

Andrea V. Stojilkov

PhD student

University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology, English Department
Serbia

TRANSLATING CUISINE, TRANSLATING CULTURE: THE HOGWARTS MENU IN BRITAIN AND SERBIA[‡]

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Although it may not be the most prominent element of a culture, food is one of the most significant and most apparent features of a country, or any cultural community. What, when, and how members of a certain society eat is perhaps the best evidence of both the ongoing social trends and the cultural influences present in the historical development of their society.

Even though traditional British cuisine has a stereotypically bad reputation abroad, it has been enriched by other national cuisines, like French or Indian. The process of globalization has brought a fusion of tastes accessible virtually to everyone, everywhere. However, despite being part of a globalized society, Serbia is still rather unfamiliar with many aspects of British eating habits. Therefore, the translation of British recipes, cookbooks, and menus is the ultimate challenge for Serbian translators.

The corpus for this paper is selected from a globally known product of popular culture—J. K. Rowling's seven-volume *Harry Potter* series. Culinary specialities are an inevitable part of everyday life at Hogwarts. The tables at holiday celebrations are described in detail; nevertheless, their contents differ significantly in Serbian translations of the English originals. This paper provides a critical analysis of the translation techniques employed by Serbian translators, and their consequent (ill) effects.

Key words: literary translation, food, culture, Harry Potter, Serbia, globalization

1. Introduction

Translation and cultural studies as social scientific disciplines have always been interlocked. Roger T. Bell defines translation as "the transfer of meaning from a text in one language into a text in another language" (1991: 8). However, meaning is much more than a simple one-to-one, signifier-signified relation. Meaning is primarily created by context, and cultural context can be of tantamount importance for discourse interpretation as textual co-text, if not even more so. Culture theorist Shalom Schwartz lists meanings as the first manifestation of the complex underlying system which we call culture, together with "beliefs, practices, symbols, norms and values prevalent among people in a society" (2002: 4). Hence Susan Bassnett's

e-mail: andrea.stojilkov@gmail.com

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somewhat humorous claim that trying to separate language from culture is as meaningless as striving to find the answer to the famous debate – which came first, the chicken or the egg (2007: 23) – must be taken as true. Writing for *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, James L. Watson in one of his entries states that “food is the oldest global carrier of culture” and in addition to this, he emphasizes the role of food as a driving force for globalization (Cultural globalization).

Therefore, this study is dedicated to the translation of food as one of the most informative symbols of a culture. It should be noted that I did not choose a cookbook as the most logical corpus for my study. Instead, I used an ultimately successful product of popular culture, a literary work that has effected a major impact on children’s literature and the fantasy genre. Thus, in this study I link translation, culture, and literature in a complex analysis of literature in translation, viewed as a vehicle for spreading cultural knowledge in our increasingly globalized world. Moreover, the source language in this critical analysis is English, today believed to be the most widely adopted *lingua franca*. English is undoubtedly the number one foreign language in Serbia in terms of its popularity, esteem, and the number of Serbian speakers of it. Similarly, the *Harry Potter* saga is a beloved read among all generations. Most of the English language and British culture get through to Serbia by way of translation, and I focus on the errors committed by Serbian translators when rendering items of British food into a Serbian (con)text. My aim was to point out the significance of an accurate and as easily comprehensible translation as possible even when it comes to such seemingly minor element of the novels as eating. In addition to this, I tried to investigate what the translators’ general approach to the original texts was: that of foreignization, or domestication.

Writing her master’s thesis in 2012, Leisa Anne Clark observes that “no scholarly books or specifically dedicated articles have focused solely on the discussion of food in the [*Harry Potter*] series” to that date (Clark 2012: 2), although food is masterfully used to understand the cultural identity of the characters. My feeling is akin to hers in that I find the study of the English-Serbian translation of food as a device of expressing cultural value a yet untapped and abundant source for future academic research in the field of both translation and cultural studies.

The corpus for this study is comprised of examples from all seven novels of the series. Most of the English originals are adapted American publications, slightly different from the British versions, whereas the Serbian translations were published by various publishing houses. However, the same pair of translators were engaged:

Vesna and Draško Roganović. I conducted a contrastive analysis of all passages mentioning food, and offered evaluative conclusions for each translational decision. The 133 instances of translated food items were divided in separate categories according to the translational technique or method used: transcription, transposition, analogy, description, recreation, and generalization. Furthermore, there are three categories focusing on incorrect translation solely, based on cultural misunderstandings, unnecessary lexical substitution, or they were simply inexplicable mistranslations. Examples of accurate but fairly straightforward translations of basic food items were not taken into account in this study.

2. Foreignization and domestication

Depending on whether a translator transferring a text from a foreign language into their mother tongue chooses to preserve the atmosphere of the source context, or to create a translation as similar as possible to the target context, the overall approach may be classified into two broad categories: one favouring foreignizing strategies, or the other which is in favour of domestication. This decision is largely based on the translational norms valid in a linguistic community, which Gideon Toury defines as “the regularities of translation behaviour within a specific sociocultural situation” (as cited by Baker 2005: 163). A general, either foreignizing or domesticating approach may be noticed on a national level, reflecting the translation trends present in translating all literary genres into the nation’s language, as well as on the less general levels, when it is dictated by genre-specific translational norms, or individual preferences of a translator’s style. There are a number of factors determining the choice of strategies in translation, and some of them are the tradition of translating, the historical context, literary criticism, the policy of different publishing houses, the nature of the genre in question, and the interest and background knowledge of the intended audience (Pym and Turk 2005: 276).

Theoretically speaking, *Harry Potter* belongs to the genre of children’s, or at least young adults’ literature. Still, the magic of the works surpasses age limits and hence there are many older readers of J.K. Rowling’s novels. Classically, media products aimed at children like books, educational TV shows, theatrical plays, or animated films tend to be translated so as to adapt the content to the target culture, creating a text much resembling domestic circumstances. This is especially obvious when it comes to translated charactonyms¹ and toponyms.² Allegedly, children might

¹ Meaningful and allusive names of fictional characters.

be confused by anything foreign and unknown, and this is the reason supporting the employment of a domesticating translation, or in José Lambert's words, one that is "disguised as an original," leaving the majority of readers unaware of its foreign origin (2005: 130-131). Nevertheless, some theorists argue that cultural difference is not the exclusive factor which is interpreted as alien at this developmental stage. In fact, children perceive anything they experience for the first time as a sign of foreignness. Therefore, the domesticating strategies in translating children's literature are only tools thought to be better by adult translators, and not an actual necessity (Mansfield 2010: 5).

On the other hand, certain translation theorists, like Lawrence Venuti, advocate the use of foreignizing strategies as a beneficial instrument of cultural innovation (2005: 242). Personally, I do not believe that a strictly domesticated or foreignized text in translation can be a successful solution. The choice of translational methods and techniques should be governed by the effect which the particular strategy has in each separate translational task. The *Harry Potter* series being an "international media and literary phenomenon" (Clark 2012: 1), but inextricably tied to British mores and setting, the attempt to create a covert translation free of any geographical or cultural references would be outrageous. Still, in order to fully understand the novels, all the references to British culture should be properly translated, with the help of appropriate techniques and methods which could bring the foreign elements closer to the readers of the translations. Writing on the topic of translational approaches, Douglas Robinson rightfully states that even when the translator wishes to introduce the audience to the author on source language grounds, his or her ultimate goal is to essentially "bring the foreign author to the target language, even if to a radically foreignized target language" (2005: 98). In other words, the translator's task is to strike the right balance between an *adequate* translation, adhering to the norms of the source language and culture, and an *acceptable* translation, reflecting the norms of the target context (see Baker 2005: 164).

2.1. Foreignizing strategies of translation

Translation strategies whose application results in a translation which preserves the notion of "otherness," clearly indicating the source text's origin, fall into the category of foreignizing strategies. These are, from the most radical ones, to

² Names of places.

those more neutral that approach the domesticating strategies: copy, which Boris Hlebec also terms integral loan (2008: 114), transcription, addition, description (Lincoln 2006), and pragmatic explicitation (Klaudy 2005: 83). The following subsections will address each of these strategies employed by the Serbian translators of *Harry Potter* when tackling food, meals, and dietary habits presented in the novels. The only exception is copy, as, luckily, the translators did not transfer any English term into Serbian exactly as it appears in the original, without even applying some degree of orthographic adaptation.

2.1.1. Transcription

Transcription as a translational technique involves rendering the word from the source language into the target language in the form which most closely resembles the original pronunciation of the word. The lexeme is thereby adapted at the level of morphology, phonology, and grammar, and conforms to the target language system (Lincoln 2006). Basically, it means noting down what the target language speakers understand when hearing the word in the source language. Transcription is a technique widely used in Serbian translations of foreign names and loanwords, unlike in the neighbouring Croatia, which, although a culturally very close linguistic community, favours copy as the common solution for mentioning foreign names and artefacts.

Since transcription is a normative choice when it comes to loanwords, some instances of its usage in the Serbian versions of *Harry Potter* are totally justified. Examples include translating *cornflakes* (EHP1: 42), *sauce* (EHP4: 59), *toast* (EHP5: 122), *bouillabaisse* (EHP4: 231), *spaghetti Bolognese* (EHP7: 315), or *canapés* (EHP7: 89) as *kornflejks* (SHP1: 41), *sos* (SHP4: 53), *tost* (SHP5: 130), *bujabes* (SHP4: 203), *špageti bolonjeze* (SHP7: 270), and *kanape-sendvičići* (SHP7: 83) respectively. It is worth noting that the last three examples are loanwords in English as well, copied from the French and Italian lexicon, and in accordance with the fact that these dishes are foreign contributions to British palates. Moreover, the translation of *canapés* combines description/addition with transcription, describing *canapés* as tiny sandwiches. Even though the first three examples have parallel Serbian equivalents, them being the calque *kukuruzne pahuljice*, and Serbian words *umak* and *dvopek*, they are used alternately by Serbian speakers, and the English loanwords are not felt to be such prominent Anglicisms.

Transcription is also an advisable technique when it comes to translating English *brandy*. The Serbian versions feature both *brendi* (SHP7: 65) and *rakija* (SHP1: 30) as equivalents for this alcoholic drink. This inconsistency in translating the same lexeme is worth criticizing, as well as the use of a term denoting a traditional Serbian spirit made of fruit. It is true that *rakija* is often descriptively translated into English as plum/quince/apricot or any other fruit brandy in authentic Serbian restaurants' menus, its production and level of alcohol being similar to that of brandy's. However, picturing Harry's uncle Vernon regaining his composure with the little aid of the typical Serbian shot seems curiously out of place. Hence, transcription wins over analogy and description in this particular case.

The Serbian translators, however, used transcription for lexemes where another translation equivalent would have been much more natural in the Serbian text. This leads to Hagrid using powdered *čili* as a balm for ailing salamanders (SHP5: 558), while Professor Trelawney fancies drinking one too many glasses of *šeri* (SHP6: 534). These terms, basically transcribed English loanwords for *chilli* and cooking *sherry*, are to be heard among Serbian speakers; however, Serbian terms for these words, *tucana ljuta paprika* and *višnjevača* refer to the same spice and liqueur, and are significantly more frequent in the Serbian language.

Two instances of transcribed lexemes related to food and cooking are particularly inappropriate, and while the former examples merely reflected the translators' inclination towards a foreignizing approach, the renditions of *porridge* (EHP4: 337) and *casserole dish* (EHP7: 511) could only cause bewilderment among the target audience. *Poridž* (SHP4: 272) and *kaserola* (SHP7: 429) are not to be found in any dictionary of contemporary Serbian language. This does not mean that the dishes, one for being eaten and the other one for preparing food, are unknown in Serbia. Although equivalents for these words exist in Serbian, namely *ovsena kaša* 'oat gruel' and *đuveč* respectively, the translators decided to ignore them, or simply failed to use them.

2.1.2. Description and pragmatic explicitation

Unlike the visual media like film and television, which do not allow for any spatially and temporally consuming explanations of "problematic" words in translation, literary translation has the advantage of using as much space as necessary to convey the meaning, as long as the explanatory addenda do not interrupt the spontaneous flow of the story. While translators dealing with subtitling

and dubbing struggle with frame and lip synchronization, literary translators can resort to various strategies, like footnotes, endnotes, or in-text explanations. The words or phrases that need additional information provided are usually culture-specific. In this subsection, the cases of descriptively translated dishes will be observed.

Description as a translation technique essentially is the use of a descriptive phrase instead of a particular single lexeme, in most cases because the entity to which the source lexeme refers is unknown to the target audience, as it is not a part of the target socio-cultural and physical reality. It is perhaps the most commonly used strategy by translators who translate food and menus: almost every restaurant offering traditional food of a culture or a nation will provide the description of the dishes with which the guests may not be familiar, naming the main ingredients and the manner of preparation. Pragmatic explicitation, which according to Klaudy is explicitation of implicit cultural information easily recognized in a differing source culture (2005:83), is much similar to description. Basically, it involves transcribing or merely copying the original term, and providing a descriptive explanation immediately afterwards. Pragmatic explicitation makes those phenomena which are understood as pieces of general knowledge in the source culture more transparent to the foreign target audience, and this especially is the case with food and drink (Klaudy 2005: 83).

The Serbian translators of *Harry Potter* did not use pragmatic explicitation at all, although it would have served them as a precious strategy for dealing with culturally specific items, which will be separately addressed in one of the following sections. On the other hand, their occasional use of description gave good results by and large, as can be observed in Table 1, presenting examples from the English originals, and parallel Serbian translations.

Table 1: Description

<i>Marshmallows</i> (EHP1: 199)	<i>Slatkiši od belog sleza</i> 'Sweets made of white mallow' (SHP1: 172)
<i>Custard tart</i> (EHP2: 82)	<i>Voćna pita sa kremom od vanile</i> 'Fruit pie with vanilla filling' (SHP: 71)
<i>Kippers</i> (EHP2: 86, EHP4: 540)	<i>Usoljena riba</i> 'Salted fish' (SHP2: 75) <i>Usoljen sleđ</i> 'Salted herring' (SHP4: 431)

<i>Maggoty haggis</i> (EHP2: 133)	<i>Ovčetina puna larvi</i> 'Mutton full of maggots' (SHP2: 114)
<i>Bath buns</i> (EHP3: 273)	<i>Slatke zemičke sa grožđicama</i> 'Sweet buns with raisins' (SHP3: 195)
<i>Treacle tart</i> (EHP5: 210)	<i>Voćna pita sa melasom</i> 'Fruit pie with molasses' (SHP5: 218)
<i>Eggnog</i> (EHP6: 203)	<i>Punč sa jajima</i> 'Punch with eggs' (SHP6: 326)
<i>Vol-au-vents</i> (EHP7: 89)	<i>Punjene slane korpice</i> 'Stuffed savoury tarts' (SHP7: 83)

There are some shortcomings of the Serbian translations: custard tart and treacle tart can contain fruit, but only as an adding, and *melasa* as the Serbian equivalent for molasses is rather unknown to Serbian readers. Instead, even treacle could have been translated descriptively, as *šećerni sirup* 'sugary syrup'. Furthermore, *ovčetina* implies that the dish contained meat, and not sheep offal. The translation of *vol-au-vents*, however, fits the Serbian context perfectly, as this type of savoury tarts can often be seen on Serbian tables during celebrations.

2.2. Domesticating strategies of translation

Translators wishing to transfer lexical items into a target language so that they appear as least foreign as possible resort to domesticating strategies. Domestication requires that a greater effort be invested into translation, as not only is it important to comply with the target language's morphosyntactic rules, but the translated text needs to be incorporated into the target culture as well. The strategies of domestication include: *rendition*, *substitution*, *recreation*, *deletion*, *transposition*, *analogy*, *generalization*, and *phonological replacement* (see Lincoln 2006; Hlebec 2008: 114). The following subsections will observe those strategies found in the Serbian versions of J.K. Rowling's seven novels.

2.2.1. Rendition and recreation

Apart from feasting on traditional British food, the wizards in the magical world of *Harry Potter* savour dishes which Muggles could never think of. Clark believes it is necessary that the novels' characters eat and drink both familiar items like toast, and the unfamiliar, invented ones, like Butterbeer (2012: 12). According to her, readers better experience Hogwarts, the wizarding world, as well as Great

Britain, being exposed to both traditional and fantastic foods (Clark 2012: 20). Both kinds of food contribute to the effect of verisimilitude, making the community of schoolchildren and teachers in a school of witchcraft and wizardry somewhere in Britain more believable.

J.K. Rowling gave all these foods and drinks creative and allusive names, which should be translated with an equal degree of imagination and (un)attractiveness. Most of the magical foods and drinks are confectionery and warm alcoholic drinks, as well as soft drinks, and they can be purchased and tried in shops like Weasleys' Wizard Wheezes, from the trolley on the students' journey to Hogwarts by Hogwarts Express, or in places where witches and wizards gather to socialize, like pubs in the village of Hogsmeade. Daniel Radosh commenting on the modifications the American publisher made to the original text argues that "when a candy store is stacked with Fizzing Whizzbees, Pepper Imps, and Cockroach Clusters it's supposed to sound exotic, and replacing these sweets with M&M's and Tootsie Rolls would be out of the question" (1999). Replacing these sweets with Serbian confectionery brands would have been equally wrong. This is where recreation and rendition come onto the stage.

Mizani (2008) mentions Lincoln's proposed techniques of translating names, and according to her, rendition involves translating a meaningful name which "is trapped in the lexicon of the source language" into its equivalent in the target language, so as to convey the transparent semantic motivation. Recreation is a similar technique, but it "consists of recreating an *invented*³ name" in the target language text, with the aim of reproducing similar effects in another cultural setting. To recreate in this sense means to translate a name of a non-existent entity in both the source and the target language/culture. Table 2 presents some examples of recreated and rendered magical foods and drinks in the Serbian language.

Table 2: Recreation and rendition

<i>Pepper Imps</i> (EHP3: 77)	<i>Ljutkasti vragolani</i> 'Spicy Scamps' (SHP3: 60)
<i>Chocoballs</i> (EHP3: 77)	<i>Čokoloptice</i> 'Little chocoballs' (SHP3: 60)
	<i>Pera-šećerleme</i> 'Quill-lollipop canes' (SHP3: 60)

³ Emphasis added.

<i>Sugar Quills</i> (EHP3: 77; 197)	<i>Šećerna perca</i> 'Little sugar feathers' (SHP3: 140)
<i>Cockroach Clusters</i> (EHP3: 197)	<i>Bubašvabonice</i> 'Little Roachbons' (SHP3: 141)
<i>Gillywater</i> (EHP3: 202)	<i>Vodica od karanfilića</i> 'Clovewater' (SHP3: 143)
<i>Red currant rum</i> (EHP3: 202)	<i>Rum s ribizlama</i> 'Rum with currants' (SHP3: 144)
<i>Butterbeer</i> (EHP3: 138)	<i>Krem-pivo</i> 'Creamy beer' (SHP3: 114)
<i>Skiving Snackboxes</i> (EHP5: 225)	<i>Zabušantske bombonjere</i> 'Skivers' chocolate boxes' (SHP5: 234)
<i>Fizzing Whizzbees</i> (EHP3: 197)	<i>Praskave zujalice</i> 'Popping buzzlies' (SHP3: 140)
<i>Ice Mice</i> (EHP3: 197)	<i>Ledomiši</i> 'Icemouses' (SHP3: 140)

It is worth noticing that the Serbian translators often chose to use diminutive forms, which bear the connotation of something sweet and dear, as well as small in size. In the case of *gillywater*, the translators substituted gillyflower with clove, which indeed is botanically related to the carnation, as is it is inferable from the Serbian names for these plants: *karanfilić* (spice) and *karanfil* (flower). The two blends, *bubašvabonice*⁴ and *ledomiši*⁵ are perfect translational solutions, as they recreate these invented sweets in an equally imaginative manner. The translation of *red currant rum* and *Weasleys' Skiving Snackboxes* is debatable, though: red currant rum is not rum with an adding of red currants, as the translation says, but an alcoholic beverage made from red currants. The Serbian translators turned the snack boxes containing foods that seem regular sweets and snacks but actually trigger physical reactions like nosebleed or tongue swelling in consumers, so that they could avoid class attendance, into boxes of chocolates, which was an unnecessary substitution.

⁴ From *bubašvabe*+*bombonice* [cockroaches + little bonbons]. *Cockroach Clusters* actually are a reference to another product of popular culture: a sketch featured in the *Monty Python's Flying Circus* show, mentioning these sweets made of dead cockroaches coated in chocolate.

⁵ *Ledomiši* backtranslate to English as *Icemouses*, since the part of the blend indicating the plural of *mouse*, *-miši*, is irregular in Serbian; the correct plural is *miševi*.

Yet another interesting remark is that, although not a translator, Rowling herself uses a type of pragmatic explicitation abundantly whenever unfamiliar magical food and drink are mentioned, like in the following paragraph:

—I just want to get inside Honeydukes!

—What’s that? said Hermione.

—It’s this sweetshop, said Ron, a dreamy look coming over his face—
where they’ve got *everything*. . .

Pepper Imps — they make you smoke at the mouth — and great fat Chocoballs full of strawberry mousse and clotted cream, and really excellent sugar quills, which you can suck in class and just look like you’re thinking what to write next —. (EHP3: 77)

By describing her inventions like this, the author invites the readers to imagine these wizarding treats vividly, and facilitates the translators’ task indirectly, since these explicitations serve as guidance for rendition in the translated versions.

2.2.1. Analogy and lexical substitution

Whenever a culture-specific source text word is replaced by a target language word which is similar to the original one in terms of their appearance, origin, function, or cultural value, the strategy that is applied is called analogy. The source word, being tied to the source language and culture, does not exist in the target language and culture; therefore, an analogous word is searched for, so that it could convey the most similar denotative and connotative meanings to those that the source word bears in the source speech community.

Analogy thus implies a form of lexical substitution; however, substitution as a separate translational technique does not presuppose that the target language word used as a substitute for the source language word bear any similarity with the latter. In other words, lexical substitution is a more arbitrary replacement, which does not result in a translational equivalent in the target text.

Analogy often is a very effective technique when translating food. Nonetheless, it should be used with caution, as an overly domesticated translation gives an artificial or comic air to the text which originally belongs to another culture. What is more, the translator has to possess a thorough knowledge of the source culture, since a misinterpreted linguistic or cultural meaning of the source text will result in a mistranslation by incorrectly applied analogy. Tables 3 and 4 display some

cases of analogy and linguistic substitution found in the Serbian versions of the *Harry Potter* books.

Table 3: Analogy

<i>Peppermint humbugs</i> (EHP1: 62)	<i>Mentol dražeje</i> 'Mint dragées' (SHP1: 57-58)
<i>English muffins</i> (EHP1: 199)	<i>Lepinje</i> 'Flat/pitta bread' (SHP1: 172)
<i>Homemade fudge</i> (EHP1: 200)	<i>Domaće karamele</i> 'Homemade toffees' (SHP1: 173)
<i>Black currant ice-cream</i> (EHP4: 33)	<i>Sladoled od kupine</i> 'Blackberry ice-cream' (SHP4: 33)
<i>Crumpet</i> (EHP5: 226)	<i>Zemička</i> 'Bun' (SHP5: 234)
<i>Stew</i> (EHP6: 187)	<i>Paprikaš</i> 'Hungarian meat stew' (SHP6: 304)
<i>Pasty</i> (EHP6: 191)	<i>Paštetica</i> 'Puff pastry shell' (SHP6: 308)
<i>Apple tart</i> (EHP7: 92)	<i>Pita s jabukama</i> 'Apple strudel' (SHP7: 85)

Some of the Serbian analogous translations work successfully in the context of Hogwarts. Since fudge, crumpets, and apple tarts are not typical of Serbian cuisine, the translators resorted to analogy, and chose as equivalents those desserts that are commonly eaten in Serbia, and are made from roughly the same ingredients. However, translating peppermint humbugs⁶ as dragées was not the best possible solution, since humbugs are striped hard sweets, the likes of which are commonly sold in craftsmen's sweet shops in Serbia, while *dražeje* allude to medicinal pastilles. Black currants in the ice-cream were turned into blackberries, although *crna ribizla* 'black currant' is not an unfamiliar fruit, so an analogous term need not have been used. The two problematic cases, however, are *lepinja* and

⁶ Daniel Radosh reveals how the American publisher and editor Arthur Levine decided to replace some of the potentially confusing British words by their American equivalents, so Harry in Britain enjoys puddings and jelly, while in the United States his favourites are desserts and Jell-O. Still, he decided to leave humbugs in their original form, mistakenly believing them to be one of Rowling's fictional sweets (Radosh 1999).

paprikaš. Translating English muffins⁷ as *lepinje* was inappropriate, since the Serbian term denotes a type of flat and spongy bread most similar to Eastern pitta bread, and is often stuffed with grilled meat, or is roasted in the oven with a rich filling of eggs, kajmak, and *pretop* – the thick, dark, salty and fatty juice left after the roasting of beef or pork. *Paprikaš*, on the other hand, is a spicy Hungarian dish which has become a classic of Serbian cuisine as well, undergoing some minor changes, depending on the region where it is made, and the personal preferences of the cook. Serbian cuisine is strongly influenced by Turkish and (Austro-)Hungarian specialities, as the whole territory of present-day Serbia used to be divided between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires for centuries. This historical and cultural contact is especially obvious in the dietary habits of the Serbian people nowadays, centuries after the liberation and independence of Serbia.

Hence, in order to avoid the culturally awkward images of Hermione eating a Hungarian dish and Harry and Ron toasting Turkish/Serbian bread over the fireplace in their common room in Hogwarts, generalization should have been employed instead of analogy: English muffins could have been translated as *hlepčići* ‘bread rolls, small loaves of bread’, and Hermione’s stew would translate much better as *čorba*, which is a general, neutral translation of the English word.

Table 4: Analogy/lexical substitution

<i>Marmalade</i> (EHP2: 44)	<i>Džem</i> ‘Jam’ (SHP2: 40)
<i>A mug of hot chocolate</i> (EHP2: 65)	<i>Krigla tople čokolade</i> ‘A pint of hot chocolate’ (SHP2: 58)
<i>Large spoon</i> (EHP3: 229)	<i>Kutlača</i> ‘Ladle’ (SHP3: 162)
<i>Boxes of chocolates</i> (EHP6: 36)	<i>Kutije čokolade</i> ‘Boxes of chocolate bars’ (SHP6: 70)
<i>Porridge</i> (EHP6: 106)	<i>Ovsene pahuljice</i> ‘Oat flakes’ (SHP6: 160)
<i>Liquid licorice</i> (EHP6: 116)	<i>Tečni karamel</i> ‘Liquid toffee’ (SHP6: 168)
	<i>Kajgana</i>

⁷ English muffins are present in the American publication of *Harry Potter*, which was used as a part of the corpus for this paper, where crumpets are to be found in the original British version. This is another example of Levine’s publishing policy. Philip Nel claims that English muffins and crumpets are related, but not identical, and believes this analogy has a negative effect on the novels’ realism, or in his words: “Americans eat English muffins, but the English do not” (Nel 2002: 267).

Omelet (EHP7: 141)	'Scrambled eggs' (SHP7: 126)
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Translational decisions featured in Table 4 represent merger cases between analogy and lexical substitution. Whereas jam indeed is similar to marmalade, scrambled eggs and omelette are still fried eggs basically, and a ladle is a type of a large spoon – so it could be argued that these are not such arbitrary lexical substitutions – it is not clear why the translators did not introduce proper Serbian equivalents: *marmelada*, *velika kašika*, and *omlet*. While these substitutions may be considered acceptable, though not completely accurate translations, chocolate seemed to have caused greater problems to the translators: in Serbia, the only drink consumed out of a *krigla* is beer, and boxes of chocolates are always translated as *bombonjere*; *kutija čokolade* triggers an image of a cardboard box full of large chocolate bars, which could hardly be a thank-you gift that Professor Slughorn receives on a regular basis from his former students.

These are not the only cases of haphazardly applied lexical substitutions. Those instances of translation that resulted in rather striking translational errors are presented in a separate section of this paper.

2.2.2. Generalization

Whenever a specific lexeme does not translate well into a foreign language due to cultural differences, generalization may come in handy as a translational strategy. Basically, it involves using a generic term to denote a particular category or type. A hyperonym is used instead of a specific hyponym. The Serbian translators of *Harry Potter* used this translation shift on a number of occasions, as specific types of desserts or certain dishes whose literal translation would sound strange in Serbian would only confuse the readers, while they are not as central to the plot. Although generalization functions smoothly in these cases, it is a domesticating procedure, and plenty of cultural information is lost in translation.

Table 5: Generalization

<i>Trifle</i> (EHP2: 339)	<i>Kolači</i> 'Cakes' (SHP2: 288)
<i>Spotted dick</i> (EHP4: 183)	<i>Kolači</i> 'Cakes' (SHP4: 149)
<i>Chocolate gateau</i> (EHP4: 183)	<i>Čokoladna torta</i> 'Chocolate cake' (SHP4: 149)

<i>Rhubarb crumble</i> (EHP5: 571)	<i>Kolač od rabarbare</i> 'Rhubarb cake' (SHP5: 580)
<i>Custard creams</i> (EHP5: 525)	<i>Kolači sa vanilom</i> 'Vanilla cakes' (SHP5: 535)
<i>Pastille</i> (EHP7: 238)	<i>Bombona</i> 'Boiled sweet' (SHP7: 207)

Table 5 shows that instead of literally translating *spotted dick* (which would have been quite a challenge, due to the uncertain meaning of the second word), or descriptively explaining what trifle is, as it does occur in certain places throughout the novels, the translators felt that using the generic term – cakes – is more convenient. Although rhubarb crumble is partially translated using transposition (by the use of a genitive phrase instead of a noun in adjectival function), a specific type of cake whose dough resembles rough breadcrumbs is translated simply as *kolač*. Custard creams were translated incorrectly, though: instead of using a generic term *kolači* which denotes a soft and thick dessert, the generic term *keks* should have been used, as custard creams resemble Serbian *sendvič-keks*, a dry tea biscuit in the form of two biscuits with a characteristic elaborate design, joined by a vanilla and lemon-flavoured spread.

The sections so far provided some theoretical background on the foreignizing and domesticating strategies in the translation of foods and drinks. Translational errors, however, have only been touched upon; finally, the ensuing section will be entirely dedicated to the incorrect translational solutions performed in the Serbian translations of all seven *Harry Potter* novels.

3. Translational errors

Tables 6 and 7, unfortunately, present quite a lengthy and by no means exhaustive list of incorrectly translated lexemes from English into Serbian.

Table 6: Mistranslations

<i>Knickerbocker glory</i> (EHP1: 26)	<i>Čokoladica</i> 'Chocolate bar' (SHP1: 28)
<i>Lemon ice pop</i> (EHP1: 26)	<i>Ledeni lilihip sa ukusom limuna</i> 'Icy lemon-flavoured lollipop' (SHP1: 27)
	<i>Mikser</i>

<i>Food processor</i> (EHP1: 40)	'Hand mixer' (SHP1: 40)
<i>Corned beef</i> (EHP1: 101)	<i>Govedina sa kukuruzom</i> 'Beef with boiled sweetcorn' (SHP1: 91)
<i>Rice pudding</i> (EHP1: 125)	<i>Pirinčani puding</i> 'Custard made of rice' (SHP1: 110)
<i>Lamb and pork chops</i> (EHP1: 123)	<i>Jagnjeće i svinjske ćufte</i> 'Lamb and pork meatballs' (SHP1: 109)
<i>Sprouts</i> (EHP1: 104; EHP5: 198; EHP6: 199)	<i>Kelj</i> 'Savoy cabbage' <i>Karfiol</i> 'Cauliflower' <i>Mladice</i> 'Green shoots'; 'Huchen' (SHP1: 93; SHP5: 161, SHP6: 317)
<i>Rock cakes</i> (EHP1: 140)	<i>Mramorni kolačići</i> 'Marble cakes' (SHP1: 124)
<i>Sugared violets</i> (EHP2: 10)	<i>Ljubičice od šećera</i> 'Violets made of sugar' (SHP2: 14)
<i>Fruitcake</i> (EHP2: 261)	<i>Voćna torta</i> 'Fruit gâteau' (SHP2: 221)
<i>Daisy roots</i> (EHP3: 124)	<i>Suva smokva</i> 'Dried fig' (SHP3: 92)
<i>Nut brittle</i> (EHP4: 222)	<i>Očišćeni orasi</i> 'Shelled walnuts' (SHP4: 158)
<i>Assorted meat pies</i> (EHP5: 28)	<i>Sortirana testenina</i> 'Sorted pasta' (SHP5: 29)

Table 7: Mistranslations

<i>Biscuits</i> (EHP5: 377; EHP7: 287)	<i>Biskvit</i> 'Sponge cake' (SHP5: 303) <i>Dvopek</i> 'Toast' (SHP7: 247)
<i>Beef casserole</i> (EHP5: 207)	<i>Govede pečenje</i> 'Roast beef' (SHP5: 168)
<i>Custard creams</i> (EHP5: 366)	<i>Vanilice</i> 'Vanilla cookies with apricot jam' (SHP5: 294)
<i>Cream cakes</i> (EHP5: 382)	<i>Šampite</i> 'German cake with a thin crust and a

	very thick layer of meringue' (SHP5: 307)
<i>Pies</i> (EHP5: 382)	<i>Kolači</i> 'Cakes' (SHP5: 307)
<i>Chocolate éclair</i> (EHP5: 384)	<i>Čokoladna bombona</i> 'A chocolate' (SHP5: 308)
<i>Cribbage's Wizarding Crackers</i> (EHP4: 410)	<i>Kartaroški čarobnjački krekeri</i> 'Card-playing wizards' crackers' (SHP4: 329)
<i>Cakes</i> (EHP5: 453)	<i>Keks</i> 'Biscuits' (SHP5: 362)
<i>Rhubarb crumble and custard</i> (EHP5: 87)	<i>Puding sa šlagom</i> 'Custard with whipped cream' (SHP5: 94)
<i>Steak</i> (EHP5: 422)	<i>Narezak</i> 'Potted meat' (SHP5: 434)
<i>Mince pies</i> (EHP4: 222)	<i>Pite s mesom</i> 'Meat pies' (SHP4: 158)

Apparently, the false friends between the English and Serbian "culinary lingo[s]" (Paradowski 2010: 139) still cause problems to translators. Thus cakes become biscuits 'keks', biscuits turn into sponge cake 'biskvit', and the puzzling British puddings will transform into custards 'puđing'. As regards puddings, unlike other puddings Harry and his friends adore, rice pudding is well-known to Serbian readers, although under the name *sutlijaš*, derived from the original Turkish *sütlaç*. Since this dish is not native to either Britain or Serbia, but is still a commonly eaten Eastern dessert in both countries, the Serbian equivalent should have been used, instead of the rather confusing descriptive translation.

Homonyms can also be a cause of misinterpretation, and a special degree of attention is needed in order to correctly derive the meaning from the context. *Fruitcake* is not the same as a trifle-type fruit cake; whereas there are a myriad of different cakes containing fresh fruit, fruitcake is a rich and heavy dessert containing dried and candied fruits, nuts, spices, and sometimes alcohol, and is often eaten during yuletide season. Likewise, charming *mince pies* do not contain minced meat of animal origin, but, somewhat unexpectedly, at least to a foreign ear, a mixture of finely chopped raisins or other dried fruits. The case of *Cribbage's Wizarding Crackers* is even more striking, as the translators confused a large fake sweet-

wrapper made of cardboard, containing a smaller toy, a paper crown or hat, and a strip of paper with a riddle or a joke written on it, with a hard crunchy biscuit. Christmas crackers are a part of British tradition, and are pulled by two people at Christmas dinner, whereby the tube cracks in two unequal parts with a popping noise and releases its contents, which are kept by the person who is left with the larger part of the cracker. The crackers, naturally, add verisimilitude to the Christmas atmosphere in *Goblet of Fire*, whereas the biscuits that have something to do with card games and wizards figure quite oddly related to the Christmas dinner described in Serbian *Hari Potter i Vatrene Pehar*.

The translations of *corned beef* and *rock cakes* reveal the translators' laziness or disinterest in double-checking the meaning of certain food items. Led by false logic, they linked the metaphorical materials from which rock cakes and *marble cakes* are made, and turned Hagrid's hard and rough tea fruit cakes into a totally different dessert in the Serbian version, while they obviously believed something corned must have involved sweetcorn as a side dish.

Furthermore, to the Serbian translators, the verbs *to assort* and *to sort* are apparently identical. This confusion might even be justified on the basis of sound similarity, but how meat pies became pasta is more puzzling. Some level of magic seems to have been used in the translation of other foods from English into Serbian, turning chops into meatballs, nut brittle into shelled walnuts, and daisy roots into dried figs.

Similarly, a knickerbocker glory, which is a lavish dessert of ice-cream served in a tall glass, with additions of fruit, whipped-cream, syrup, chopped nuts etc., is a typically British name for an ice-cream sundae, or what in Serbia is called *sladoledni kup*. Instead, the translators interpreted it to be a brand of chocolate bar, and applied generalization accordingly.

Unjustified substitution sometimes has hilarious consequences, like in the case of the scene in the Serbian translation of *The Order of the Phoenix*, where Hagrid is pictured as putting a can of potted meat '*narezak*' onto his black eye as a remedy, instead of a raw dragon steak, the magical variant of the traditional beef steak '*odrezak*'.

Curiously, one of the most challenging translational tasks appears to have been Brussels sprouts – "the quintessential Christmas dinner veg" (Brussels sprouts). This vegetable was mentioned thrice throughout the series, and it was never translated accurately, as *prokelj*. Although fresh and frozen sprouts are easily

found in Serbian supermarkets and green markets, the translators found it so enigmatic that they decided to use Savoy cabbage and cauliflower as substitutes, and on one occasion they even translated it as *mladice*. Even though this word may denote green shoots of any plant, its primary denotative meaning is a type of fish endemic to the Danube basin, and as Harry and Ron are complaining about being made to clean (peel) *mladice* by Mrs Weasley, the reader would assume that they were not helping her prepare the holiday feast but in fact scaling fish.

The case of Brussels sprouts is an example of how important acquaintance with the customs connected to different holidays is for translators. This form of cultural knowledge is absolutely necessary in order to perform a successful translational task. The subsequent section will focus on cases of eating culture featured in *Harry Potter*, and connected to some of Britain's most important holidays: Christmas, Easter, and Halloween.

4. Translating holidays

Serbia is a predominantly Christian country, just like the United Kingdom. Still, while the two countries may share the basic concepts common to all branches of Christianity, there are significant differences with respect to how the major religious holidays – Easter and Christmas – are celebrated.

Each novel of the Harry Potter series has a uniform time frame: it begins just before the start of a new school year at Hogwarts, and ends with the students' return to their respective homes. While adhering to this pattern, Rowling never fails to describe the festivities connected to religious holidays. Of course, one of the most important markers of these celebrations is the food that is prepared and served. The following is an excerpt with a description of the Christmas dinner in Harry's first year at Hogwarts:

Harry had never in all his life had such a Christmas dinner. A hundred fat, roast turkeys; mountains of roast and boiled potatoes; platters of chipolatas; tureens of buttered peas, silver boats of thick, rich gravy and cranberry sauce — and stacks of wizard crackers every few feet along the table[...] Flaming Christmas puddings followed the turkey. Percy nearly broke his teeth on a silver Sickle embedded in his slice.
(EHP1: 203)

There are a few cultural references that, in my opinion, ought to have been explained in more detail, either by using pragmatic explicitation or footnotes. Not completely unexpectedly, due to the English and Serbian false friends, Harry's Christmas pudding in the Serbian version again turned into *puđing* – a transcribed form of the English word, but denoting a sweet creamy custard dessert, much different from the traditional thick and spicy dried fruit dessert with a significantly longer shelf life, which is the key part of a proper Christmas dinner in the United Kingdom. Christmas pudding being of such texture, it is easily understandable how a silver magical coin may be embedded in it before baking. In the Serbian translation, an awkward shift occurs: Percy almost loses his tooth due to a glass splinter hidden in his pie. It seems that the translators were in such a hurry to complete the translation of the book that they even confused a Sickle inserted in the pudding for good luck with the Serbian word for glass – *staklo* (SHP1: 175). Bearing in mind the fact that it is a part of Serbian tradition too to bake ritual Christmas bread containing a hidden coin and other symbolic objects like beans, wood pieces, or corn seeds, it is particularly surprising that the translators missed such an important element of holiday culture of eating.

Secondly, *chipolatas* are small and thin sausages, and certainly not *tanko sećena goveđa pršuta* 'thinly sliced beef prosciutto' as the Serbian translation states (SHP1: 175).

Rendering Hagrid's snowed-under cabin resembling an "iced gingerbread house" (EHP3: 404) as a 'frozen house made of cakes' *sleđena kuća od kolača* (SHP3: 323-324) also seems slightly clumsy. Since the scene should evoke the feeling of warmth connected to Christmas and gingerbread treats, and not the cold of winter's frost which seized the cabin, such translation is not only technically wrong but also unsatisfactory in terms of atmosphere. Instead, it could have been translated as a cabin resembling a *kuća od slatkiša* 'a house made of sweets', since this is the phrase familiar to Serbian children from Grimm brothers' tale of Hansel and Gretel.

As Clark notes, "food in the Harry Potter series is both abundant and relevant to the narrative, context, and themes of the books" (2012: iii) and the foods described in the previous excerpt are not unique to Hogwarts' witches and wizards, but are a part of "Christmas celebrations all over Britain" (Clark 2012: 40) and as such are indicators of British identity. Clark cites her supervisor, Annette Cozzi, claiming that food is not neutral or merely a nourishing fuel. On the contrary, with

every gulp we swallow a number of assorted associations and attachments (Cozzi 2010: 4). If we are not to lose these associations and implicit cultural meaning, it is necessary to include this knowledge in the translation as explicit additional information.

In *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* the Great Hall at Hogwarts is decorated with “hundreds and hundreds of candle-filled pumpkins” for the approaching Halloween celebration (EHP2: 139). The Serbian version features an accurate translation. Nevertheless, it might have been useful if the translation had stated that the light in the hall was coming from lanterns made from hollow carved grinning pumpkins with burning candles inside. The original version does not call for any explanations as the audience reading the book in the source language is familiar with the concept of Halloween and the customs related to it. However, Halloween is a foreign, western holiday in Serbia, and although globalization carried Halloween with it even to this country, I feel that some degree of introduction is still needed.

The same is applicable to the Easter eggs Mrs Weasley sends to Harry, Ron, and Hermione in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. They are described as “the size of dragon eggs and full of homemade toffee” (EHP4: 549). Since Easter eggs in Serbia refer to hard-boiled chicken eggs, dyed in edible, natural colours with elaborate patterns and used for egg-breaking duels on Easter Sunday, translating the eggs simply as *uskršnja jaja* (SHP4: 438) creates a strange image of giant boiled eggs, filled with toffee. Hence, a translators’ note explaining the custom of giving chocolate eggs for Easter in Britain would have been helpful to the target audience.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to emphasize how important a comprehensive approach to literary translation is, even when the material for translation is allegedly of such secondary importance as food and drink, and, what is more, in such a literary genre as children’s or young adults’ literature. Traditionally, this genre has been considered subordinate; however, this viewpoint should be abandoned, because “the literary polysystem is made up not only of ‘masterpieces’ and revered literary forms (such as the established verse forms) but also of such genres as children’s literature, popular fiction and translated works, none of which have traditionally fallen within the domain of literary studies” (Shuttleworth 2005: 177).

Globalization is an ongoing complex and omnipresent process involving primarily the spread of cultural values and cultural knowledge, thus erasing

geographical and political borders and giving rise to a universal, or globally accepted culture. With children from South America to Australia devouring the novels and dressing up as their heroes from the *Harry Potter* series, it cannot be denied that these books are extremely potent vehicles of globalization, even though very distinctly British. As such, it is of crucial importance that the translators of these novels into any world language be properly educated, and that they develop the awareness of the easiness with which it is possible to get ensnared in translational errors caused by English language-influenced translation.

The analysis of the selected corpus shows that the culture of eating on both special occasions and in everyday life was tackled with a visibly low level of cultural awareness and professionalism on the part of the Serbian translators. The reason for this might have been prompt deadlines set by the publishing houses eager to offer their customers the Serbian translations of Rowling's globally popular novels as soon as possible, which inevitably led to a poorer quality of translation.

Nowadays, numerous volumes and articles are exploring the various roles and aspects of food in children's literature and literature in general. Just as literary criticism and literary theory find this topic engaging, translation studies could benefit equally from research in this field, if not even more than the mentioned disciplines. Panikos Panayi connected globalization, food, and language quite successfully in her book on the development of British cuisine, *Spicing up Britain*:

We [the British] have borrowed from France. France borrowed from Italy direct, and by way of Provence. The Romans borrowed from the Greeks, and the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians and Persians. What each individual country does do is to give all the elements, borrowed or otherwise, something of a national character. The history of cooking is in some ways like the history of language. (2008: 20)

Food and drink in *Harry Potter* are tools for building atmosphere. As a fan of the novels writes in her blog, it is no wonder or coincidence that the "coldest" of the novels, *The Prisoner of Azkaban*, features the smallest number of scenes revolving around full tables, while the first novel is "literally loaded with descriptions of dinners and feasts" (*Harry Potter Lexicon*). She also notes that Rowling enchants us not with the olfactory, but with colours: "it is the colour that makes us feel the warmth and comfort of Hogwarts' Great Hall, the floating candles casting their yellow light, the

golden plates, the orange pumpkin juice" (*Harry Potter Lexicon*). Unfortunately, it is debatable whether the translated versions depict the same pleasure to Serbian readers. Had the foreignizing and domesticating strategies presented in this paper been consistently applied throughout the seven novels, and especially had pragmatic explication been employed so as to contribute to the better interpretation of culture-specific items, perhaps the Serbian translations could have served both as engaging fantasy reads, and educational works giving insight into British habits. Hopefully, literary translators in Serbia will in the future understand the task of translating cuisine less as something trivial, and more as what it really is – the translation of culture.

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