Shyam Selvadurai's *Funny Boy* in Sinhala and French: Translating Culture-Bound Terms

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ABSTRACT
Translating culture-bound terms presents numerous challenges to translators. The current study looks at how translators deal with this challenge in their respective target languages. The study includes Shyam Selvadurai's Sri Lanka-set *Funny Boy* and two of its translations, *Drôle de garçon* (1998) and *Amuthu ilandariya* (2002). According to Newmark's (2003) classification, three cultural categories are identified. Aixelà's (1996) taxonomy of strategies to translate culture-bound terms is applied to the chosen cultural categories. The culture-bound terms and their translations are analysed to identify the strategies employed by the translators and then compared to discover similarities and differences in their practises. The results reveal that in each cultural category, the translators favour a combination of strategies. There is a strong tendency towards foreignizing strategies rather than domestication strategies. Problems that arise as a result of implementing these strategies are also discussed.

Keywords: Culture; domestication; foreignization; Sri Lanka; strategies.

INTRODUCTION
A literary text, set deeply in the source culture (SC), is likely to include many unique aspects that may not be easily understood by an outsider. The translators undertake the arduous task of making the exotic yet irreplaceable cultural aspects understandable to a stranger by reading about them in a different language. Sri Lankan culture is not known to many. Despite its popularity as a tourist destination, Sri Lankan literature has received little exposure from the outside world. In the 1990s, Sri Lankan-originated writers such as Michael Ondaatje, Romesh Gunasekera, and Shyam Selvadurai achieved success on the international scene, which resulted in their literary works being translated into foreign languages. To analyse the translation of cultural aspects in a Sri Lankan source text (ST), two translations of *Funny Boy* written by Shyam Selvadurai have been chosen. The study focuses on the various difficulties arising from the translation of culture-bound aspects and the strategies employed by the translators.

Selvadurai is a Sri Lankan born English language writer who is based in Canada (Salgado¸2007). The ST is heavily influenced by his two native cultures, Sinhala and Tamil (Lekamge & Hapugoda, 2022). The choice of the text is significant as it has been acclaimed internationally and translated into several languages, including French. The ST chosen for the study was first published in 1994 and is the debut novel of the author. Selvadurai has written several novels, including *Cinnamon Garden* (1998), *Hungry Ghost* (2013), and most recently, *Mansions of the Moon* (2022). The backdrop to the novel *Funny Boy*, the 1980s political tension and ethnic riots in Sri Lanka, and the discovery by a young boy of changes in his life echo the writer's own life. The novel was well received in Selvadurai's adopted country, Canada. It won several awards, including the *Books in Canada First Novel* and the *Lambada Literary Award for Best Gay Men's Fiction*. In 2020, *Funny Boy* was adapted to cinema by Indian director Deepa Mehtha.

METHODS AND MATERIAL

Frederick Limare and Susan Fox-Limare translated *Funny Boy* into French as *Drôle de garçon* in 1998 for the publisher Robert Laffront. Frédérick Limare is known for the translation of American Jewish writer Ronald Myles Dworkin's *Prendre les droits au sérieux*, which he translated with Marie-Jeanne Rossignal. The popularity of the ST also led to a Sinhala translation, published eight years later, titled *Amuthu ilandariya* (Strange Young Man) in 2002 by renowned Sinhala journalist, playwright, and novelist Sugathapala de Silva. He has already translated several works of European literature, including Ethel Lilian Voynich's *The Gadfly* and Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, into Sinhala.

Rather than focusing on one translation, I have selected two, making it possible to compare how the translators apply various strategies to translate culture-bound terms in their respective target languages. One translation is in Sinhala, a local language, and the other is in French, aimed at an international audience. Evidently, the two translations aim at two different audiences. The comparison of the two translations, which enables the researcher to highlight differences and similarities in the translational solutions, increases the significance of the study. Furthermore, the study examines the translation in Sinhala, a language spoken only in Sri Lanka. A Sinhala translation is very rarely compared with another translation published in an international language such as French.

As mentioned before, the ST contains culture-bound terms belonging to two cultures: Sinhala and Tamil. The text includes Sinhala and Tamil terms as well as references to these cultural practises, reflecting the author's multicultural background. The ST itself is written in Sri Lankan English, influenced by the local languages and cultures. Sri Lankan English represents English spoken today in Sri Lanka: "Today, English is used for practically all purposes in Sri Lanka, but it is not the English of the coloniser, it is the English of the once colonised. It is Sri Lankan English, with all of its borrowings and influences from Sinhalese and Tamil as it is spoken in Sri Lanka" (Gunesekera, 2005). The ST contains a glossary explaining thirty Sinhala and Tamil terms, of which twenty-six have been reproduced in French by the translators. The glossary is not preserved in the Sinhala translation. Further, as I am not a native Tamil speaker but a Sinhala speaker, only the Sinhala terms are included in the study.

Newmark (2003) remarks that "frequently, where there is a cultural focus, there is a translation problem due to the cultural 'gap' or 'distance' between the source language

and the target language". What is commonly practised and respected in one culture may not be the same in another. Culture-related aspects are labelled with various terms, such as 'culture specific,' 'culture-bound references/elements/terms/items/expressions," "realia," or 'cultural references' (Ranzato, 2016). In the present study, they are referred to as culture-bound terms. Culture-bound terms are defined by Daz-Cintas and Ramael (2014) as "extralinguistic references to items associated with a country's culture, history, or geography."

According to Pedersen (2011), who classifies culture-bound terms as Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECR), "the referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience because this referent is within this audience's encyclopaedic knowledge." Anyone outside of this specified audience may struggle to comprehend the meaning or significance of its culturally bound terms. Marco (2019) points out two challenges that bedevil the concept of culture-bound terms. One is the question of including an element of variation in the definition. The other is the scope of the concept of culture-bound terms. According to him, it is a daunting task to study all culture-bound terms because, given the expansive definitions of culture, every item associated with an individual living in a particular society can be included in the categories. Numerous efforts are made to classify culture-bound terms by scholars considering factors such as semantic meaning and the culture of origin (Amenador & Wang, 2022).

Newmark (2003) divides the translation of foreign cultural aspects into five categories: ecology, material culture, social culture, organisations, and gestures and habits. For the present study, two aspects from the classification are chosen: material culture and social culture. Material culture includes food, clothing, houses and towns, and transportation, whereas social culture includes work and leisure. I limit the analysis to terms related to food, clothes, and leisure in order to carry out a qualitative analysis. Food, as Newmark (2003) explains, is "the most sensitive and important expression of culture". It is exotic and inescapable. Food items, such as typical local dishes and western food items, are found in the ST. Similarly, the ST contains a combination of local and western clothing items. For leisure, titles of books, songs, and games are included. Arjie, the narrator, being passionately interested in reading, has a number of English-language books in the ST. Over the years, theoreticians have proposed a variety of strategies to translate culture-bound terms. They have been labelled and relabelled in an attempt to achieve a comprehensive taxonomy. Existing classifications have minor deficiencies since categories are bound to overlap (Das-Cintas & Ramael 2014).

Newmark (2003) identifies twelve translation strategies, which include transference, neutralisation, cultural equivalent, literal translation, naturalisation, deletion, paraphrase (gloss, notes), and classifier. In most taxonomies proposed by scholars, similar strategies are observed. Aixelà presents two main categories: conservation and substitution (1996). The former retains the original references, while the latter replaces them in the target text (TT) with more reader-friendly terms. Conservation strategies are repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, extratextual gloss, and intratextual gloss. Substitution strategies include synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization, naturalisation, deletion, and autonomous creation. By preserving the foreignness of the ST, conservation strategies favour foreignization, while substitution strategies, which replace what is foreign with what is familiar to the reader, tend towards domestication.

Pederson's (2011) classification also includes two major groups: source-oriented and target-oriented. Source-oriented strategies (retention, specification, and direct translation), like Aixelà's, emphasise foreignization, whereas target-oriented strategies (generalisation, substitution, and omission) facilitate domestication. Harvey and Higgins (2002) offer different terms in their nomenclature. According to them, exoticism (foreignization) is the extreme end that constantly highlights the exotic source culture and its cultural strangeness. At the opposite end, cultural transplantation (domestication) takes place. Wholesale transplanting of ST setting, resulting in the entire text being rewritten in a target culture setting" is an extreme case. Between these two extremes, Harvey and Higgins place calque, cultural borrowing, and communicative translation.

Foreignization and domestication are discussed in depth by Lawrence Venuti. According to Venuti (2004), a domesticating translation is an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values. As for foreignization, it is described as an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text. Domestication removes what the reader is unfamiliar with, making the text easier to understand. On the other hand, foreignization registers cultural and lexical differences and, at the same time, highlights the presence of the translator. Scholars such as Tymoczko (2006) have criticised Venuti's pro-foreignization stance. Foreignization, he claims, is an "elitist strategy more appropriate to a highly educated audience than a broad readership. In a recent study, Kadiu (2019) examines how Venuti's concept raises intricate questions for practising translators.

Venuti (2004) and later Bandia both agree on mixing the two strategies. Bandia calls it "la voix de centre" (textual middles). "Ce mixage permet de ne gommer ni des éléments de la culture source ni des éléments de la culture cible" (This mixing allows for the erasure of neither the source culture nor the target culture- author's translation) (El Badaoui, 2012). It is further explained that "la voix de centre" proves to be the strategy for privileging cultural elements in a translation. The two cultures are tangled together, enriching each other and opening new cultural horizons, thus breaking away from eternal binarism (Badaoui, 2012).

For the present study, the strategies proposed by Aixelà (1996) are applied to the translation of the chosen cultural categories: food, clothes and leisure.

Foreignization:
Repetition – culture-bound term is retained. This technique also known as Transference (Newmark), Loan (Dìas-Cintas & Remael), Retention (Pedersen), and Emprunt (Vinay & Darbelnet)
Orthographic adaptation – orthographic changes that take place when the culture-bound term is written in a different alphabet such as in transliteration and transcriptions.
Linguistic (non-cultural) translation – literal translation that still can be recognized as belonging to the ST.
Extratextual gloss – explanations offered in the form of footnotes, endnotes, glossary etc.
Intratextual gloss – explanations are offered in the text.

Domestication:
Synonymy – synonym or parallel reference is used to avoid repetition of the culture-bound term.
Deletion – culture-bound term is omitted in the TT.

Limited universalization – use of a source language word closer to the TT reader.

Absolute universalization – A neutral reference is given instead of the culture-bound term.

Naturalisation – adaptation of the source language (SL) first to the normal pronunciation and then to the morphology of the target language (TL).

Autonomous creation – inclusion of a non-existent cultural reference in the ST.

The analysis allows us to identify which strategies are employed by the translators to translate the culture-bound items in these three categories. Based on the results, it will be possible to determine whether they tend towards foreignization or domestication. By comparing the two translations, how the two translators have adopted these strategies in their respective TTs could be understood. Further, the implications of their choices will also be discussed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis reveals the strategies employed by French and Sinhala translators to translate the culture-bound categories. They are listed in Table 1. In each category, it is clearly visible that the translators use several strategies to translate the culture-bound terms in their respective TTs. Certain domestication strategies, such as deletion, synonymy, and naturalisation, are not practised in these cultural categories. However, French and Sinhala translators together have recourse to all the foreignization strategies.

Table 1 – Strategies used in French and Sinhala TTs

Culture category	Strategy in TT French	Strategy in TT Sinhala
Food items	Repetition, Extratextual gloss, Absolute universalisation, Linguistic translation	Repetition, Orthographic adaptation, Limited universalisation,
Clothing items	Repetition, Limited universalisation, Absolute universalisation, Extratextual gloss	Repetition, Limited universalisation, Intratextual gloss, Orthographic adaptation
Leisure (Books, songs, games)	Absolute universalisation, Linguistic translation, Extratextual gloss	Orthographic adaptation, Linguistic translation

The culture-bound translation strategies orient towards two directions: foreignization and domestication. Table 2 shows how the strategies applied in each TT to translate are divided between these two orientations. Table 2 also highlights which strategies are preferred in each TT to translate a particular cultural category. For example, in both French and Sinhala TTs, repetition is used to translate "food" and "clothes." The orthographic adaptation, which is visible only in the Sinhala TT, is applied in all three categories. It can be noted that the foreignization strategies are preferred by the translators over the domestication strategies. However, it is also interesting to note that

the French translators opt for absolute universalization, a domestication strategy, in all three cultural categories.

Table 2 –Foreignization and domestication in the TTs

Strategy	Culture category in TT French	Culture category in TT Sinhala
Foreignization		
Repetition	Food, Clothes	Food, Clothes
Orthographic adaptation	-	Food, Clothes, Leisure
Linguistic translation	Food, Leisure	Leisure
Extratextual gloss	Food, Clothes, Leisure	-
Intratextual gloss	-	Clothes
Domestication		
Synonymy	-	-
Deletion	-	-
Limited universalisation	Cloths	Food, Clothes
Absolute universalisation	Food, Clothes, Leisure	-
Naturalisation	-	-
Autonomous creation	-	-

When the strategies used in the Sinhala and French TTs are compared, only a few similarities are found. As mentioned before, repetition is chosen to translate food and clothing. The two other similarities are the use of limited universalization to translate certain clothing items and linguistic translation to translate titles in the leisure category. Even when the translators of the two languages choose the same strategy, it is not applied to the same cultural-bound term but to a different one in the same cultural category. The only exception is the linguistic translation applied to translate the two titles.

Though repetition is employed in both French and Sinhala TTs to translate food items, the strategy is applied to different items. The category includes local dishes such as "pittu", "stringhoppers", and "lamprais," as well as western food items such as blueberry jam, kippers, and canned apricots. In the French TT, the local dishes are retained, while in the Sihala TT, the translator preserves the western food items. However, both translators resort to other strategies as well. For the French reader, a glossary in which Sinhala terms are explained is available. Some of the explanations that can be found in the ST glossary are given below. They are translated into French for the benefit of the TL reader who is unfamiliar with the SC.

Pittu – dish made out of rice flower and coconut; these ingredients are steamed in the hollow of a bamboo shoot.
Lamprais – special preparation of rice and curry that is baked in a banana leaf.
Stringhoppers – dish made out of rice-flour dough which has been pushed through a sieve then formed into little circles resembling lace doilies, then steamed.

A conservation strategy that includes footnotes, endnotes, or a glossary is known as extratextual gloss (Shaheri & Satariyan, 2017). By offering notes to explain unfamiliar elements, the TT emphasises the foreignness of the ST. In the Sinhala TT, any form of explanation is not offered. However, orthographic adaptation is often practised in the Sinhala TT. The Sinhala translator writes the western names such as blueberry and apricot using the Sinhala alphabet. Given the differences between the languages, certain orthographic changes become inevitable.

The local food items mentioned in the ST do not possess equivalents in French. Further, given the intricate cooking methods, it is not easy to literally translate them. A literal translation would not provide adequate information. In Vietnamese cuisine, a traditional ball-shaped cake often used for worship offerings is literally translated into English as "floating rice cake." In such cases, a literal English translation does not suffice, and a further explanation is needed to convey the cultural and historical values reflected in it (Ngoc et al., 2012). Furthermore, when repetition is practised with only the surface linguistic meaning in mind, it may result in a loss of cultural image (Amenador & Wang, 2022).

Repetition has the advantage of adding local colour to the foreign TT. According to Newmark (2003), in regional novels and essays, cultural words are frequently transferred to give local colour, to attract the reader, to give a sense of intimacy between the text and the reader, and sometimes the sound or the evoked image appears attractive. However, the strategy can be abused by applying it extravagantly and unnecessarily, even to non-culture-bound terms. A study based on the Croatian translations of Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Grey* points out that many such terms are borrowed simply to add foreign flavour. The study goes on to discuss how repetition was more pronounced in the early twentieth century than today (Schmidt, 2013). In the context of Sri Lankan cuisine, it is quite possible that the French reader would be seduced by the exotic nature of the local dishes. On the contrary, these dishes are part of the Sinhala reader's daily life, and their meaning and relevance are easily understood.

However, faced with western food items such as kippers or blueberry jam, the Sinhala reader may not understand their exact nature and significance. It is important to comprehend the young narrator Arjie's excitement at seeing these western food items, which he has only read about in books so far, for the first time. The translator must make an effort to make the reader interested in the situation and share the narrator's excitement with the reader. Though repetition helps to a certain extent to recreate the foreignness, the strategy used to translate kippers appears inefficient. Kippers are considered "an iconic British breakfast dish". The best kippers are said to hail from northern England, the Isle of Man, and Scotland (Siciliano-Rosen, 2018). Kipper, a food item that is not known to the reader, is explained as "Lunu dama dumen viyalu malu," which describes how the fish is processed, salted, and smoked. Limited universalization takes place as the original reference is replaced with a less specific term that is more familiar to the target reader. Because the name or origin of the fish is not mentioned, the Sinhala reader may

be confused with the locally made dried and salted fish. The domestication approach leads to a loss of cultural identity in this case.

Absolute universalization is one of the strategies used by the French translator. The French translators choose to substitute pastries with "pâtes," which means pasta. It seems an appropriate choice for a French national, as the dish is ordered for lunch. However, it seems an unlikely choice for the young Sri Lankan adolescent. Even today, pasta for lunch is not a popular option. The Sinhala translator borrows the term pastries. The term doesn't have a proper equivalent, and the borrowing is already used in day-to-day life after being well integrated into the TL.

To translate Maldivian fish, the French translators chose linguistic translation, which foreignized the context. Though Maldive fish is translated as "poisson maldive" (fish Maldives), the reference to the Maldive Islands could mislead the French reader. It is not necessarily the imported fish from the Maldives. Maldivian fish is dried and cured. It is popular in Sri Lanka and the Maldives, where it is cut into small pieces and used to season the curries. In Sinhala, the food item is known as "umbalakada," without any reference to the Maldives.

In the next category, clothing, a combination of foreignization and domestication strategies are employed in both the French and Sinhala TTs. Repetition is used to preserve local cloths such as the sari, palu, sarong, and banyan in the French TT. In the French translation, an explanation is only offered for "banyan" and "palu" in the glossary. Banyan is described as a singlet or a man's top, while "palu" is described as part of the sari that falls over the shoulder. The sarong may be known to those who are familiar with the Indian subcontinent. If not, the reader has to imagine it as the clothing item worn with the banyan. Additionally, the Sinhala reader understands the value and significance of wearing a Manipuri sari for weddings better than the French reader, who is not familiar with the types of saris. To translate western-style clothing such as solar tees and halter tops, the Sinhala translator employs limited universalization and intratextual gloss. For a solar topee, the translator proposes a solar "thoppiya" (solar hat), which is more comprehensible to the Sinhala reader, though the exact nature of the hat might remain a mystery. In this case, limited universalization is practised by the Sinhala translator, who favours domestication. The translation of halter top in both languages deserves close scrutiny.

In the Sinhala TT, it is translated as "halter top hetteya" (halter top blouse). The term "holter top" is borrowed and presented with the explanation "hettaya". It means blouse in Sinhala. The explanation is included in the text to make the foreign term comprehensive for the Sinhala reader. This strategy, known as intratextual gloss, has a foreignization tendency. Surprisingly, French translators practise absolute universalization. They opt to replace a halter top with a "corsage". Corsage has two meanings in French. According to Larousse.fr, it could be a blouse or the bodice of a dress. The first meaning, a blouse, is appropriate for the context. The French translators do not specify the nature of the blouse but offer the reader a generic term. Halter is defined by Collins English Dictionary (2019) as a strap around the neck that holds a dress or a top in place, leaving the shoulders and back bare. A halter top is backless and sleeveless, and it is held around the neck by a strap. The French term for a halter top is "un dos nu" (naked back), which describes its style perfectly. It is uncertain why the translators chose "un corsage" when a more suitable term exists in French. It is possible that the translators prefer the character to appear more conventional as she is an Asian woman. A halter top

without sleeves and a back is more fashionable and revealing than an ordinary blouse. However, the character who wears the halter top, Aunt Radha, just returned from the US, and it is quite possible that she has brought western clothing and is comfortable wearing it.

When they translate underskirt and blouse as "sous-vêtements" (undergarments), the French translators use limited universalization. The translators make an erroneous decision. According to the Oxford Dictionary, a blouse is "a woman's upper garment resembling a shirt, typically with a collar, buttons, and sleeves: 1 A loose linen or cotton garment worn by peasants and manual workers, typically belted at the waist. 2. A type of jacket worn as part of a military uniform." This translation does not provide the necessary information to the reader. Only the underskirt can be labelled an undergarment, not the blouse that is worn above it. The French reader must content himself with a generic term that does not point to the kind of clothes worn with a sari. In the Sinhala translation, the equivalents are "yata saya" (underskirt) and "hettaya" (blouse). Though "hettaya" means blouse in Sinhala, in the context of wearing a sari, the Sri Lankan reader easily understands that it is a reference to the sari blouse. The translation of clothing items often proves problematic as names and types of clothing differ from one culture to another. In the translation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* into Norwegian, finding an equivalent in the TL for a simple clothing item such as a sash poses a problem. The solutions offered to translate terms like petticoat or pelisse have resulted in confusing the TL reader (Sørbø, 2018).

Another aspect worth investigating is how the translators dealt with the names of books, songs, and games. Arjie, who grew up in Colombo and attended English-medium schools, enjoys reading English classics like Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* as well as young adult fiction. The Sinhala translator transliterates most of the English titles in Sinhala, creating an orthographic adaptation. For only two titles (*King and I*, *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*), linguistic translation is applied, translating them literally into Sinhala. Similarly, the French translators chose to literally translate the same two titles. However, as for the other titles, significant differences are noted in their choice of strategy. The French translators make use of footnotes to offer supplementary information on English-language books. It explains *Nancy Drew* (Série de romans policiers pour enfants [Authors Translation]) and *Hardy Boys* (Livre de jeunesse anglo-saxon [Authors Translation]). The music tune that Aunt Radha plays *Chopsticks* is also provided with a footnote: "Petit air de débutant qui se joue avec deux doigts" (a simple beginners' tune played with two fingers). As for Enid Blyton's *Famous Five*, the French translators replace it with *Spirou*. *Spirou* is a popular French-language comic series. In this case, absolute universalization is applied to domesticate the context. It is impossible to imagine how Arjie, who only speaks the two local languages and English, could read a French-language comic.

The *Famous Five* series is known as *Club des Cinq* in French. More importantly, the replacement causes a subsequent alteration in the context. Arjie joyfully describes a new western-style super market that opened in Colombo and the new items that he has so far only read about in books: "For there on the shelves were items like blueberry jam, kippers, and canned apricots—things I had read about when I was younger in Famous Five and Nancy Drew books but had never tasted" (p. 101). Blueberry jam and canned apricots are common in Western countries, but *Famous Five* is the likely book that speaks of kippers, a British delicacy. *Nancy Drew* is an American detective series for young adults. By replacing the *Famous Five* with *Spirou*, the translators distort the references

to the food items and their significance in the context. The same strategy is used for Aunt Radha's piano rendition of the song *Somewhere My Love*, as well as Hans Christian Anderson's fairy tale *Thumbelina*. The song has been replaced by *A la Claire Fontaine* in the French translation. *A la Claire Fontaine* is a traditional French song. Instead of *Thumbelina*, the French translators propose *Blanche-Neige* (*Snow White*), a Grimm Brothers' fairy tale more familiar to the target readership. *Thumbelina* is known in French as *La Petite Pouce*. It seems like an extreme measure from the French translators to replace English-language titles with those in French that are more familiar to the target readership.

The Sinhala translator's strategy of orthographic adaptation occasionally results in incorrect pronunciation. When English titles or terms are written using the Sinhala alphabet, it is difficult to comprehend at first glance because the reader expects to read Sinhala words written in Sinhala letters. Given the phonological differences between English and Sinhala, it is not possible to give the correct pronunciation in Sinhala every time. One example is the pronunciation of the song *Somewhere, my love*. The word "somewhere" is pronounced in English as /smw/, but in the Sinhala term it is written with an /r/ at the end, resulting in /smwr/. Such erroneous pronunciations are considered phonological features of non-standard Sri Lankan English. If a reader is familiar with the titles or the names of authors, the English names written in Sinhala would not pose a problem. If not, the reader could adopt the incorrect pronunciation for day-to-day use.

The book titles, as well as the songs and games, are important. They collectively support Arjie's interest in English literature and highlight his privileged Western upbringing. The translation of book titles requires a suitable strategy that enables the reader to understand the importance attributed to a particular reference; if not, such references could lose value in the TT.

CONCLUSIONS

As pointed out above, the French and Sinhala translators have recourse to several strategies when translating the culture-bound terms. Even though the emphasis remains on foreignization strategies, the use of domestication strategies, particularly absolute universalization, has far-reaching implications. A comprehensive study including all the cultural categories of the ST could shed more light on the use of the above-mentioned translation strategies.

The translators must be aware of the limitations of domesticating and foreignizing translations. As discussed above, foreignization, which preserves what is foreign and exotic in the ST, may not always be comprehensive for the reader. This is one of the drawbacks of foreignization, which is explicitly visible in Tymoczko's critique (2006). However, highlighting a positive note, Hagfors (2003) explains that if culture-bound elements are foreignized, the story can serve as a tool for learning about foreign cultures, times, and customs and intrigue readers to find out more about them. Foreignized children's stories help draw attention to cultural matters: to learn what is different and what is shared between the reader's culture and that in which the story is set. When the two translations are compared, it becomes evident that more differences exist than similarities in the application of translation strategies. Only a very few similarities are observed in the analysis. The present study further stresses that the translators are obliged to choose strategies that serve their respective target audiences the best. It is up to the translator to decide the best way to convey the meaning of the culture-bound terms

and choose the strategies accordingly. The study also brings to light how each audience is provided with different information. The French reader benefits from a glossary and footnotes, while the Sinhala readers, who also come across foreign elements, have to be content with their own understanding. This brings us back to Venuti's (2004) statement that "translation can be considered the communication of a foreign text, but it is always a communication limited by its address to a specific reading audience."

It is imperative that the strategies be applied in a TT after careful consideration. Bridging the gap between the SC and the TC is never easy. However, when faced with the translation of culture-bound terms, the translators' decision to adopt effective strategies can lead to an enriching cultural experience.

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