The Hogwarts School of Translation:
Translating Culture Through Harry Potter

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Abstract

The Harry Potter series, written by J.K. Rowling, is a popular fantasy series around the world. The series has been translated into many different languages, and each version required the translation of words as well as cultural concepts. In order to translate each Harry Potter book so that it would be understood by target readers in the same manner as source readers, several translation techniques including preservation, localization, globalization, addition, omission, and a mixture of these methods were used. These techniques can be explored using examples of names and cultural adaptations made to each translation. By exploring these translations, several patterns can be found in target cultures that reveal cultural values in an intercultural communication context. Using Hofstede's Value Dimensions, Minkov's Monumentalism versus Flexhumility scale, and several other cultural value typologies, readers can observe how the translation techniques used in the various versions of Harry Potter reveal cultural values.

Introduction
      Harry Potter is one of the most popular fantasy series around the world. However, the global success of Harry Potter would not have taken place without the help of translators, who took the text of Harry Potter and made it understandable to foreign readers. In many cases, translators actually went further than literal translation. They had to take into account culture, and as a result, many of the Harry Potter translations have subtle differences. These differences in translation took the words of J.K. Rowling and adapted them so that her story would not only make sense, but also be accepted in different cultures. These differences can be observed in many translations around the world, including the French, Chinese, German, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, and perhaps most surprisingly, the American English version of the books. When examined using cultural pattern typologies, the various techniques used in the translations of Harry Potter reveal each country's cultural values.

History of Harry Potter
The Author and the Idea
      The Harry Potter series was written by Joanne Kathleen Rowling, otherwise known as J.K. Rowling. Rowling was born on July 31, 1965 in Gloucestershire, England (Nel, 2001, p. 7) and graduated from the University of Exeter in 1986 (p. 17). In 1990, while traveling on a delayed train from Manchester to London, Rowling came up with the idea for the Harry Potter series (p. 18). After finishing the book in 1995 and being turned down by several agents and publishers, Rowling finally found an agent, Christopher Little, and a publisher, Bloomsbury, who published the first book as *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* in June 1997 (p. 21-22). Afraid that boys would not read the book if they knew that it was written by a woman, Bloomsbury asked Rowling if her initials, "J.K.," could be used on the cover of the book instead of "Joanne" (p. 23). Rowling accepted this proposal, claiming, "I would have let them call me Enid Snodgrass if they published the book" (as cited in Nel, 2001, p. 23).

Harry's Rise to Fame and Introduction to Other Cultures
      Throughout the next few years, the Harry Potter series began its rise to fame, not just in Britain but also in other parts of the world. In September 1998, Scholastic published the first book as *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* in the United States (Nel, 2001, p. 23). By the release of the fourth book, the series dominated bestseller lists, prompting the *New York Times Book Review* to create a "Children's Best Sellers" list (Nel, p. 65). In 2007, the final book, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, broke a record for the fastest-selling book by selling over 2.65 million copies within twenty-four hours of its release in the United Kingdom (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014, para. 7). According to Bloomsbury Publishing, the Harry Potter series has sold over 450 million copies worldwide and has been translated into 77 different languages (para. 7).

Translation
Importance of the Translator
      In order to understand the cultural impact of the translations of Harry Potter, an understanding of the translation process is first necessary. The original work, as written by its original author, is referred to as the source text, and it is set in the source culture and language. Once the work is translated, it is referred to as a target text, and it is read in the foreign culture, or target culture, in its target language (Wang, 2014, p. 27-28). However, translators have a greater job than just converting words from one language to another; they must also make sure

that readers will understand cultural references mentioned in a work (Bedeker & Feinauer, 2006, p. 134). A cultural translation may be needed whenever an idea in the source text is incomprehensible to target readers, when an idea is identifiable but its importance is not completely understood (Davies, 2003, p. 67), or more generally, when a "culture-specific item" or "CSI" causes confusion or unfamiliarity for target readers (Davies, 2003, p. 68-69).

In order for this transfer to take place successfully, translators must be fully prepared to deal with differences between the source and target cultures. Translators have to know a significant amount about both cultures, including what is considered a normal custom in each culture (Bedeker & Feinauer, 2006, p. 135). For books in high demand, this expertise is especially important because translators must be able to make decisions quickly in order to meet deadlines and get books to anxious readers as soon as possible (Lathey, 2005, p. 143). According to Carmen Garcés (2003) of the University of Alcalá in Spain, under what is known as the "skopos principle," translation should take place so that the target reader comprehends the target text in an equivalent way as the source reader understands the source text (p. 133).

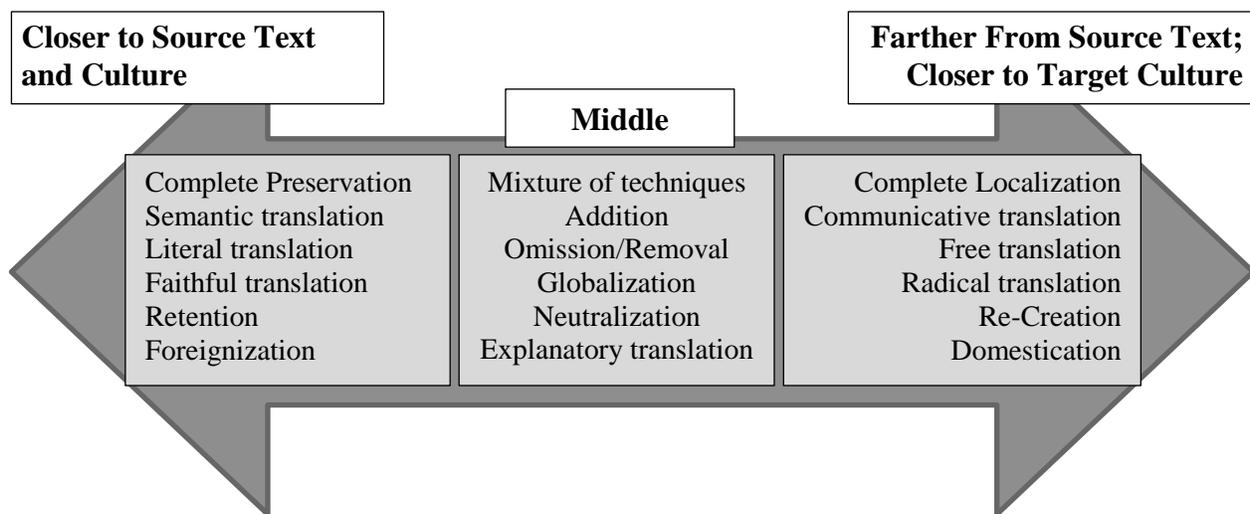*The Translation Process and Methods of Translation*

There are several different methods and theories regarding the translation process. These methods are not exact, and no one translation conforms to only one method of translation. Two main approaches, as accredited to British translation scholar Peter Newmark, are semantic and communicative translation (Wang, 2014, p. 27). These two methods create the ends of a continuum, and actual translations fall somewhere in the middle (Davies, 2003, p. 69). Translation scholars have referred to these two opposites under a variety of different names, including foreignization and domestication (Davies, 2003, p. 69), retention and re-creation (Davies, p. 69), literal and free translation (Jackson & Mandaville, 2006, p. 46), faithful and radical translation (Jackson & Mandaville, p. 48), and several other names. Perhaps the two simplest ways to describe the two methods are as preservation and localization, two terms used by Eirlys E. Davies (2003) of the King Fahd School of Translation in Morocco.

Preservation, otherwise known as semantic translation, aims to stay as true as possible to the original work and considers "the original words and phrases as sacred" (Wang, 2014, p. 28). Translators using the semantic method try to maintain the source culture and explain what foreign concepts mean (Wang, p. 28). In the case of Harry Potter, this technique preserves British cultural elements (Davies, 2003, p. 72). When a sentence or passage uses a certain literary device, such as rhyme or alliteration, the translator interprets its meaning literally without trying to recreate that effect (Wang, p. 28). However, for proper nouns and names of concepts that do not exist in the real world, semantic translators try to replicate the pronunciation of the word, going letter by letter using transliteration (Wang, p. 29). This technique is often used for made-up words in fantasy novels, such as the word *muggle* in Harry Potter (Wang, p. 29).

In contrast, localization or communicative translation "domesticates" the source text to the target culture (Wang, 2014, p. 29). This type of translation aims to make the target text flow easily for target readers by using figures of speech, proverbs, and cultural elements familiar to target readers (Wang, p. 28-30). Instead of translating word for word, as in semantic translation, communicative methods translate sentences at a time so that the overall meaning can be best understood by target readers (Wang, p. 28). This technique may replace names, places, foods, and other cultural references with new situations placed in the target culture (Davies, 2003, p. 84). Communicative translators also try to preserve effects, such as rhyme and alliteration, created by the way words sound (Wang, p. 28).

Throughout the Harry Potter books, as in many other novels, both preservative/semantic and localized/communicative translation techniques were used to deal with different situations (Wang, 2014, p. 28). However, one small distinction appears to exist between the terms "preservation and localization" versus "semantic and communicative" translation. Semantic and communicative translation seem to be more concerned with preserving or adapting *language* through words and names, while preservation and localization seem to refer to the degree to which *cultural concepts* and ideas are changed. Different names for the methods of translation, as placed along a translation continuum, are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Translation Continuum

Closer to Source Text and Culture

Middle

Farther From Source Text; Closer to Target Culture

Complete Preservation	Mixture of techniques	Complete Localization
Semantic translation	Addition	Communicative translation
Literal translation	Omission/Removal	Free translation
Faithful translation	Globalization	Radical translation
Retention	Neutralization	Re-Creation
Foreignization	Explanatory translation	Domestication

Sources: Davies (2003), Jackson & Mandaville (2006), Mussche & Willems (2010), Wang (2014)

Harry Potter and Translating Culture

In order to understand how these translation theories apply to the books of *Harry Potter*, readers and translators look at the many versions of *Harry Potter* as translated into different languages. According to Eirlys E. Davies, *Harry Potter* in particular is a popular work for translation studies because of its wide reach, its abundance of content in many languages, its popularity as a series for children, and its distinctly British viewpoint (2003, p. 65-55). The translation of *Harry Potter* into different cultures can be explored by looking at the translation of names; by comparing the techniques of preservation and localization, as well as a few middle techniques; and by looking at specific cultural adaptations.

Translating Names

In Harry Potter, many names, both magical and proper, must be expressed by translators in the target text. Translators may choose to retain the English word, translate its meaning literally, use another word that produces a similar association in the minds of readers (Davies, 2003, p. 73), modify the spelling of the word, duplicate pronunciation effects, or use names common to the target culture (Garcés, 2003, p. 124). In the first case, English names are left as-is in the text. For example, in the German translation, many proper names remain in English, such as the names of the four houses of Hogwarts (Gryffindor, Slytherin, Hufflepuff, and Ravenclaw) and the names of professors and other characters (Professor Snape, Professor Sprout, Madam Pomfrey, Mrs. Norris, and others) (Jenstch, 2002, p. 291).

Other translations attempt to transfer the literal meanings of a name. For example, *Cornelius Fudge* is changed to *Cornelius Caramell* in Italian (Garcés, 2003, p. 124), and *Nearly Headless-Nick* becomes *Nick-Casi-Decapitado* in Spanish (p. 127). In other cases, a word or name already produces a certain association for source readers. For example, the name *Professor Snape* may make English readers think of snakes or disagreeable words such as *sneer* and *snide* (Davies, 2003, p. 79). In order to replicate this association, the Italian translator changed *Snape* to *Piton*, which means "python" in Italian (Davies, p. 79). Similarly, the French translators chose *Professor Rogue*, which can be associated with the color red or with evil (Garcés, 2003, p. 125).

Rowling also made up several words and magical concepts in the Potter books. For example, the word *muggle* in Harry Potter refers to a non-magical person. Some translators decided to copy the word exactly with no changes, such as the Spanish, Catalan, and German translators (Garcés, 2003, p. 128). Others tried to transfer some meaning by using *Trouxas* in Portuguese and *Babano* in Italian, which are similar to words meaning "silly, stupid person" in their respective languages (p. 128). Still others decided to come up with a completely meaningless word in their own language, such as *Moldus* in French (p. 128).

In semantic or literal translations, names are often retained, spelled differently, or translated into words that sound very similar in the target language. For example, the Chinese translation refers to *Dobby* the house elf as *Duo-bi* (Jackson & Mandaville, 2006, p. 49), a case of similar pronunciation. Other examples include the switch from *Hedwig* to *Edwiges* in the Portuguese translation, *Fluffy* to *Fuffi* in the Italian translation, *Hermione* to *Hermine* in the German translation, and *Malfoy* to *Malafoy* in the French translation (Garcés, 2003, p. 124).

Communicative or free translations often use names that will produce a similar *effect* in pronunciation, even if the name does not sound the same as the original. For example, *Moaning Myrtle* is translated as *Gemma Gemec* in Catalan and *Jammerende Jennie* in Dutch (Jackson & Mandaville, 2006, p. 49). In the Hungarian translation, Professor *McGonagall* is translated into *McGalagony* (Davies, 2003, p. 86). Other communicative translators try to use concepts that have an additional meaning in the target culture. For example, *The Leaky Cauldron*, a place where people meet and have refreshments, becomes *HaKalakhat HaRotakhat* in Hebrew, meaning "The Boiling Kettle" (Jackson, & Mandaville, 2006, p. 50). This phrase is also a saying in Hebrew culture that refers to a group of people simmering with gossip (p. 50).

Under the localization technique, translators replace proper names completely with names that are common to their own cultures. For example, the Norwegian version translates *Vernon* to *Wictor* and *Errol* to *Ulrik* (Davies, 2003, p. 86). In Dutch, *Pettigrew* is changed to *Pippeling*, *Dursley* to *Duffeling*, *McGonagall* to *McSnurp*, *Dudley* to *Dirk*, *Vernon* to *Herman*, and *Seamus* to *Simon* (Davies, p. 86). Some translations even go so far as to localize the names of main characters; for example, Harry's best friend *Ron Weasley* is changed to *Ronny Wiltersen* in Norwegian (Davies, p. 75).

Localization

Besides names, many other specific aspects are translated in the Harry Potter books that delve more deeply into culture. According to Jackson and Mandaville (2006), the phenomenon of Harry Potter's worldwide success can be explained partly by "glocalization," a process in which a product is marketed and distributed globally but then "localized" to fit into specific cultures through translation (p. 46). For example, in the German version, a reference to the song "Tiptoe Through the Tulips" is changed to the German song "Bi-Ba-Butzemann," a tune known to German children (Davies, 2003, p. 84-85). In the same translation, the celebration of Bonfire

Night, a British celebration with bonfires and fireworks, is changed to the celebration of Silvester, a fireworks festival enjoyed by Germans (Davies, p. 85). As a more radical example, the Chinese translation of Harry Potter includes many Chinese myths and legends as part of the background of the story (Jackson & Mandaville, p. 54).

Preservation

In other instances, preservation of the original text is more important than localization. For example, in the mainland Chinese version, the translator uses footnotes considerably throughout the books in order to explain British cultural items, such as language, food, humor, and customs (Davies, 2003, p. 77). For example, the translation contains references to explain yo-yos, frisbees, baked beans, Mars bars, and cornflakes (Harry Potter in Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese, 2014, Miscellaneous section). The Spanish translation also periodically retains English names, even though such names might have produced a more logical association for Spanish readers if they had been translated (Jentsch, 2002, p. 299-300). For example, *Fang* and *Fluffy* are left in English, even though Spanish readers may not understand the meanings of these words or the irony behind naming a three-headed dog *Fluffy* (Jentsch, p. 299).

Globalization and Other Middle Techniques

There are also several techniques that fall somewhere in the middle of the translation continuum, including globalization, addition, and omission. In globalization, British features are removed and replaced by more general terms, resulting in a term or passage that does not refer to either the source or the target culture (Davies, 2003, p. 83). For example, the French version changes *gravy* to *rich sauces*, *rock cakes* to *home-made cookies*, *galoshes* to *rubber boots*, and *bun* to *something to eat* (Davies, 2003, p. 83). Mussche and Willems of Belgium refer to this technique as "neutralization" (2003, p. 485).

Other techniques include omission and addition. Omission refers to the decision to completely remove a cultural reference because it cannot be easily translated into the target language (Davies, 2003, p. 79-80). For example, the French translation omits specifically British food items from the text, such as *Yorkshire pudding* (Davies, p. 81), *porridge*, *steak-and-kidney pie*, and *jacket potato* (Davies, p. 91). Addition refers to the use of added words to explain a cultural concept (p. 77). For example, in the French translation, Harry asks Ron to explain the school's house system and the role of prefects so that French readers can understand how British boarding schools work (Davies, 2003, p. 77).

Cultural Acceptability: An Exploration Through the French Translation

The French version of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, translated by Jean-François Ménard and published in 1998 (Feral, 2006, p. 460), is an appropriate example of a translation for which changes were made or items were omitted so that the work became acceptable in its target culture. Many alterations attempted to tone down some of aspect of the original work, while others emphasized an aspect that was not stressed in the original. These types of changes can be seen in almost every translation, but the French translation in particular provides many examples of these practices.

The first transition from British to French took place in the book's title, which was changed to *Harry Potter at the School of Wizards*, a title that highlights the value of education in French society (Feral, 2006, p. 460). The French novel's cover also emphasizes education by illustrating Harry, Ron, and Hermione, who is holding a book, standing in front of Hogwarts

school (p. 462). Hermione Granger, Harry's intelligent and academically-oriented friend, is an important character in the French translation, as she "provides a model for young readers to be valuable members of their society" (Feral, 2006, p. 462). Throughout the French translation, Hermione's actions are emphasized, while those of Ron, Harry's more trouble-prone best friend, are weakened or omitted (p. 462). For example, whenever Ron wants to skip class to go to Hagrid's hut, the French translator phrases Ron's desire as "want[ing] to go that very minute" (as cited in Feral, 2006, p. 462) so that young readers would not be encouraged to skip school.

The French translation also emphasizes education and formality by removing slang and dialect. For example, the phrase "I dunno" is translated into "I know nothing about it" (Feral, 2006, p. 462), and Irish student Seamus Finnegan's *Me dad* and *Mam* are translated as *my father* and *my mother* (Feral, 2006, p. 464). Even the speech of Hagrid, who has a distinct informal dialect that shapes his character, is translated into formal French. For example, "Now, yer mum an' dad were as good a witch an' wizard as I ever knew" becomes "Your father and your mother were excellent wizards" (as cited in Feral, 2006, p. 461). These examples illustrate the value of correct grammar to French society. The French translation also avoids references to social or hereditary status in the books. For example, in an exchange with Draco Malfoy, Harry's classmate and enemy, Draco's claims that "some wizarding families are much better than others" and "you don't want to go making friends with the wrong sort" are translated as "Be careful who you hang around with" and "you want to avoid dubious people" (as cited in Feral, 2006, p. 465).

The French version also emphasizes respect in children's communications with adults. For example, in the French translation, Harry and his friends use the formal form of the word *you* to refer to Hagrid (Feral, 2006, p. 466). Even though the children are very friendly with Hagrid and speak with him very informally in the British version of the books, he is not spoken to using *tu*, the familiar French form of the word used for friends and colleagues (Lawless, 2014). Instead, the French translator uses the formal *vous*, which is used to show respect to people who are older, in a position of greater authority, or not known well (Lawless, 2014).

To the French translator, any changes made to the Harry Potter novels were made in order to create "educational, moral, and ideological acceptability" (Feral, 2006, p. 466) in the target culture. The translator wanted to make sure that children, who may be easily influenced, would not be exposed to unacceptable standards or values that conflict with the French culture (Feral, p. 466). According to Anne-Lise Feral from the University of Edinburgh, U.K., these changes may reflect a common practice to omit or lessen references to evil, hostility, and unruly behavior in characters of translated children's books (2006, p. 466). A similar practice can be found in many of the other translations of Harry Potter as well.

Cultural Disputes Concerning the Series and Its Translation
Religious Arguments

While many of the countries and cultures mentioned above seem to accept the Harry Potter books and welcome their translation, some groups oppose the books and their translation. For example, religious leaders in several Muslim states, including the United Arab Emirates and other Arab Gulf territories, actually banned the books due to a religious conflict between Islam and the concepts of magic and wizardry (Jackson & Mandaville, 2006, p. 53). Some Muslims believed that magic could lead to unacceptable behaviors practiced by characters in the books, such as rule-breaking, vulgar language, disrespect for elders, and failure to be sorry for one's wrongs (p. 52). Even some Christian fundamentalists find fault in the books, claiming that they promote occult practices in magic and witchcraft (p. 52-53).

Although there have been religious conflicts, the Harry Potter books have still been translated into languages spoken in Muslim countries, such as Persian and Arabic. However, certain protocols had to be met in order for these translations to be published. In Iran, all written works need to be approved by the censorship office, known as the Censorship Department of the Ministry of Culture and Guidance (Roostae, 2010, p. 71). This department watches for political or gender issues that may conflict with religion and culture in Iran (p. 71). In particular, Persian translators had to phrase romantic scenes in such a way that would prevent the Censorship Department from banning the Harry Potter books (p. 73). For example, in *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, a scene takes place in which Harry's girlfriend Ginny gives Harry a birthday present and then kisses him passionately. In the official Persian version, the scene was translated in a much more evasive manner: "Ginny … gave him her present with such a kindness that Harry had never experienced before … Harry was also expressing much kindness to her…" (as cited in Roostae, 2010, p. 90). In this way, the translator was able to convey the message to Iranian readers without raising objections from the Censorship Department. Other examples include changes from *kissing fiercely* to *talking warmly* (Roostae, 2010, p. 90), the omission of dancing with partners (p. 89), and the omission or modification of passages mentioning alcohol (p. 91).

The American Translation

Another popular argument surrounding the translation of the Harry Potter series concerns the degree of translation to be taken in order to make sure that target readers fully understand the work. This issue mainly takes place in the translation from British English to American English. The translation begins with the title, which was changed from *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* in the Bloomsbury (British) edition to *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* in the Scholastic (American) edition (Nel, 2002, p. 262). Within the books, changes include a translation from *crumpets* to *English muffins* (Nel, p. 267), *rubbish* to *crap* (p. 267), *Quidditch pitch* to *Quidditch field* (p. 268), *bogies* to *boogers* (p. 275), *mad* to *insane* (p. 276), *sherbet lemon* to *lemon drop* (p. 262), *cracking* to *spanking good* (p. 277), *brilliant* to *excellent* (p. 278), *jumper* to *sweater* (p. 280), and many more references. Most notably, the word *Mum*, as used by the Weasleys, is changed to *Mom* for the first Harry Potter novel but is retained in the following books of the series (Nel, 2002, p. 269).

Of the Harry Potter novels, the first three novels, particularly the first novel, received the most changes in translation from British English to American English (Nel, 2002, p. 269). According to Arthur A. Levine, publisher and editor at Scholastic, his intent in the American translations was "to make sure that an American kid reading the book would have the same literary experience that a British kid would have" (as cited in Nel, 2002, p. 261). However, several critics voice concerns about the American translations, including Phillip Nel of Kansas State University (2002). Nel argues that the American translations are unnecessary and even harmful to young American readers, who are protected from being exposed to another culture (p. 271). For Nel, even more damaging is the implication that cultural differences could be considered unimportant if they are not present in the books (p. 269). Nel and similar critics believe that retaining British phrases would have been beneficial to American children by allowing them to learn about the language and practices of other cultures (p. 271).

The Argument: Translation Methods Reveal Culture

While many cultures have translated Harry Potter in a variety of different ways, each using a mixture of techniques, there are several patterns that exist among cultures. These patterns

can be observed by examining the Harry Potter translations using cultural pattern typologies established by researchers in the field of intercultural communications. Using these typologies, the conclusion can be made that the various techniques and adaptations used in the different translations of Harry Potter reveal the values of the target culture. For example, the willingness of translators to change names and phrases to ones that are more localized to the target culture may reveal that a culture is wary or unwilling to adapt to other cultures. On the other hand, a more faithful translation may indicate either that the two cultures were already very similar or that the target culture is more accepting of the values and practices of other cultures. Several useful typologies for comparing Harry Potter translations include Hofstede's Value Dimensions, Minkov's Monumentalism versus Flexhumility, and Kohl's Values Americans Live By.

Hofstede's Value Dimensions

Hofstede's Value Dimensions were developed by Geert Hofstede, a Dutch researcher who conducted a survey of IBM employees worldwide in order to compare cultural values (Hofstede, 2001, p. 29). The main value dimensions established by Hofstede were power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, long-term versus short-term orientation, and indulgence versus restraint. Hofstede's Value Dimension scores and rankings for several countries are presented in table format in Appendix A, and score charts by category are in Appendix B. Several of these values can be observed in the choices made by Harry Potter translators, particularly in the French translation.

Power Distance

Power distance refers to the degree to which people accept that some members of a country are in greater positions of power than others (Hofstede, 2001, p. 98). For example, France tied for the rank of 15 out of 53 countries on the power distance scale, indicating a high power distance and a general acceptance of unequal power (Hofstede, p. 87). The French translation's emphasis on education may reveal the power distance tendency for students to respect teachers and to accept their status of higher power (Hofstede, p. 107). The young are supposed to treat their elders with respect in high power distance cultures, so this trait may also explain the use of formal address between children and adults in Harry Potter (Hofstede, p. 98). In contrast, Great Britain and the United States fall on the low end of the power distance scale, with ranks of 42 (tie) and 38, respectively (Hofstede, p. 87). These low power distance scores indicate that British and American readers do not recognize the need for such formal communications between old and young members of society (Hofstede, p. 98).

Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance, which describes the degree to which a country dislikes uncertainty, can be observed in several translations of Harry Potter, particularly in the translations for which localization techniques and cultural adaptations were used. For example, France is a high uncertainty avoidance culture, ranking 10 (tie) on Hofstede's scale (Hofstede, 2001, p. 151). In the French translation, the omission or replacement of British food items in the text (Davies, 2003, pp. 83, 91) may indicate that the French are not comfortable with unfamiliar terms. Different forms of dialect are also considered undesirable in high uncertainty avoidance cultures; consequently, the French translation standardizes Hagrid's speech and removes instances of slang (Feral, 2006, pp. 461-464). Other countries with moderate uncertainty

avoidance scores, such as Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway (Hofstede, p. 151), localize names so that they are not so foreign.

Individualism versus Collectivism

Individualism refers to the degree to which a culture values individual achievement and self-responsibility, while collectivism emphasizes group practices and community (Hofstede, 2001, p. 227). In one study, Schmid and Klimmt of the *International Communication Gazette* compared the perceptions of the Harry Potter translations in individualist Germany and collectivist Mexico (2011, p. 259). The results showed that Mexican readers of the Spanish translation view Harry Potter as a more sociable character than German readers of the German translation (Schmid & Klimmt, p. 264). While readers from both cultures had similar scores for their attraction to Harry Potter, the higher sociability score for Mexican readers may indicate the collectivist inclination towards group interaction (p. 264).

Masculinity versus Femininity

Japan is ranked as the first culture on Hofstede's masculinity scale, indicating well-defined gender roles in society (Hofstede, 2001, p. 286). In the Japanese language, different forms of address are used to indicate formality and tone (Wood, 2009, p. 45). In the Japanese translation of Harry Potter, the female characters, particularly Hermione, Ginny, and Professor McGonagall, all use gentle or polite speech stereotypical of Japanese women (Wood, p. 47). As a result, the women of Harry Potter are viewed as caring and feminine, which is a viewpoint characteristic of masculine cultures (Hofstede, p. 312).

Long-term versus Short-term Orientation

China is ranked as the number one long-term orientation country on Hofstede's scale, indicating an importance placed on thrift, endurance, and preparation for the future (Hofstede, 2001, p. 360). The Chinese Harry Potter translation integrates several Chinese myths and legends into the story (Jackson & Mandaville, 2006, p. 54), which may indicate the long-term trait of adjusting traditions to fit into new situations (Hofstede, p. 360). India, another long-term oriented country (Hofstede, p. 356), also integrated themes from traditional stories into Harry Potter by releasing an unauthorized novel in which Harry travels on adventures through Asia with Junto, an Indian boy (Jackson & Mandaville, p. 54). According to the Kluckhohn and Strodbeck value system, China and India are also considered past-oriented countries, meaning that they respect and honor tradition (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel, & Roy, 2013, p. 198). This result is consistent with Hofstede's scores.

Indulgence versus Restraint

Countries that practice restraint believe that order and discipline are important in society, while indulgent cultures focus on enjoyment, optimism, and a relaxation of the rules (Samovar et al., 2013, pp. 192-193). Iran, which is a restrained culture (Samovar et al., p. 193), removed or modified passages of Harry Potter mentioning romance or alcohol (Roostae, 2010, pp. 89-91), and similar omissions were made in the Arabic version (Mussche & Willems, 2010, p. 475). These changes may indicate cultural restraint in moral practices, while more indulgent cultures, such as that of the United States, allowed these passages to remain because they value free speech more than regulation (Samovar et al., p. 193).

Other Cultural Pattern Typologies
Minkov's Monumentalism versus Flexhumility

The monumentalism versus flexhumility scale, established by Michael Minkov of Bulgaria, provides another useful way in which to view the Harry Potter translations. Monumentalism refers to the tendency of a country to take great pride in its own culture and to struggle in conforming to other cultures (Samovar et al., 2013, p. 194). On the other hand, flexhumility cultures are more humble and flexible, and they may more easily adjust to different situations and cultures (Samovar et al., p. 194). On one end of the scale, both Iran and Saudi Arabia are high monumentalist cultures (Minkov, 2007, p. 10). Both the Persian and Arabic translations did not allow romantic or unacceptable actions to remain in the books, perhaps revealing a difficulty in accepting western practices. South Africa is also relatively high on the monumentalism scale (Minkov, p. 10); as a result, the Afrikaans translator of Harry Potter chose more moderate words to replace inappropriate language (Bedeker & Feinauer, 2006, p. 136). This example may also be a result of Africa's high humane orientation, which indicates a belief in gentleness toward others, on the GLOBE study scale (Samovar et al., pp. 204-207).

On the flexhumility end of Minkov's scale, China ranks very highly (Minkov, 2007, p. 11). This trait may be exemplified by some of the faithful translation techniques used in the mainland Chinese translation. For example, the Chinese version preserves many of the British cultural items in the books and explains them using numerous footnotes (Davies, 2003, p. 77), a practice that may indicate flexibility and acceptance of other cultures. Russia is another high flexhumility culture (Minkov, p. 11), as exemplified by its translation of Harry Potter, which largely preserved the British culture of the books without major attempts to localize elements to Russian culture (Inggs, 2006, p. 295).

Kohls' Values Americans Live By

The Values Americans Live By, established by L. Robert Kohls, may be used to explain the American English translation of the Harry Potter series, in which several British phrases were changed in order to more closely align with everyday American speech (Nel, 2002, p. 261). Kohls' first American value, personal control over the environment, may partly explain these changes. Americans generally believe that they have power over their own environment, such as nature (Kohls, 1986, para. 11). When extended to the realm of literature, this value may show that Americans believe in having a control over translation practices as well. Kohls' second value is change, which Americans view positively as a means of enhancement (Kohls, para. 14), such as in the use of translated British terms. Another applicable value is directness: Americans would rather be more direct with their speech than retain foreign terms that could be misunderstood by readers (Kohls, para. 47). Finally, the American belief in practicality also describes the translation changes. Most Americans prefer to make practical decisions; the switch to more American terms in the translation of Harry Potter may be viewed as a practical decision to allow young American readers to understand the words of J.K. Rowling (Kohls, para. 51).

Contradictions: When Individual Translators are More Than Their Cultures

While many of the translations of Harry Potter do seem to reveal the values of their target cultures, contradictions do sometimes arise. For example, France is considered a high power distance culture, in which a general acceptance of unequal power distribution should exist (Hofstede, 2001, p. 87). However, in the French translation, references to class and social status are generally removed (Feral, 2006, pp. 463-466). Another example is the Spanish translation, in

which many names and magical terms were preserved even though they may not make sense to Spanish readers (Jentsch, 2002, pp. 299-300), which contradicts Spain's high uncertainty avoidance culture (Hofstede, p. 151). Both of these examples provide proof that although cultural pattern typologies are very useful for categorizing cultures by their values, they may also be inconsistent (Samovar et al., 2013, p. 176). In addition, individuals, including translators, are more than their cultures (Samovar et al., p. 175). Translators as individuals may have different backgrounds and experiences, which lead to different value systems. The translator's perception of the world shapes his or her beliefs, which shape values, which finally determine how the act of translation is carried out. Ultimately, the individual translator makes the final choice on any translation decision. The notable changes made by translators to the several versions of Harry Potter, as well as the cultural values indicated, are presented in table format in Appendix C.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the various translations of Harry Potter into different languages provide an abundance of material for intercultural study. The translation process, as described through the techniques of preservation, localization, globalization, omission, addition, and other techniques along the translation continuum, may be used to effectively evaluate the subtle differences in Harry Potter translations across cultures. While some cultures were comfortable with retaining traditional British terms and cultural items, other cultures felt the need to localize names and other parts of the story to better fit into their own cultures. Ultimately, these changes reveal patterns when viewed from an intercultural context, and they are mainly consistent with the cultural value systems established by researchers. Through Hofstede's Value Dimensions, Minkov's Monumentalism versus Flexhumility scale, and several other cultural typologies, readers can see how the translation techniques used by translators of the Harry Potter series reveal the cultural values held by target cultures. While the Harry Potter series is a global phenomenon, the process of its translation has become more than just the conversion of Harry's story into different languages; it has become a translation of culture.

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Appendix A
Hofstede's Value Dimensions

The following tables have been adapted from Geert Hofstede's IBM survey of different countries and their values on six different value dimensions. For each country, Hofstede's score for each of the dimensions is listed, as well as the country's rank in that category when all countries are listed from highest to lowest score. The countries in the tables correspond to the cultures mentioned throughout the paper. Hofstede's actual tables contain information for more countries.

Table A1: Countries and Hofstede's Value Dimension Scores

Country	Power Distance		Uncertainty Avoidance		Individualism versus Collectivism		Masculinity versus Femininity		Long-term versus Short-term Orientation		Indulgence versus Restraint	
	Score	Rank[a]	Score	Rank[a]	Score	Rank[a]	Score	Rank[a]	Score	Rank[a]	Score	Rank[a]
Arab countries	80	7	68	27	38	26-27	53	23	-	-	-	-
China[b]	80	-	30	-	20	-	66	-	118	-	-	75
France	68	15-16	86	10-15	71	10-11	43	35-36	39	17	-	-
Germany	35	42-44	65	29	67	15	66	9-10	31	22-24	-	49-51
India	77	10-11	40	45	48	21	56	20-21	61	7	-	-
Iran	58	29-30	59	31-32	41	24	43	35-36	-	-	-	54
Italy	50	34	75	23	76	7	70	4-5	34	19	-	66
Japan	54	33	92	7	46	22-23	95	1	80	4	-	49-51
Netherlands	38	40	53	35	80	4-5	14	51	44	11-12	-	15-17
Norway	31	47-48	50	38	69	13	8	52	44	11-12	-	-
Russia[b]	93	-	95	-	39	-	36	-	-	-	-	77-80
South Africa	49	35-36	49	39-40	65	16	63	13-14	-	-	-	-
Spain	57	31	86	10-15	51	20	42	37-38	19	31-32	-	-
United States	40	38	46	43	91	1	62	15	29	27	-	15-17

Sources. Columns 2-6 adapted from Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed., p. 500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. Column 7 adapted from Samovar, L.A., Porter, R.E., McDaniel, E.R., & Roy, C.S. (2013). *Communication Between Cultures* (8th ed., p. 193). Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Note. A high score indicates a high tendency toward a certain dimension. Countries closest to rank 1 score highly in a certain dimension.
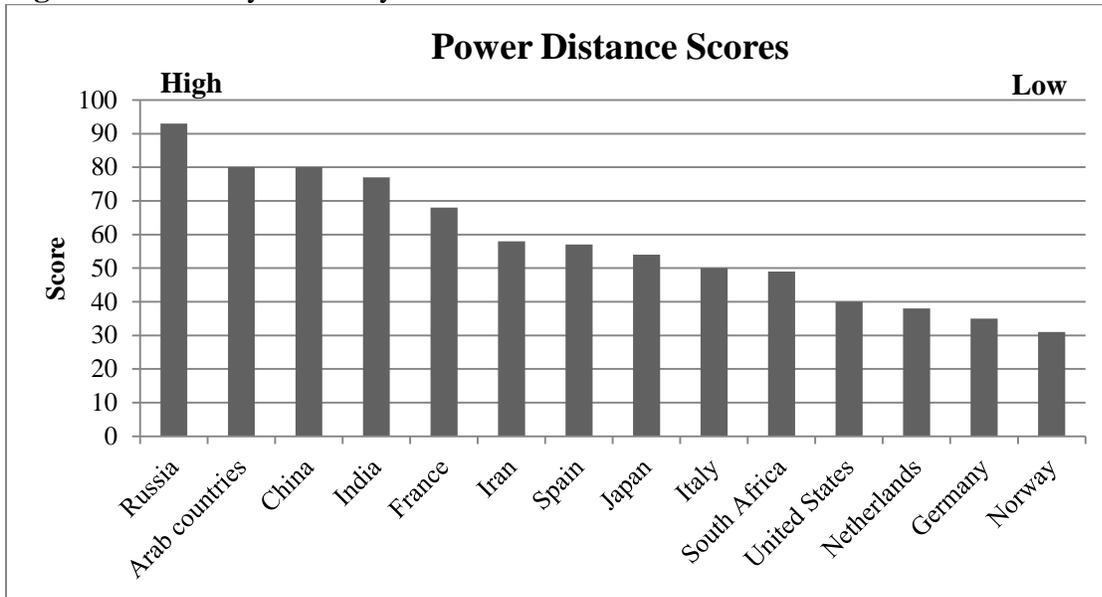
Note. A dash (-) indicates that no country score or rank was available.

[a] Countries with a range of numbers listed under the "Rank" column indicate that the country was tied with one or more other countries in that category.

[b] Scores for China and Russia in Columns 2-6 are Hofstede's estimations and are not based on original IBM survey data (Hofstede, 2001, p. 502).
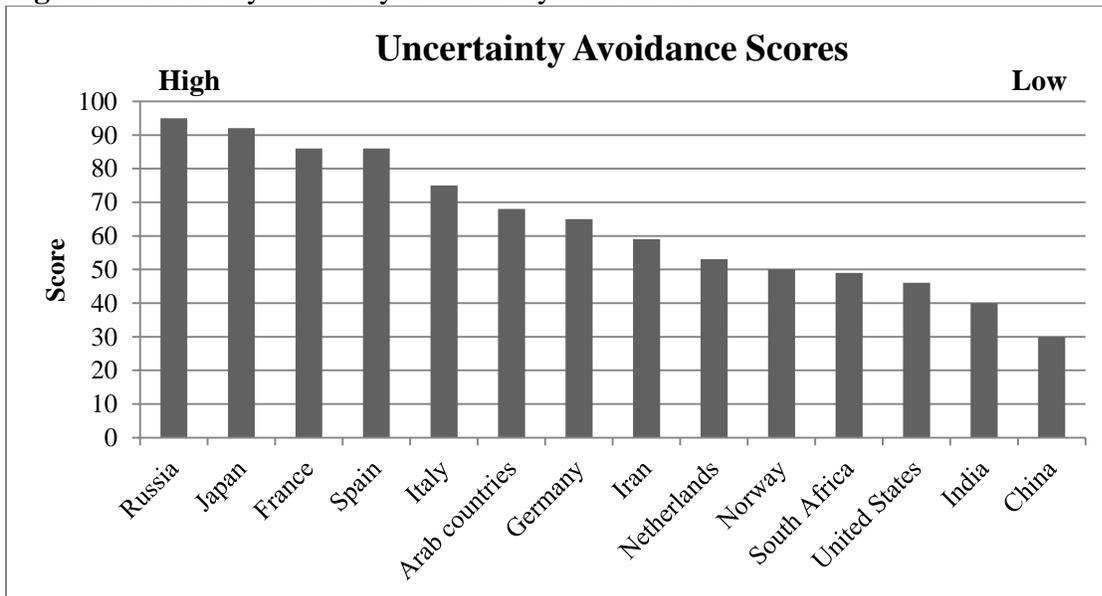
Appendix B
Hofstede's Value Dimensions by Category

Figure B1: Country Scores by Power Distance

Power Distance Scores

High   Low

Score (y-axis: 0 to 100)

Countries (x-axis): Russia, Arab countries, China, India, France, Iran, Spain, Japan, Italy, South Africa, United States, Netherlands, Germany, Norway
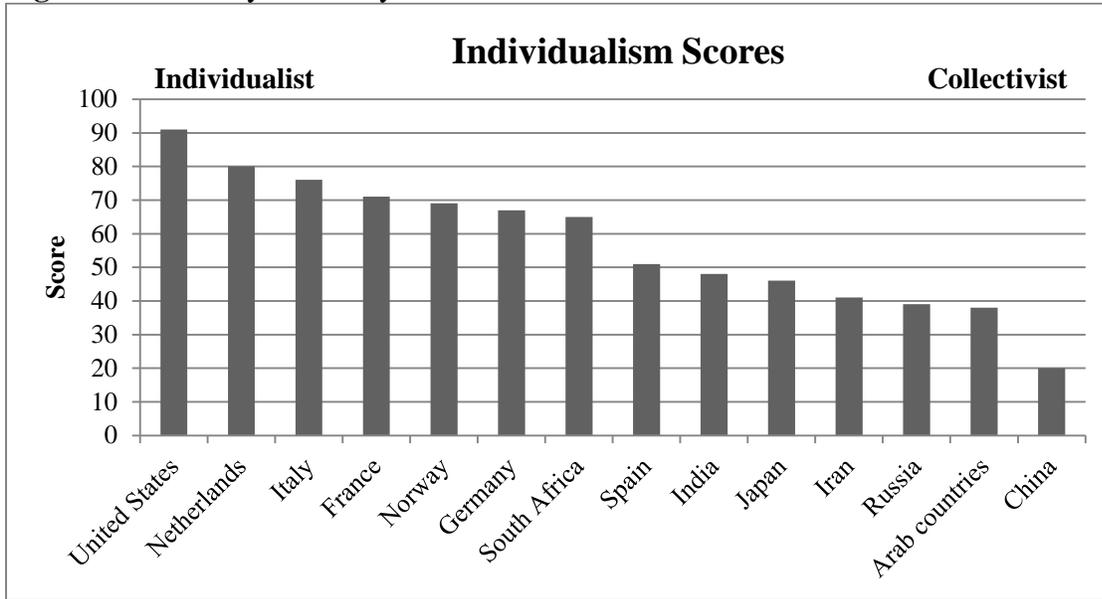
Source. Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed., p. 500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Figure B2: Country Scores by Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty Avoidance Scores

High   Low

Score (y-axis: 0 to 100)

Countries (x-axis): Russia, Japan, France, Spain, Italy, Arab countries, Germany, Iran, Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, United States, India, China
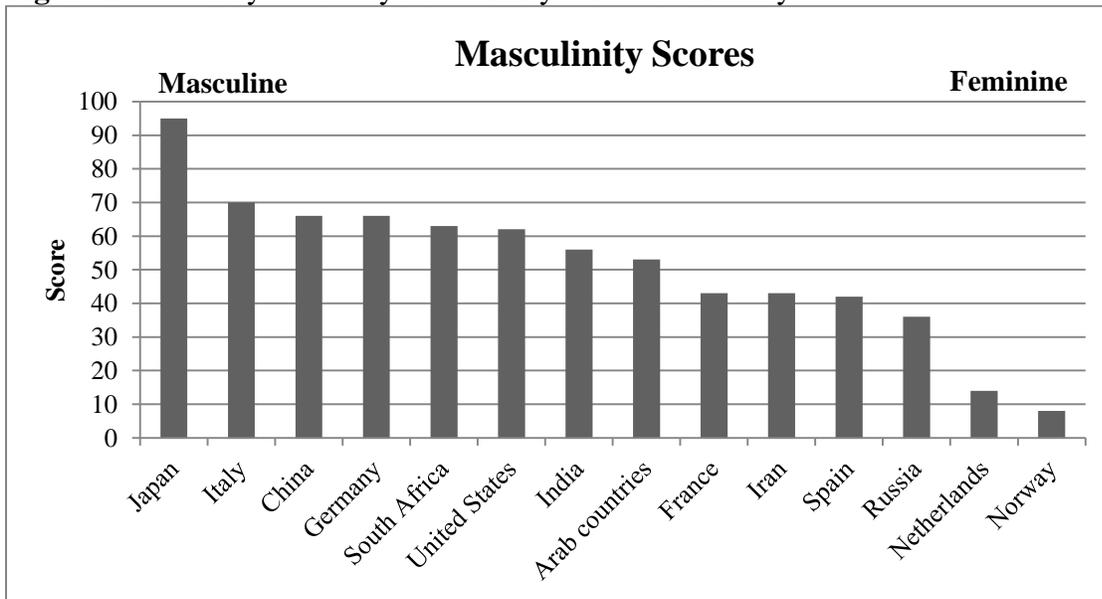
Source. Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed., p. 500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Figure B3: Country Scores by Individualism versus Collectivism

Individualism Scores

Individualist · Collectivist

Score (y-axis: 0 to 100)

Countries (x-axis): United States, Netherlands, Italy, France, Norway, Germany, South Africa, Spain, India, Japan, Iran, Russia, Arab countries, China
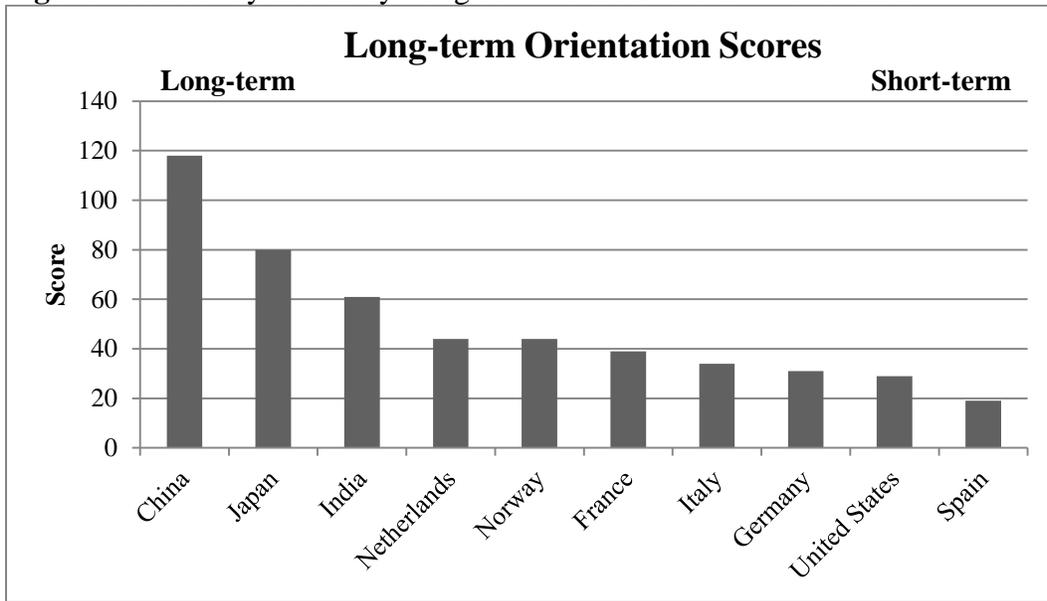
Source. Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed., p. 500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Figure B4: Country Scores by Masculinity versus Femininity

Masculinity Scores

Masculine · Feminine

Score (y-axis: 0 to 100)

Countries (x-axis): Japan, Italy, China, Germany, South Africa, United States, India, Arab countries, France, Iran, Spain, Russia, Netherlands, Norway

Source. Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed., p. 500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Figure B5: Country Scores by Long-term versus Short-term Orientation

Long-term Orientation Scores

Source. Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed., p. 500). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Figure B6: Country Rankings by Indulgence versus Restraint

Indulgence Rankings
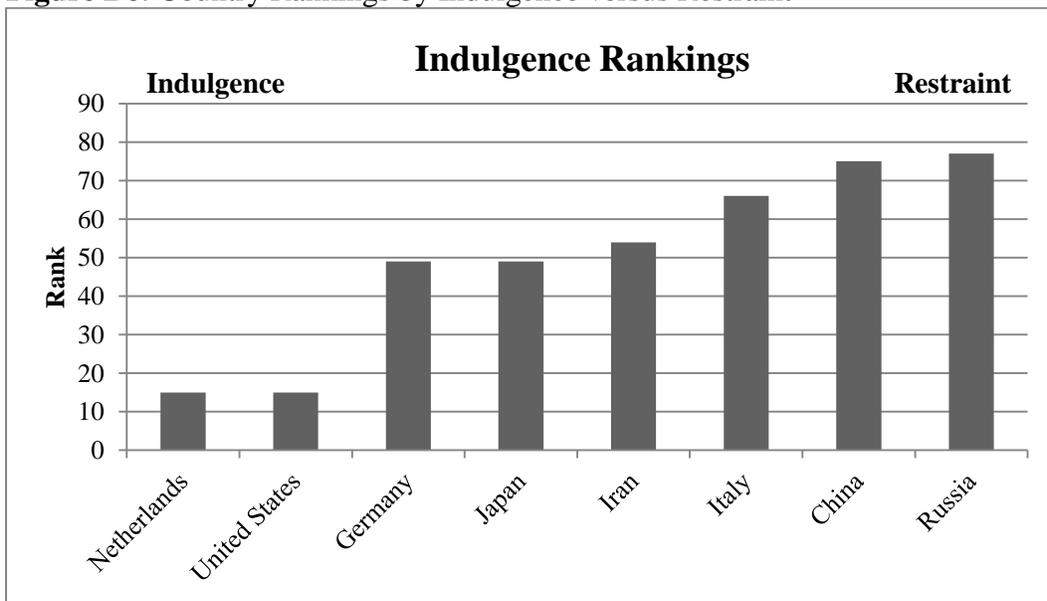
Source. Samovar, L.A., Porter, R.E., McDaniel, E.R., & Roy, C.S. (2013). *Communication Between Cultures* (8th ed., p. 193). Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Appendix C
Cultures, Translation Changes, and Cultural Values

Culture	Most Notable Changes	Cultural Values Indicated	Source
American	Change British phrases to more American phrases	Kohls' values: personal control, change, directness, practicality	Nel (2002)
Arabic	Change or omit strong language, magic, and romance	• Strong religion • High restraint • High monumentalism	Mussche & Willems (2010)
Chinese	• Use some radical translation methods by including Chinese myths and legends • Localize some names • Use some faithful translation methods by including footnotes to explain British items	• Long-term orientation • Past orientation • High flexhumility	Davies (2003), Jackson & Mandaville (2006)
Dutch	Localize names	Moderate uncertainty avoidance	Jackson & Mandaville (2006)
French	• Emphasize education • Use respectful child-adult communication • Tone down bad characters • Remove slang and dialect • Remove references to hierarchy • Globalize or omit food terms	• High power distance • High uncertainty avoidance • Desire to protect French children from unacceptable morals • Some contradictions	Davies (2003), Feral (2006)
German	• Mix preservation and localization • Retain many proper names • Localize some British elements	Moderate uncertainty avoidance	Davies (2003), Jentsch (2002)
Indian	Include themes from traditional Indian stories	• Long-term orientation • Past orientation	Jackson & Mandaville (2006)
Iranian (Persian)	• Remove or adapt romantic exchanges • Remove references to alcohol • Censor parts of the book	• Strong religion • Moderate power distance • High restraint • High monumentalism	Roostae (2010)
Italian	Try to translate the meaning behind names	Moderate uncertainty avoidance	Davies (2003), Garcés (2003)
Japanese	Use typical feminine speech	High masculinity	Wood (2009)
Norwegian	Localize names	Moderate uncertainty avoidance	Davies (2003)
Russian	Retain source culture	High flexhumility	Inggs (2003)

South African	Tone down strong language	• High monumentalism • High humane orientation	Bedeker & Feinauer (2006)
Spanish	Preserve some names that would be better understood if translated	• Tendency toward flexhumility • Contradiction with high uncertainty avoidance	Jentsch (2002)
Sources: Hofstede (2001), Minkov (2007), Samovar, Porter, McDaniel, & Roy (2013)			