translation of the cultural references has brought the original text closer to the American culture or not.

**Keywords:** Cultural referents, Cultural references, Translation techniques, Adaptation, Elision and Domestication

## Resumen

Este estudio analiza la traducción de referencias culturales del español al inglés americano en la primera novela de la serie literaria infantil *Manolito Gafotas*. Para ello, se han tenido en cuenta las técnicas de traducción que Moriarty utilizó para la adaptación de estas referencias. La traducción de referencias culturales entraña un alto grado de dificultad, ya que se trata de elementos estrechamente ligados a una cultura y en muchos casos inexistentes en otra. Además, la censura y la corrección son otros elementos fundamentales que han regido la traducción de esta novela y que han llevado a la eliminación de algunas referencias con el fin de crear un contenido más accesible para los lectores estadounidenses. Por último, con este análisis se intenta observar si la traducción de las referencias culturales ha acercado o no el texto original a la cultura estadounidense.

**Palabras clave:** Referentes culturales, Referencias culturales, Técnicas de traducción, Adaptación, Elisión y Domesticación.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Justification

There are many theorists who have addressed this topic from diverse perspectives, offering a variety of analysis of the same novel. *Manolito Gafotas* attracted the attention of linguists and philologists, broadly because the story develops in a fully Spanish environment. However, while previous studies have primarily examined the linguistic problems involved in the translation of the novel, this approach proposes another perspective that focuses specifically on the treatment of cultural elements in translation.

This novel is completely rooted in the Spanish culture, so it presents a great opportunity to study how its cultural specificity has been translated for the North American audience. Moreover, the translation of cultural referents is one of the biggest challenges for translators as they act as editors too. Translators are the ones who had to decide whether to adapt, finding an equivalent, or omitting the cultural elements among others. This study tries to highlight the role of the translator as bridge between the Spanish and the American culture.

### 1.2. Methodology

#### 1.2.1 Research focus

This is a qualitative study which focuses on comparative analysis. This methodology is the most accurate for this type of study. It allows the observation of the translator's choices for solving the issue of translating specific cultural items. Its aim is to analyze the strategies used in the translation of specific cultural elements from Spanish into American English in the novel *Manolito Gafotas*. The study focuses exclusively on cultural content, so grammar or syntax are excluded. This study focuses on how the difficulties of translating cultural references have been solved, and not on the formal mechanisms of the language.

#### 1.2.2 Data collection

For the extraction of the corpus, a manual close reading of both texts (source text and target text) was done to identify the cultural elements that may be challenging for its

transfer into other languages. It was noted in the novel the technique that I consider that was used, as well as its translated version. For their selection I have used two criteria. The selection criteria were based on cultural significance and translational difficulty. The elements selected were the ones rooted in Spanish culture, and it was prioritized the elements that posed a difficulty of meaning and interpretation for the American readers. The objective was to focus on items whose translation needed intercultural negotiations, rather than direct lexical equivalence.

#### *1.2.3 Data classification*

After the identification of the elements, they were classified into six categories: place names, political and social institutions, units of measurement, gastronomy, games and sports and artistic, traditional and TV culture. This classification allowed a structured and clear comparison between the Spanish and the English texts.

#### *1.2.4 Analytical procedure*

For each referent, the corresponding English equivalent was identified and analyzed on the basis of the translation strategy employed. The selected items were compiled into a comparative chart in which it included just the most significant items. In addition, where necessary, an explanatory commentary has been included in some of the examples. The methodology aims not only to identify the translation technique, but also to explain the role of the translator as intercultural mediator, choosing between preserving the cultural identity of the novel or secure comprehension.

## 2. Theoretical framework

This section addresses the different theories that serve as the theoretical basis for my project, as well as the previous studies related to my own study.

*Manolito Gafotas*, which is the first book of the series, is a literary work for children written by Elvira Lindo and published in 1994. The story is about Manolito, a Spanish boy of the 90s who narrates his life in Carabanchel, a humble neighbourhood of Madrid. In particular, this first novel was translated into American English by Joanne Moriarty in 2008 under the title of *Manolito Four-Eyes*. Although this book is the only one translated by Moriarty, other translators have translated novels from the same saga.

### 2.1 Previous studies

*Manolito Gafotas* has been studied in several research studies. Not only in the field of translation. Researchers have also looked at its cultural elements. They have also studied how the text changed due to purification and correction.

In 2019, De La Encarnación Boronat discussed the analysis of the cultural referents when translating the novel into English in her work *Análisis de los culturemas en la traducción de Manolito Gafotas al inglés*. She analyzed the strategies used by the translator, as well as discussing the fidelity of the final result of the translation. Her study deals with the choice of preserving the cultural identity and adapting the text for the target readers.

Cámara Aguilera (2016) in *Traducción y asimetría: Manolito Gafotas y su traducción al inglés como ejemplo de intervencionismo*, deals with another volume of *Manolito Gafotas*' series from another perspective. This study doesn't focus directly on the translation of cultural referents. Instead, it looks at how translators intervene in the text. In particular, it examines how they leave out elements that might cause controversy in the translated version. Closely related to this issue, several studies have approached how these alterations contribute to Manolito's image cleanup. The translator decides to adapt or elide fragments she considered inappropriate, to avoid the risk of censorship in North America.

For instance, Alderete Díez along with Harrington Fernández (2019), wrote an article *Shortsighted translation: censorship in the three Manolito Gafotas books translated into American English*. In their study, they identify translation shifts that modify the identity

and voice of the narrator. Both authors consider that a translation must overcome not only linguistic issues, but ideological and ethical too.

The study *Un Manolito Gafotas modélico: la purificación y corrección en la traducción al inglés de la serie Española* by Travalia (2019), also talks about cultural referents being lost, which happened because Moriarty felt pressured when translating the novel. She had to change or eliminate parts that were considered improper. It is for this reason that through the novel we will find some omissions without justification or some cultural referents that are mistranslated, leading to the loss of the original meaning of the source text.

Although all the studies deal with cultural referents, the last three address how censorship is involved in the translation process. However, they all share that translation, as well as being a complex linguistic process, is also a cultural mediation since it has to suit every language and culture.

This literature review serves to set a basis for the theoretical framework of this study. In the next section, I will address several theories related to translation, like the strategies used in translation, what cultural referents are, how literature for children is translated, etc.

## 2.2 *Cultural references and cultural referents*

In the field of translation, it is relevant to make a distinction between cultural reference and cultural referent since both terms are used interchangeably. On the one hand, a cultural reference can be interpreted as a broader category that encloses elements, such as practices and symbols of a culture. Within this category, cultural references can be found. Cultural referents are a more specific and concrete manifestation of this broader reference. This means that a referent is a concrete example of a wider category. In other words, cultural references can be interpreted as a hyperonym, while cultural referents can be understood as a hyponym within this broader category.

The origin of the term cultureme is unclear and several definitions of it have been proposed. Luque Nadal (2009) comments on her study *Los culturemas: ¿unidades lingüísticas, ideológicas o culturales?* that Vermeer may have been the one to introduce this topic. According to him, a cultureme is “un fenómeno social de una cultura A que es

considerado relevante por los miembros de esta cultura y que, cuando se compara con un fenómeno social correspondiente en la cultura B, se encuentra que es específico de la Cultura A". (Vermeer 1983, cited in Luque Nadal, 2009: 97). This means that a cultural element holds significance for a concrete group but lacks an equivalent in another culture. Vermeer describes the connection between language and culture, showing that what for a culture is meaningful may not even exist in another.

In this line of thought, Molina Martínez defines in her study *El Otoño del Pingüino* that cultureme is "un elemento verbal o paraverbal [...] provocar un problema de índole cultural entre los textos origen y meta" (Molina Martínez 2006: 79). This definition is characterized by its interpretative breadth, since it considers that any term, depending on its use and context, can acquire a significant cultural value. Thus, a word that is apparently culturally uncharged in its original context may represent a translation problem if, in the target culture, it has different connotations. She also comments that culturemes don't exist out of context, but they emerge in a cultural transfer between two specific cultures. Her perspective explains that cultural elements shouldn't be considered as elements of a single culture, normally the source text, but rather as the product of a cultural transfer. And in addition, culturemes are relative to the cultural interaction between two cultures. Moreover, she explains that the activation of a cultural element depends on the context in which it appears. This means that depending on how and where the cultureme is used within the text, a term may or not work as a cultureme. This presents a problem for the translator, who must not only identify the cultural significance of a term but also interpret how its function might change depending on the narrative situation.

Eugene Nida in his article *Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation-Problems* (1945), defines what a cultureme is. He explains how language and culture are interrelated. According to him, when translating, it is necessary to bear in mind all the aspects of the culture that may be involved in translation; this way, translators could choose the equivalent that suits better in each context. On the basis of this theory, Hurtado Albir comments on the explanation of this author and gives her own definition: "La denominación culturema sirve para referirnos a los elementos culturales característicos de una cultura presente en un texto y que, por su especificidad, pueden provocar problemas de traducción." (Hurtado Albir, 2001: 611).

Once culturemes, have been defined, it is pertinent to address their classification. Such classification emerges because, as Nida comments on his article *Linguistics and*

*Ethnology in Translation-Problems*, a correct translation requires knowledge of the cultural situation of both languages involved. Nida explains that cultural references can be organized into five great categories “( 1) ecology, ( 2) material culture, ( 3) social culture, ( 4) religious culture, and ( 5) linguistic culture.” (Nida 1945: 196). First, the ecology category includes elements related to climate, geography, vegetation and landscapes or natural phenomena that lack equivalents in the target culture. Material culture involves tangible materials such as food, clothing or tools, that sometimes carry certain cultural significance apart from their functional use. Social culture includes all the elements related to traditions, customs or institutions that shape the way individuals interact within a community. Religious culture includes religious traditions, rituals or beliefs that are rooted in a culture. Finally, linguistic culture includes everything related to language, that's to say, it includes expressions, idioms, or sayings that suffer modifications in meaning when translating them. Similarly, Molina Martínez introduces innovations to Nida's classification, on which he bases his own. The innovations include the reduction of categories and the broadening of their content, as well as the exclusion of linguistic elements. The first category is natural environment, in which it can be included Nida's ecology category. The same elements are included in this category; however, Molina also includes toponyms. Cultural heritage is the following category, it includes physical or ideological references shared by a culture. In contrast with Nida's material culture, Molina's category is broader, and it incorporates what Nida separates; that's to say, it incorporates realia and material culture along with religious culture, such as rites, sacred texts, etc. The third category is social culture, which coincides with Nida's. It includes social conventions and habits and social organization. Finally, the last category is linguistic culture, in which it includes translation problems that, in contrast to Nida's, excludes some elements such as morphology and syntax. Only the phonological and lexical elements are maintained.

These classifications make it possible to systematically address the different types of problems that may arise when translating cultural elements. They respond to a practical need in the translation process; if culturemes are grouped according to the cultural environment to which they belong, the translator will be able to identify their nature more easily and decide with greater precision on the appropriate translation strategy.

## 2.3. Translation difficulties and the untranslatability theory

### 2.3.1. Cultural difficulties

As explained in the previous section, it is clear that translators face a great obstacle when they have to deal with the translation of cultural elements. The texts are bound to a specific language and therefore they present many linguistic particularities related to cultural aspects. This means that translators have difficulties when finding an “equivalent” in the target culture for each context in which a cultural element appears. This happens because certain terms refer to objects or realities that may not exist in the target culture.

Many theorists have explored the relationship between language and culture. Nida pointed out that cultural differences often present greater obstacles to translation than the differences in structure between languages. In the same line of thought as his contributions, several theorists have addressed the concept of “untranslatability”, especially in cases where the cultural content of a text is so specific that it resists direct translation. Fernández Guerra comments on her study *Crossing Boundaries: The Translation of Cultural Referents in English and Spanish*, that untranslatability happens in those texts that are so culture-bound and culture-specific that they seem to defy translation. This means that certain words in a text can't have an equivalent in the target text.

Catford dealt with this concept in 1965 in his study *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, and he distinguishes between linguistic and cultural untranslatability, which are correlated. Linguistic untranslatability happens because languages are structured differently. These kind of differences are common in translation and don't impede their translation. However, the difficulty arises when the structure's form is important for the meaning of the message. In contrast to linguistic untranslatability, Catford defines cultural untranslatability, that according to him, it is “less absolute than the linguistic one” (Catford J.C., 1965: 99). Nonetheless, the distinction between cultural and linguistic untranslatability is unclear and as Catford comments, not always necessary. He explains that “what renders ‘culturally untranslatable’ items ‘untranslatable’ is the fact that the use in the TL text of any approximate translation equivalent produces an unusual collocation in the TL” (Catford J.C., 1965: 99). This is known as collocation untranslatability, which means that it is impossible to reproduce word combinations that sound natural in the target

language. It occurs when a word in the source language is combined with others in its context, and doesn't have an equivalent in the target language that combines with the same naturalness as its respective equivalent. Therefore, what seems to be a cultural issue could actually be a linguistic problem related to the frequency and naturalness of certain lexical associations.

This explanation means that cultural untranslatability is indeed a matter of collocation untranslatability. A collocation can be defined as a combination of utterances that sound natural in a specific language, so it could be said that it is actually a type of linguistic untranslatability. The unusual effect that these collocations produce, can be described “not as ‘cultural shock’ but as ‘collocational shock’” (Catford J.C., 1965: 102). When a translation feels forced or unusual in the target text is not because that cultural referent is from a very different culture, but rather because those translated collocations don't normally go together in the target language.

On the question of untranslatability, the difficulty of translating elements of a culture can be seen in the translation of proper names too. Proper names are often culturally loaded, making them difficult to translate. Newmark explains in his book *A Textbook of Translation*, that the difficulty itself is due to proper names having cultural connotations, which are different from one culture to another. Newmark affirms that proper names in many cases have a cultural, historical or symbolic charge that can influence how they are received in another language. This means that when people wonder if proper names have to be translated or not, such a question can't be answered. Their translation depends on different elements, such as the micro and macro structures of the text, so for each text, a different decision should be taken. With regard to this question, Newmark remarks that it is important to consider the proper name function within the text because if the name provides relevant information to the reader, the translator should consider if the name should be translated in another way. In addition, it is also important to consider the ambit to what proper names belong. Because place names, names of institutions or person's names show different challenges when it comes to translation. This is why untranslatability is not a total impossibility, but rather a context-dependent issue.

Likewise, Cámara Aguilera takes up Newmark's idea in her study *The Translation of Proper Names in Children's Literature*. She comments that a rule for the translation of proper names hasn't been created yet; for this reason, several factors have to be considered. She agrees with Newmark that proper names should be translated according

to the cultural context of the text, the intention, the communicative intention or the type of reader. Particularly, children's literature, is a kind of text in which proper names have symbolic and strong connotations, and it is necessary to choose between preserving the proper name as in the ST or adapting it to facilitate its comprehension.

### *2.3.2. Translation strategies and techniques*

Having explained cultural referents and the untranslatability theory, I will now move on to discuss the translators' techniques used in translation. Over the years, various specialists in translation have ascertained the existence of several techniques to solve the untranslatability of certain words in a text. Thanks to the analysis of the techniques used in the novel, conclusions on how the translation of the cultural elements has been achieved may be drawn up.

First of all, technique and strategy create confusion since both terms have a similar connotation, and some studies clarify it. Molina Martínez (2006: 98-99) and Hurtado Albir (Hurtado Albir 2001:267) explain in their respective studies the difference between these two terms. Strategy refers to global translator's decision on how to address a text, i.e., the overall approach to translation. This means that the translator considers if a text has to be adapted for the target culture or kept as the original culture. However, technique refers to concrete processes applied in specific parts of a text.

On the basis of this distinction, there are several techniques which, as I have mentioned before, some theorists have explained. I will focus on the following techniques, that will serve as a basis for the analysis of the extracted corpus.

- 1) Adaptation is the substitution of a cultural element with another found in the target text. As Newmark explains in his book *A Textbook of Translation*, "adaptation is the freest form of translation" (Newmark 1988: 46). This means that this technique is linked to creativity, as adaptation gives priority to the naturalness of the target text. Additionally, Eadaroos, gives another definition on the basis of Newmark's definition and explains that "adaptation is a type of translation that involves a number of changes to be made so that the target text produced is in harmony with the spirit of the source text." (Eadaroos Assaqaf 2016: 783).

- 2) Linguistic amplification happens when the translator uses in the TL more words than in the SL to express the same idea (Fernandez Guerra 2012). This means that the translation is longer due to the addition of words that aren't necessary.
- 3) Amplification means adding explicative information in the target text. Both Molina and Albir explain in their respective studies that amplification means the introduction of aspects that do not exist in the ST.
- 4) Calque is the literal translation of a word. Molina Martínez defines it as “palabra o sintagma extranjero que se incorpora traducido a otra lengua” (Molina Martínez 2006: 88).
- 5) Compensation is the introduction of an element containing the characteristics of the original fragment elsewhere in the text, which could not be reflected in the same place as in the original fragment. Another author explains that compensation is a standard lexical transfer operation whereby those meanings of the SL text that are lost in the process of translation are rendered in the TL text in some other place or by some other means. (Klaudy 2008).
- 6) Linguistic comprehension is the opposite of linguistic amplification, is the reduction of a fragment by getting rid of unnecessary elements. This technique has to do with the reduction technique defined by Molina; she explains that it consists of the elimination of elements because they are unnecessary or repetitive.
- 7) Discursive creation: to establish an equivalence that has nothing to do with elements in the source text. Volf also defines it as “a translation technique for presenting temporary correspondences that are unexpected or out of context.” (Volf 2020: 3).
- 8) Description means the substitution of a term by its description. Moreover, Fernández Guerra explains that the description could be even a sort of paraphrasing or an explanation of the term in the TL.
- 9) Elision is the opposite of amplification; it consists in the omission of the cultural element.
- 10) Equivalence is the use of a term or phrase that is already recognized as the equivalent in the target language. Vinay and Darbelnet defined it as a procedure in which the same situation is replicated as in the original but different wording is used. (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995).
- 11) Generalization is the use of a hyperonym or a less specific term. Hurtado Albir also defines it as a process of translating a term by another more general.

- 12) Modulation is the change of the point of view of the source text. This means that the words in the ST are regulated to make them more natural in the TL.
- 13) Particularization is the opposite of generalization; it is the use of a more accurate and concrete term.
- 14) Borrowing happens when a term is taken from another language, and it is used without translating it.
- 15) Substitution: a cultural element is replaced by a more natural one in the target text. Sometimes it means the change of linguistic by paralinguistic elements.
- 16) Literal translation: which is the translation of an expression word by word. This technique is related to calques too.
- 17) Transposition is the change of the grammatical category.
- 18) Variation: it is the change of linguistic or paralinguistic elements such as changes in tone, text, style, or dialect.

These techniques facilitate the solution to the problems presented by the cultural references. Each of them offers a different approach depending on the context in which the cultural element is within the text. This allows the translator to adapt the cultureme in a way that its<sup>o</sup> meaning it is maintained in the target culture.

### *2.3.2.1 Domestication and foreignization*

As it was explained in the previous section, technique and strategy are two terms that refer to two different things in translation. Once established the differences between them and after having explained the translation techniques, it is now relevant to deal with the general framework in which these strategies are incorporated. Venuti proposes in his study *A History of translation*, two approaches to these choices, domestication and foreignization.

On the one hand, domestication is defined by Venuti as “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to the receiving cultural values, bringing the author back home” (Venuti, 2008: 15 cited in Chouit 2019: 74). This means that when using domestication, the original cultural content of the ST is replaced by whatever that feels more familiar for target readers. Domestication is indeed used if the translator opts for bringing the text closer to target readers. Translators opt for domesticating the text, when they get rid of whatever strangeness that could be incomprehensible for the reader of the target culture.

Chouit explains in his study *A Critical Evaluation of Venuti's Domestication and Foreignization Theory of Translation*, that “ if the solutions chosen by the translator indicate a tendency towards the target language (TL), e.g. by omitting foreign or exotic references and replacing them with intelligible and common alternatives from the TL and the TC, this means that the translator has opted for a domesticating strategy governed by the TL and the TC norms” (Chouit, 2019: 73). His explanation means that when using domestication, the target text is adapted to the language and the rules of the target culture.

On the other hand, Venuti defines foreignization as “an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad.” (Venuti, 1995: 16 cited in Chouit 2019: 76). As the name itself indicates, the translator keeps the foreign elements of the ST. Venuti theorized this strategy because he defended foreignization as a way of withstanding domestication, which often removed cultural differences. Chouit relies on Venuti’s study to give its own definition of foreignization, which is that “if the translator retains the foreign and exotic aspects of the ST, this is indicative of a foreignizing strategy governed by the prevailing norms in the SL and the SC” (Chouit, 2019).

There is a dilemma between using foreignization or not. While this strategy may hinder the comprehension of the text by the target reader, in turn, it helps to foment interest in the source culture, as well as culturally enrich the reader. Venuti expresses his critic towards the predominant use of domestication, especially when translating texts from Anglo-American cultures. He proposes the use of foreignization as the predilect strategy because it does not give only visibility to the translator, but it introduces cultural and linguistic elements of the source text into the translation. In contrast to this opinion, it isn’t always possible to use foreignization in every text. Foreignization varies depending on the function and the purpose of the original text. In technical or scientific texts, whose purpose is to inform about something clearly and directly, the presence of unfamiliar cultural referents hinders their comprehension by target readers. It is for this reason that domestication should be used in these cases. Nonetheless, in literary texts, maintaining cultural referents allows the reader to be culturally enriched as well as get to know the text culture.

### 2.3.2.2 *Skopos theory*

After defining domestication and foreignization, it is relevant to place them within a broader framework. This framework is the principle that guides translators' decisions during translation processes. The *Skopos* theory, proposed by Vermeer, affirms that every translation is determined by a specific purpose. This purpose known as *Skopos* refers to the aim the target text. In other words, what rules the choices of translation strategies isn't the text fidelity, but the purpose of the target text.

Under this theory, translators are the ones who choose which technique they have to use depending on the context of the target text. Vermeer's theory defends that in a novel like *Manolito Gafotas*, which contains a great quantity of specific referents rooted in the Spanish culture, the techniques used will vary depending on the target readers. That is to say, that there should be more Spanish cultural elements if the text is aimed at Spanish-speaking people or Spanish learners, while if the text is aimed at English speakers, those cultural elements should be elided or adapted.

Nord expands on this theory with the so-called "Skopos rule". It states that every translation choice, including the choice of whether to use domestication or foreignization, depends on the function of the target text. However, "it does not mean that a good translation should *ipso facto* conform or adapt to target-culture behaviour or expectations, although the concept is often misunderstood in this way" (Nord 2001: 29). Considering the previous aspect, domestication will be used if the intention of the text is to reach non-native speakers. The replacement of the cultural elements by equivalents allows readers to have a better understanding of the text, although the original meaning and tone of the text are lost in the translation. Foreignization, on the other hand, will be used if the aim is to maintain the original cultural identity of the source text. This strategy implies the difficulty of understanding cultural elements in certain contexts. Finally, if the goal of the text is mixed, a literal translation along with other techniques should be used to facilitate the comprehension without losing the original referents.

### **3. The translation of cultural elements in *Manolito Gafotas*: proposals and difficulties**

In this section, I will deal with the analysis of *Manolito Gafotas*; for this purpose, I will classify the cultural elements into different fields as a way of organizing them. Even though I have based my classification on Nida and Newmark, the final organization of the elements acknowledges my criteria. In addition, to conduct the analysis, in this classification I will also include the techniques used in the translation of each cultural element. Nevertheless, there are certain elements that I have excluded since they are not a problem in the translation process, as they are elements that do exist in both languages. In addition, including all the cultural elements in this novel would make this study longer because it would require the explanation of each of them. There is a total of 78 cultural elements analysed, of which, as I have already mentioned, I will include in each section the most significant ones.

#### *3.1. Classification of the cultural referents*

This section focuses on the cultural elements rooted in Spanish culture. These elements create a great challenge because most of them only exist in Spanish culture and lack a translation in the target language. For its analysis, I have subdivided this section into place names, gastronomy, social and political institutions, units of measurement, games and sports and artistic, traditional and TV culture. I have taken all the examples of the charts from *Manolito Gafotas* by E. Lindo (1994) and from its translated version *Manolito Four-Eyes* (E. Lindo, 2008 J. Moriarty, Trans).

i. *Place names*

**Chart 1:**

	Source text	Target Text	Technique
1	Gran Vía (p.13)	Grand Street, which is one of the busiest and shopping areas (p.13)	Amplification and literal translation
2	Como si fuera una mona de la <b>Casa de Fieras.</b> (p.15)	Not like a monkey in a <b>cage.</b> (p.18)	Generalization
3	Habíamos llegado hasta la <b>Casa de Campo</b> (p.18)	We had reached the <b>field house, where the subway cars are kept</b> (p.22)	Literal translation and amplification
4	Ella veraneaba en <b>Motril.</b> (p.31)	She spent her summer in <b>Andalucía on the coast of Spain.</b> (p.40)	Generalization and description
5	Acampo (p.39)	Walmart (p.53)	Adaptation
6	Alguien de Mota del Cuervo, <b>Cuenca.</b> (p.42)	Someone else from Mota del Cuervo. (p.56)	Elision
7	Los animales en las cuevas de <b>Altamira.</b> (p.77)	Animals on cave walls (p.108)	Elision
8	En una playa desierta de <b>Benidorm.</b> (p.82)	On a deserted beach (p.113)	Elision

Normally, when it comes to translating place names, the solution is to use amplification or generalization to solve the problem. I will comment on each of these examples to give an explanation for Moriarty's decisions.

The first example, "Gran Vía" alludes to one of the largest and most emblematic streets in Madrid, which is linked to Madrid's urban life and commerce. The translation of "Gran Vía" by using generalization seeks that the readers of the TL can understand what this urban space implies. However, using a generic translation, "Grand Street," distances the reader from any reference to Madrid. Nevertheless, the description that is added in the English version solves the problem of the loss of localism and what Gran Vía implies as an urban area of Madrid. However, I consider that Moriarty's proposal is not entirely

effective. A better translation would have been the one in which “Gran Vía” remains in Spanish, and a description of the place is added for the reader to understand what this place is.

Examples two and three refer to real places in Madrid. “La Casa de Fieras” was an old zoo in Madrid, while “Casa de Campo” is one of the subway terminals. Translating “La Casa de Fieras” as simply “cage” involves a more general concept of the cultural element, which is comprehensive for those who don’t know about specific places in Madrid. Although the translation is slightly changed, the intention of the source text is not completely lost. At the end, what both texts mean is that metaphorical situation of a person being treated like a caged animal. Generalization makes it possible for young English-speaking readers to understand what is being told in the text. Similar to this, it happens with “Casa de Campo,” but in this case I consider that the translator has made a small mistake by translating it as “field house.” The translator took it as if it were a house in a field instead of a specific and emblematic place in Madrid. I think that it is correct to add the extra information or description, but it would have been better if “Casa de Campo” remained in Spanish, as it is the name of one stop on the subway line.

The fourth example shows a specific place in Granada, Andalucía. There is a loss of particularization of the place in the English version, but it is a solution for easing the understanding of the target readers. Although these techniques create accessibility for foreign readers, the specificity of the place is lost, and the referent is elided. However, a good option for translating this part of the novel could have been, “She spent her summer in Motril, Andalucía, on the coast of Spain.” The place is specified, while it is described where that place is found geographically. Thus, the translation is closer to the original text, and the readers get closer to the Spanish culture.

In example five, its translation is easier to justify. “Alcampo” is a supermarket chain in Spain and “Walmart” is a supermarket chain in the US. The intention of the translator by adapting “Alcampo”, is to make readers relate that what is said in that context refers to a supermarket. Leaving “Alcampo”, would create confusion, since most of the readers probably do not know what “Alcampo” refers to. The best option to solve the confusion is to do what Moriarty has done, look for an equivalent to replace “Alcampo” in the TT.

Regarding the three last examples, omission of place names is normally done because they don’t contribute to the plot of the story. It is commonly known for Spanish readers

that Altamira is known by its cave paintings and Benidorm for being a tourist vacation spot. References to unknown places for the target audience are removed as a way of avoiding certain confusion between the readers, especially if the main audience are children. Cuenca, Altamira or Benidorm have a cultural significance for Spanish readers, while for readers in other countries, it is of lesser importance. That is why Moriarty deletes toponyms instead of describing or explaining them.

*ii. Political and social institutions*

**Chart 2:**

	Source text	Target Text	Technique
<b>1</b>	Llamando al 091 (p.17)	Calling the police (p. 20)	Generalization
<b>2</b>	Congreso de los Diputados (p.72)	House of representatives (p.101)	Adaptation
<b>3</b>	Seguridad Social (p.95)	The doctor (p.133)	Generalization

The translation of referents related to social and political institutions has a great level of difficulty due to its cultural specificity. These referents are deeply rooted in each country's legal and social administration. That's why translators have to find another element that transmit the original tone and intention of the ST, as well as being comprehensible for target readers. In these three examples analysed, we will see how the translator approaches English-speaking readers. It is worth mentioning that since the translation is done by an American translator, the equivalents for these cultural elements will reflect the political and social administration of America exclusively and not that of the entire English-speaking world, such as England.

In the first example, it wouldn't be possible to translate "llamando al 091" as "calling the 091" because the number "091" corresponds to a specific number of a specific country, Spain's police. It wouldn't make sense to leave "091", because readers are likely to be unaware of what this number refers to. Although the same idea of calling the police is preserved in the translation, the generalization reduces the degree of specificity that it is appreciated in the ST. I consider that another option to translate "llamando al 091" would be to look for the number of the police in North America, which is "911." The final

translation would be “calling the 911”. This way, the issue of the generalization in TT will be solved.

The second example shows part of Spain's political organization. The “Congreso de los Diputados” in Spain represents the lower chamber in the legislative power. For its translation, it is necessary to find an equivalent that provides the same meaning as the original text. Translating it as “House of Representatives” sets a similitude between the political organization of both countries. In addition, it allows the young readers to understand the context of the novel better than if the cultural element had not been adapted. Adaptation is essential in this case, and although “Congreso de los Diputados” and “House of Representatives” are not exactly the same, the essence of the original version is achieved in the translated version.

In the last example, the original meaning of the text is quite simplified. The “Seguridad Social” is an element that only exists in the source culture, as it is part of the public Spanish healthcare. North Americans lack this kind of health protection, so translating it as “the doctor” avoids any confusion when reading the novel, because children are likely to be unaware of what “Seguridad Social” refers to. The choice of using generalization is due to an attempt to simplify certain information for children in order to avoid having to include unnecessary explanations in the novel.

### *iii. Currency, weights and measures*

#### **Chart 3:**

	Source text	Target Text	Technique
<b>1</b>	Eso está en el quinto pino. (p.17)	That's out in the boondocks. (p.21)	Equivalent
<b>2</b>	Seiscientas pesetas (p.17)	Two euros (p.21)	Adaptation
<b>3</b>	1,35 (p.26)	54x75 inch (p.35)	Adaptation
<b>4</b>	Molaba tres kilos. (p.34)	5 pounds of cool. (p.45)	Adaptation
<b>5</b>	Doscientas pesetas. (p.40)	That's about 1.40 dollars (p.55)	Adaptation
<b>6</b>	Un 10 como una catedral. (p.63)	A big whopping one hundred. (p.88)	Adaptation

When it comes to translating units of measurement, the most effective technique is adaptation, as it can be shown the chart, otherwise it would be challenging to translate those elements. Adapting these referents is necessary because the units of measurement differ from one country to another. Adaptation makes easier the comprehension of these elements because they are closely linked to the units of measurement from the target culture.

Examples two and five refer to currency. I want to comment on them together as I have perceived a certain lack of cohesion with respect to the rest of the text. The first thing to be commented is that it can be appreciated that “pesetas” haven’t been translated as “pesetas”. This novel was written in 1994 and its translation in 2008, this means that when the novel was translated, the Euro has already been established in Spain. Although it would have been correct to translate it as “pesetas”, the best option is to translate it as “euro” as it is a more updated version. If we look at all the elements that belong to this section, it can be appreciated that all of them have been adapted to the target country. However, as it can be appreciated in the example five, that “pesetas” has been translated as “dollars”. This translation makes for inconsistency with respect to the other translations. I consider that the translator should have decided whether translate “pesetas” as “euros” in all the cases or translate them as “dollars” in all the cases, rather than mixing both translations.

The third and fourth cases will be commented on together as well because both refer to units of measurement, to lengths and weights, respectively. In the adaptation of these cultural elements, the units of measure have been modified from the decimal metric system, from Spain into the imperial metric system from the U.S. In the third example, it is not even specified whether this number indicates metres, centimetres, etc. For us as native readers, it is logical to assume that it refers to meters. However, it would be very difficult for non-native readers to understand the cultural element if the translator had maintained it as in the original version. For this reason, the translator transfers the unit of measure to one that American children could understand. In addition to this, the translator is in charge of specifying that 54x75 refers to inches. The translator also does not make an exhaustive equivalence in the conversion; that is to say, it is not real mathematical equivalence but an approximation. “Tres kilos” in example four, it is used in colloquial language to refer to something that is very cool, instead of meaning that something weighs “tres kilos.” In the translation of this element, the translator chooses to convert “tres kilos”

into an approximate equivalent, “five pounds.” As it happened with the previous example, this adaptation is essential for English-speaking children to be able to understand the context; otherwise, it would be challenging for kids to know how much are “tres kilos.”

Finally, in the last example, what is noticeable is that the number 10 has been changed into the number 100 in the translated version. The justification for this adaptation is that the translator has changed the grading system of education from the Spanish to the American one. In Spain, the grades are up to 10, while in America they are up to 100. If the number 10 had been left in the translated version, an American would have interpreted that the exam was failed, this would have been a mistake because the original version means that the exam is completely correct.

#### *iv. Gastronomy*

#### **Chart 4:**

	Source text	Target Text	Technique
<b>1</b>	Bocadillo (p.10)	Crispy, crunchy baguette (p.10)	Description
<b>2</b>	Sándwich con pollo, mayonesa, lechuga y tomate. (p.14)	BLT (abbreviation of bacon, lettuce and tomato)	Equivalent
<b>3</b>	Palmera de chocolate (p.34)	Chocolate croissant (p.45)	Adaptation
<b>4</b>	Lentejas (p.34)	Peas (p.46)	Adaptation
<b>5</b>	Tortilla de patatas (p.42)	Potato tortilla in a crispy, crunchy baguette (p. 58)	Linguistic amplification
<b>6</b>	Colacao con chococrispis (p.51)	Chocolate milk with Cocoa Krispies (p.67)	Adaptation
<b>7</b>	Coñac Fundador (p.57)	Fundador cognac (p.78)	Literal translation
<b>8</b>	Una botella de sidra el Gaitero (p.57)	Bagpiper cider (p.78)	Literal translation
<b>9</b>	Bocadillo de <b>nocilla</b> (p.71)	Crispy, crunchy baguette with <b>peanut butter</b> . (p.100)	Adaptation
<b>10</b>	Queso Manchego (p.98)	A Spain’s famous Manchego cheese (p.139)	Amplification

I consider that this section is one of the most difficult ones for translators, because gastronomy includes a great variety of, not only food and dishes, but food brands that sometimes have to be translated. The complexity in the translation of elements related to

gastronomy is that certain dishes are found in a very concrete area and normally belong to the culture of a country, so finding an equivalent is sometimes problematic.

The cultural element “bocadillo” in the first example, doesn’t have an exact equivalent, and although “sandwich” would be the most similar equivalent, it doesn’t represent the same thing as “bocadillo.” In this cultural element, it has been described the type of bread that is used to do a “bocadillo”; however, this description is incomplete. A “bocadillo” is just not simply a baguette, but it is filled with other food. As can be appreciated in example five, case in which it has been translated “bocadillo” too, there has been a linguistic amplification because in the original version it isn’t mentioned that the tortilla was in the “bocadillo”. I consider that the translator should have used linguistic amplification or description to describe what a “tortilla de patatas” is instead of including the fact of a “bocadillo” being filled with tortilla.

For cases three and nine, there is a clear cultural adaptation. Although the cultural elements used are not exactly the same, the translator has preferred to reach out to the American audience rather than doing an accurate translation. “Palmera de chocolate” has been translated as “chocolate croissant” because a “croissant” is an element culturally accessible for American readers. In the same way, “nocilla” has been translated as “peanut butter” to make a reference that could be more accessible for American readers. The peanut butter is an iconic product for the American readers, whereas “nocilla” is typically consumed by Spanish children. It wouldn’t make sense to leave “nocilla” without a description of it.

In the fourth example, the aim of the translator is to bring the text to English-speaking readers. The equivalent chosen is not exactly the same, because otherwise it would have been chosen “lentils”. However, the choice of “peas” is because the connexion that I have found between “lentejas”, and “peas” is that both are dishes that are commonly disliked by children in their respective countries. The same thing happens with another example in novel, “acegas” (p.76) is translated as “spinach” (p.106) because both represent food disliked by children. The translator’s intention is not to preserve the referent, but to maintain the negative connotation that the food has for children. This implies the complete change of the cultural element in the translated version.

In the cases of the examples six, seven, and eight, it can be read the name of the brand of an instant cocoa and of two brand names of alcoholic drinks, respectively; the three of

them are well known in the Spanish cultural context. The translator has opted to use a description in example six, “Colacao” has been substituted by the description of what “Colacao” is. A “Colacao” is a soluble cocoa that Spanish children usually have for breakfast. However, the translation of it as “chocolate milk” looks for being understood by the target readers, and although the specific reference to that brand is lost, the idea of the product within the context of the novel is kept. For cases seven and eight, the brand names have been translated literally; however, I consider that the brand names shouldn’t have been translated but instead translate literally the type of alcoholic drink. With the literal translation of the brand name of alcoholic drinks, the reference to the brand name is partially lost.

v. *Games and sports*

**Chart 5:**

	Source text	target text	Technique
<b>1</b>	El que la liga en peste bubónica. (p.53)	Whoever gets the bubonic plague. (p.72)	Literal translation
<b>2</b>	Cuando gana el Real Madrid. (p.50)	When the Real Madrid team wins a soccer match. (p.67)	Amplification
<b>3</b>	Palabras encadenadas (p.66)	Chain-word game (p.92)	Literal translation
<b>4</b>	Chapa—Pato; Jamón—Monja (p.68)	Bellhop—Hopscotch; Uphold—Holdup (p.96)	Discursive creation
<b>5</b>	Jugamos al pañuelo. (p.87)	We played kick the can. (p.123)	Discursive creation

On the one hand, for the translation of referents related to kids’ games, the translator faces the problem of translating elements that lack exact equivalents in the target language because they aren’t popular games in the target culture or because they simple do not exist in the other culture. On the other hand, for the translation of sports happens the same way as with games, many sports aren’t known by the same name or they don’t exist in the target culture.

For examples one and three, the technique used is the literal translation. In the first case it has probably been translated literally because the game doesn’t exist, and the translator has preferred to translate it literally rather than coming up with a new game. The translation of the third example is easy and can be understood with its literal translation; nevertheless, the difficulty of translating happens when it is necessary to translate the

words the children say when playing that game in the novel, The key point of the words chosen by the author of the novel, is that it creates an infinite game between “jamon” and “monja.” “Jamon” ends in -mon, and this is the syllable by which “monja” begins, and so on. So, at this point, the work of the translator is to find an equivalent that follows the dynamic and the humoristic context of the game, in which the exact words make the game endless. For this reason, the choice of the words “uphold”, “holdup” reflects the similitude with its original version.

Finally, for the translation of the example two, “Real Madrid,” there has been used not only amplification, but I also consider that some kind of adaptation too. When talking with Spanish kids and mention to them the “Real Madrid,” they associate the name with a Spanish soccer team. However, for an American child it would be difficult to find out that “Real Madrid” is a soccer team. In this case, the aim of amplification is to set a context for readers. This context implies the explanation that “Real Madrid” refers to a soccer team. There is adaptation too because in the translated version, the term “soccer” is used, and although it is not explicitly stated in the original version, as I have said before, it is understood by Spanish readers that “Real Madrid” refers to Spanish soccer. For this reason, in the original version, “fútbol” has been translated as “soccer.” If the translator had translated “fútbol” as football, the sport to which Real Madrid belongs, it would have changed completely. Soccer and fútbol are the same sport, while fútbol and football are not the same thing for Americans. It is for this reason that it has been used adaptation.

vi. *Artistic, traditional and TV culture*

**Chart 6:**

	Source text	Target Text	Technique
1	Las Mininas de Velázquez, que es un cuadro en el que Velázquez retrató a todas sus gatas porque era un hombre al que le gustaban mucho los animales (p.43)	Velazquez's Las Meninas (which is a very famous painting). (p.58)	Substitution
2	Las Tres Gracias (p.43)	Three Graceful Ladies (p.59)	Literal translation
3	Felices Pascuas (p.69)	Happy Holidays (p.97)	Generalization
4	<b>Karate Kid, tercera parte</b> , porque no hay justicia en este mundo, pero mi madre es cien mil veces mejor que <b>el maestro de Karate Kid</b> . (p.71)	<b>Lethal Weapon 10</b> because there's no justice in this world, but my mom is a hundred times better than <b>any cop</b> . (p.99)	Adaptation
5	Hombre Araña (p.79)	Spider-Man (p.111)	Literal Translation
6	Los Cazafantasmas (p.96)	The Matrix (p.134)	Adaptation
7	Regalos de reyes (p.101)	Gifts from my birthday parties (p.143)	Adaptation

This chart shows the translation of cultural elements of the popular culture. There are a variety of examples and all of them are difficult to translate.

To begin with the example one, it has been used substitution because the humoristic description of the original text (“que es un cuadro en el que Velázquez retrató a todas sus gatas porque era un hombre al que le gustaban mucho los animales”), has been substituted by an objective description (“which is a very famous painting”). The humoristic part of Manolito’s mistake saying “Mininas” instead of “Meninas” is lost in the English version because wordplay can’t be maintained in English. An English-speaking reader can’t interpret that “Mininas” is a synonym of cat, so the joke can’t be translated literally, because otherwise, it wouldn’t make sense for the target readers. The translator opts to ensure understanding of the text, rather than preserving the original meaning.

When translating festivities from one language to another there are several facts to be considered, like the cultural and religious situation of the country in which a novel is going to be translated. For the translation of "Pascuas" in example three, it has been preferred the generalization. Although Americans celebrate Easter, it is not celebrated as in Spain, is for this reason that the translator could have decided to just say "Holidays". The referent is neutralized to avoid allusion to a specific religion. The same happens with "regalos de Reyes", in the example seven; it is a special festivity that only exists in the Spanish culture, in which "Reyes" give gifts to children on January 6. I consider that it could have been done a better translation because the meaning of the original version lies in the gifts given in Christmas. I think that for this element there can be two options of translation. If the aim is to bring Spanish culture closer to American culture, a literal translation should be made and translate it as "The Three Wise Men". However, if the aim is to preserve the meaning of gifts given in Christmas, it has to be found an equivalent of "The Three Wise Men", that for Americans would be "Santa Claus".

Cases four and six are cases apart because they aren't cultural elements from the Spanish culture that have to be translated, but cultural elements born in another culture and language. These examples have been adapted, not because they are unknown films for Americans (*Karate Kid* and *Los Cazafantasmas* are two American films), but rather for a question of trend. *Manolito Gafotas* was published in 1994, and *Karate Kid* was released in 1989, and during these five years the movie was still in vogue among children and teenagers. Nevertheless, when the novel was translated in 2008, 14 years had passed since then, so the cinematographic referent wasn't so popular at that time. The translator took care of updating the cultural referent by looking for a film that was popular in the year of the publication of the translated version. The same thing happens with the fifth example, *Los Cazafantasmas*. Its translation should have been *The Ghostbusters*; however, its popularity decreased among children and teens in 2008. *The Matrix* was released in 1999 and became very popular at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For this reason, the translator opted for a more modern film.

The translation of example five, the character that is mentioned, "El Hombre Araña," doesn't belong to the Spanish culture but to the American one and therefore known at the international level. The translator doesn't require looking for another equivalent, but just simply puts the original name of the character, "Spider-Man."

### 3.2 Special cases

#### 3.2.1 Errors

An error is not part of the translation techniques; however, I have decided to include it here. There is just one noticeable error in the novel, and I consider important to mention it as it is a considerable mistake from the translator, and due to this the English version lacks sense in the chapter in relation to the original version.

*Procuraba que quedaran muy rectas para que pareciera una **barandilla**. No es por nada, pero me estaba quedando fuera de lo normal. Haciendo mi **barandilla** fantástica subí hasta el tercero.* (p.70).

This paragraph appears in the context of Manolito drawing a handrail in his house, in the English version, however this context is not well interpreted by Moriarty, who confuses “barandilla” with “banderilla”. They are two words that look alike in Spanish due to their similar phonetic production and may create confusion for non-native Spanish speakers. This results in this translation into English.

*I tried to keep them very straight, so they'd look like **bullfighting spears**. Not for nothing—it was coming out extraordinary. I made my fantastic **bullfighting spears** up to the third floor.* (p.97)

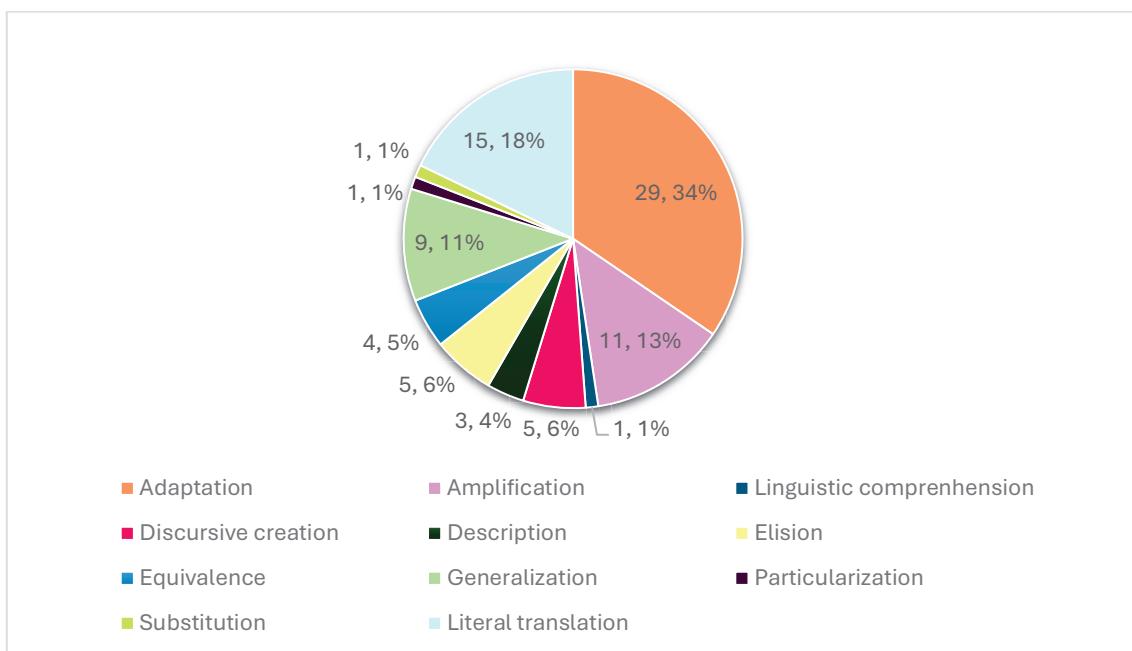
As it can be appreciated, the English version has nothing to do with its original version and the meaning of the paragraph in English is completely different from Spanish. This kind of mistake can be confusing for the readers, especially for children.

## 4. Results

In this section I am going to explain the final results as a way of showing which are the most used techniques when translating a text. First of all, I will comment on the general strategies used in the novel, then I will comment on the data by cultural referents and finally I will approach a conclusion to the results. Although in the analysis section I haven't commented on all the cultural referents, for the results I have considered all of them.

### a. Overall results and general tendencies

The diagram below shows the percentage of each technique used in the corpus. Many of the techniques that I have defined in the theoretical framework have not been used in the whole novel. Moriarty probably didn't find them useful for translating cultural referents, but for the translation of linguistic culture. These are calque, borrowing, transposition, compensation, linguistic amplification, modulation and variation. These techniques haven't been used probably because they are more effective in the translation of linguistic culture rather for cultural elements.



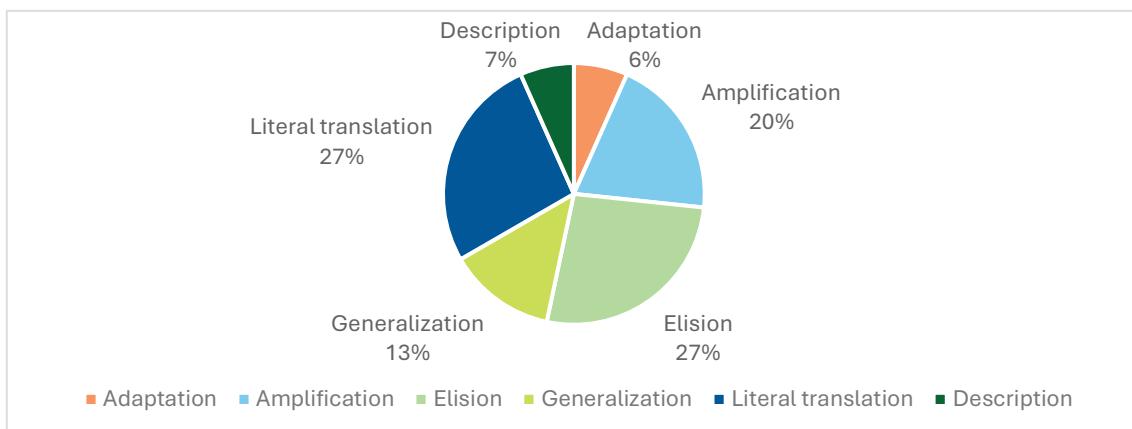
**Figure 1:** Percentages of the overall techniques used.

Adaptation has been the most used technique with 34%. This is an indication that in many cases it has been a challenge to find an equivalent that fits within the context in which the cultural element appears, without losing the coherence and narration tone of the text.

*Manolito Gafotas* is a novel full of linguistic elements rooted in the Spanish culture, those elements have to reach to the target reader and have to be understood by them. For this reason, in most of the cases, as we have seen in the analysis section, elements that belong to Spanish culture have been adapted to the American culture. Items of gastronomy, currency, units of measurement, etc, have been adapted to facilitate the comprehension of the novel by American children. Literal translation has been the next most used technique, which means that the translator has sought the production of a natural text. The percentage of usage of literal translation suggests that it was possible to maintain the cultureme without losing its original meaning.

Particularization, linguistic comprehension and substitution have been the least used techniques, this means that they have not been as useful as other techniques. However, they have been useful for the solution of specific problems.

*b. Overall results by cultural references*

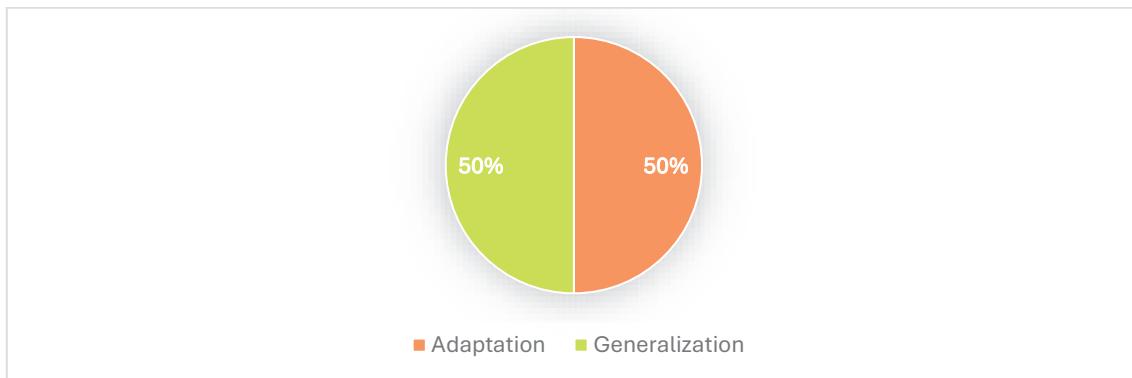


**Figure 2:** Percentage of techniques used in the translation of place names

As it can be seen, literal translation and elision have been the most used techniques (27%) for the translation of Spain place names. In many cases it has been preferred to maintain the toponym as in the source text, although the cultural identity of the place has been lost in some contexts. In other cases, it has been preferred to completely elide the cultural referents, either because they do not contribute to the story, because it is difficult to adapt it to the TT, or because the target readers are likely to be unfamiliar with the place.

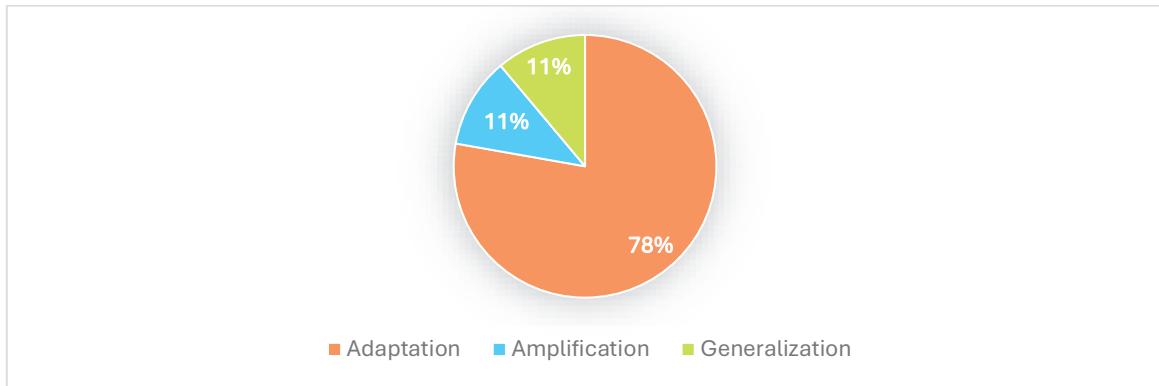
Amplification and generalization with the 20% and 13% of usage respectively, have been the next most used techniques. For amplification, although the toponym is kept, it has been added information extra, that serves as an explanatory note for American readers. Generalization has served to get rid of particular cultural referents that difficulted their understanding.

Adaptation and description were used to a lesser extent, this means that for the translation of place names weren't useful for Moriarty. This means that it was preferred to maintain the original place name whenever possible.



**Figure 3:** Percentage of techniques used in the translation of political and social institutions

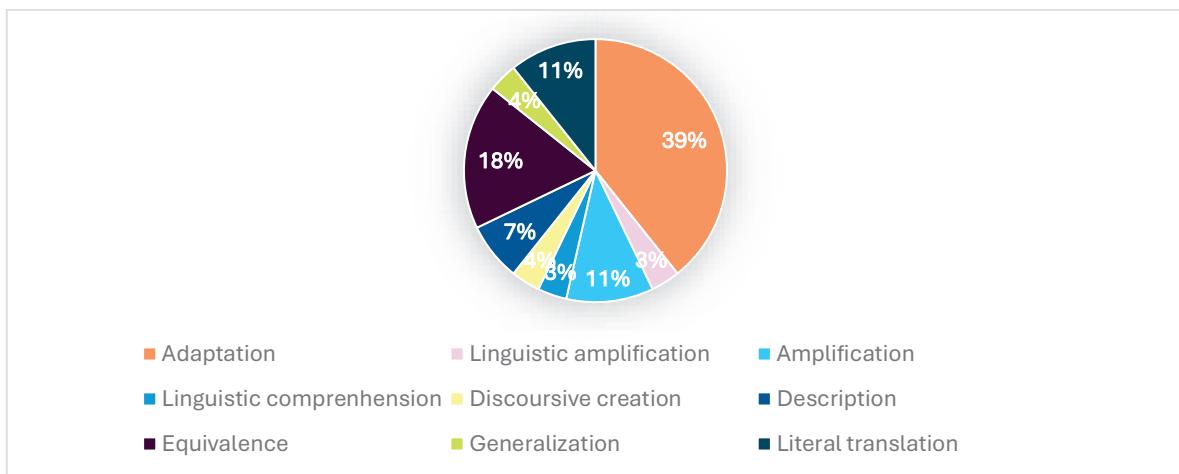
For the interpretation of this diagram, it has to be considered that there are only four cultural referents related to this ambit, so there is an equitable distribution with 50%. Adaptation has been used in those cases in which it was necessary to substitute the cultural referent by its equivalent in the TT. It has been preferred to make the text accessible for American readers rather than maintaining the original referents. Generalization has been used in those cases in which the cultural referent was so specific that it was difficult for target readers to understand it. In this category generalization serves to replace the referents by broader ones. This will allow their understanding within the context in which they appear.



**Figure 3:** Percentage of techniques used in the translation of currency, weights and measures

There is a predominance in the use of adaptation when translating units of measurement. This is because units of measurement vary depending on the country and its adaptation promotes the understanding of cultural elements, especially by children. The predominance of adaptation is due to the fact that the text is intended to be accessible to children.

Generalization and amplification have been used in fewer contexts, in the ones in which it wasn't possible to use adaptation. The amplification served to add an explanation to the cultural element, which favors the understanding of it. And generalization was used with the intention of avoiding an incomprehensible technicality for the target readers.

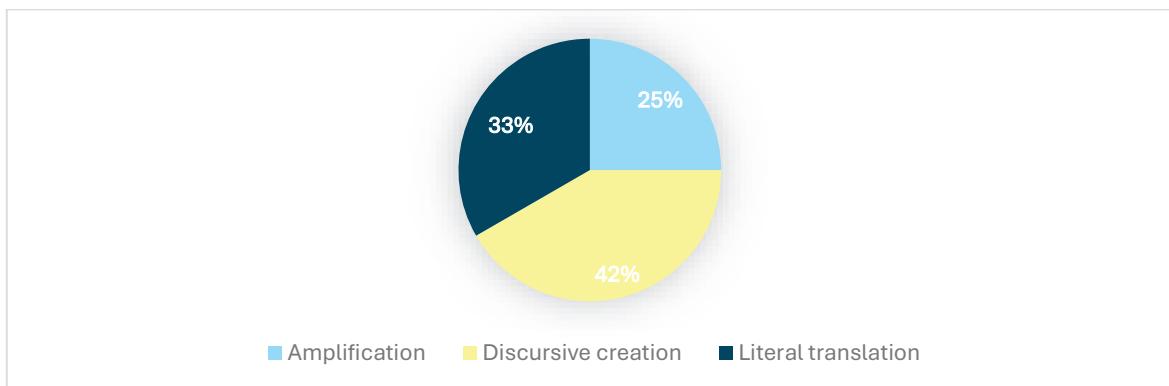


**Figure 4:** Percentage of techniques used in the translation of gastronomy

In the translation of Spanish gastronomy is where more variety of techniques have been used. As in the other diagrams, adaptation is the most used technique, which means that the translator seeks to bring the text closer to the target readers. This technique is useful in the contexts in which a cultural element doesn't have an equivalent in the target culture.

Equivalence, unlike adaptation, has been used in those contexts in which an equivalent existed in the target culture.

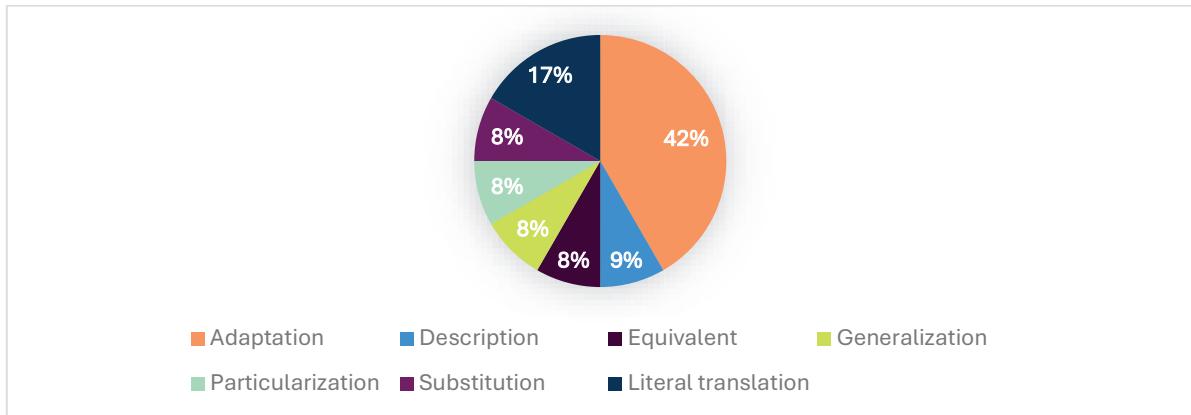
Amplification and description have been used in fewer contexts than the others but have served to add information that illustrates the meaning of the referent. The remaining strategies have been used for specific cases. For example, literal translation has been used in the translation of brand names of alcoholic beverages.



**Figure 5:** Percentage of techniques used in the translation of games and sports

This diagram contrasts with others because for the translation of games and sports, it hasn't been used adaptation. The most used technique is the discursive creation, which means that the translator has had to find solutions that fit the context and in turn are understood by the children. The use of discursive creation indicates that many of the games may be closely linked to Spanish culture, or because Moriarty considered that they are games that American children are unfamiliar with. Discursive creation allowed the creation of games that can be understood by American children.

For those games for which there was an equivalent, or for which the translator felt that if translated literally, they would be understood, the literal translation was used. While amplification has been used for those translations in which an explanation was needed, as could be the case of explaining that Real Madrid was a soccer team.



**Figure 6:** Percentage of techniques used in the translation of artistic, traditional and TV culture

Adaptation predominates in the translation of these cultural elements, this means that it was necessary to adapt the cultural elements and as it was seen in the analysis section, many of those referents have been adapted for a question of trend.

Literal translation, which is the 2<sup>nd</sup> most used technique, was used in those referents in which it was possible to preserve the original referent because it could be understood by target readers.

The remaining techniques have been used at least once in translation. Equivalence has been used for those referents that have an equivalent in the target culture. Description was used for the referents that were replaced by its description, which facilitates the comprehension of them. Then, substitution was used for the referents that were replaced by an element best known in the meta culture.

## 5. Conclusion

After considering the diagrams' tendencies, we can conclude that, generally, adaptation has been the most used technique in all the ambits, with an average 34% of usage. This gives us indications that Moriarty may have chosen to bring the text closer to the American culture, easing its naturalness for English-speaking readers. In addition, if we consider the first diagram, it can be appreciated that the most used techniques are the ones governed by the strategy of domestication. Adaptation, generalization, amplification, elision, substitution, description and linguistic comprehension have a higher percentage than the other techniques. Domestication implies that many of the cultural referents have been modified or even elided in need of being understood as well as making it sound more natural for English-speaking readers. For the translation of gastronomy, place names or units of measurement have been used techniques that reduce the intercultural distance and that facilitate their comprehension. By contrast, there are fewer strategies linked to foreignization, these are literal translation, particularization, discursive creation or equivalence, whose use has been more punctual, so they have been used in fewer contexts than the ones used for the domestication of the text.

The narrative world of *Manolito Gafotas* is closer to the target culture and to American children. It probably responds to the function or the purpose of the text, whose aim is making the text accessible and clear for children. Although this approach of ST to TT is positive, it also leads to the loss of Spanish cultural references. As discussed in the theoretical framework, the domestication of the text entails the loss of cross-cultural knowledge. Domestication is effective for the children of the target culture to immediately understand the referent. However, I consider that more foreignization strategies could have been used for the preservation of the Spanish culture, thus fulfilling a pedagogical function.

Thanks to this study, it has become clear that Moriarty is more than just a translator, but an intercultural mediator. She had the responsibility to assess what is the limit between keeping the referents or bringing them closer to the target culture. And such decisions have an impact in cultural heritage.

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