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'*He called her by her Elvish name*': A descriptive analysis of names in the Dutch, Friesian, and Norwegian translations of J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*

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NTNU
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Abstract

This thesis compares and discusses the Dutch, West Friesian, and Norwegian translations of some of the names in J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*. In all three languages, a majority of the names undergo domesticating shifts, which results in a loss of phonology and/or semantic meaning. The full implications of the names may therefore not be obvious to the target reader. These shifts may have occurred due to the negative attitudes toward English in the target languages, though the translations could also have been affected by time of writing and the translators' personal style.

Oppgaven sammenligner og diskuterer den nederlandske, vest-frisiske og norske oversettelsen av et utvalg av navn i J.R.R. Tolkiens *Ringenes Herre*. Alle tre oversettelsene har et flertall av domestiserende endringer, som resulterer i et tap av fonologi og/eller semantisk mening. Navnenes fullstendige betydning er derfor muligens ikke tydeliggjort for den ikke-engelske leseren. Endringene kan ha skjedd som følge av negative holdninger til engelsk i målspråkene, men oversettelsene kan også ha blitt påvirket av publikasjonsår og oversetternes personlige stiler.

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Introduction

Names are, and remain, a great potential challenge for translators. Especially in fiction, proper names have the potential to contain a deliberate wealth of cultural information, including age, gender, racial, ethnic, national, and/or religious identity, among others (Jaleniauskienė & Čičelytė, 2009, p. 32; Nord, 2003, p. 183). As such, translating a name is a great responsibility; it is in them, more than most places, that the translator can emphasize their stance and style, be it domesticating or foreignizing.

Examining translation of Tolkien's nomenclature is particularly interesting. Not only does one have to contend with translation procedures in official languages, but also between languages within the text itself. Tolkien's legendarium boasts a wealth of highly developed and sophisticated conlangs, which words are often interspersed throughout dialogue and description. Even names are sometimes written in constructed language, necessitating two translations: First into *Common Speech* (the in-universe version of English), and then into the target language.

Despite the wealth of material, little has been written on the translations of names in Dutch, Norwegian, and/or Friesian[1]. The Dutch translation is especially interesting by virtue of being the first language in which the work was translated, the first edition appearing in 1957. The translation brought Tolkien to the Netherlands, with great critical acclaim from several reviewers and newspapers (Venhecke, 1992, p. 53-54). Equally interesting is the Friesian translation, given the language's relatively low number of native speakers, and a fledgling translation culture. Lastly, the Norwegian translation was written by Torstein Bugge Høverstad, who is well-known for his domesticating translations in the realm of nomenclature (Brønnstedt & Dollerup, 2004, p. 69; NFFO, 2017), which can provide interesting examples of name translation in action.

Lastly, an English source text will be interesting to examine due to the language's status as lingua franca. More than most, English will be subject to scrutiny from target cultures, from being considered high-status to being considered a threat to the country's native language. These

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[1] 'Friesian' is an umbrella term for many different languages spoken by the Friesian people, both historically and contemporary. In this paper, 'Friesian' will refer specifically to West Friesian, also known as Westerlauwers Fries, the variant spoken by the inhabitants of the Dutch province Friesland and parts of Westerkwartier in the province Groningen.

Language attitudes can also have a great impact on the norms for how an English source text like *Lord of the Rings* will be translated – especially in the realm of domestication and foreignization. Given this framework: How are names translated in Dutch, Friesian, and Norwegian translations of J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings,* and how well do they reflect the target cultures' respective attitudes towards the English language?

Theoretical framework

Descriptive translation studies

With its intent to analyse and describe different translations, this thesis falls within the realm of descriptive translation studies. An empirical branch of translation as a whole, descriptive translation study aims – as the name implies - to describe translations, and attempt to explain the underlying processes. Key questions include: What shifts have taken place and why; what different translated texts have in common; and what their position is in the target cultures. In doing so, descriptivism bridges a gap between translation and culture: the theory acknowledges that translators are affected by, and more or less operating in, the interest of the culture they are translating for (Toury, 2012, p. 6). Depending on the position translation holds in a target culture, there may be different standards as to which texts – or even languages – are 'suitable' for translation. It furthermore influences what translation norms influence the translator, for example whether translations are primarily foreignizing or domesticating.

Foreignization and domestication

The concept of foreignization and domestication is one of the key translation dichotomies that will be discussed when analysing the names of *Lord of the Rings.* The concept of foreignization and domestication was popularized by Lawrence Venuti, based on an observation by Friedrich Schleiermacher: "[e]ither the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him, or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him." (Schleiermacher, 1977, cited in Paloposki, 2011, p. 40). To foreignize a translation would preserve the source text as much as possible, moving the reader towards the source language; domestication would instead move the author closer to the reader, giving the target language and culture more influence in translation. In most cases, a direct translation is assumed to be foreignizing, while an oblique translation (i.e. altering the grammar and/or style of the source text) is domesticating.

Name translation in children's literature and fantasy

Furthermore, this thesis bases itself on the translation of names, which is an especially challenging aspect of literary translation. In fiction, and especially in children's or fantastic fiction, names can be full of authorial intent, and are rarely chosen at random (Nord, 2003, p. 183). Some translators choose not to translate names at all for fear of losing the name's intended cultural or semantic load; in other cases, the translator may simply deem the task too difficult. On the other hand, the target audience might not understand a source name's implications, making non-translated names appear arbitrary (Parianou, 2007, p. 410). On the other hand, choosing to translate a name may lead to accidental wrongful effects. Christiane Nord gives the example of 'bicultural' names, when some names are familiar to the target language and others are not (Nord gives the example *Miguelito* and *Hugo*, of which the latter is a common name in German but the former is not)*,* it can give a wrongful impression of a bicultural setting when it is actually homogenous (2003, p. 185).

When translating names, there are numerous methodological models to utilize, depending on the translator's intended effect. Jaleniauskienė and Čičelytė mention (among others) Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), Wiesemann (2001), Ferndandes (2006), and Davies (2003) as examples of different classifications with similar procedures (Jaleniauskienė & Čičelytė, 2009, p. 32); however, there is a degree of overlap between them, and many models might propose the same method under different labels.

Similar studies

Fernandes' methodology for name translation (2006)

Fernandes' corpus study examines the importance of names in children's fantasy literature, and how these have been translated in different works of children's fiction, e.g. *Harry Potter* and *The Chronicles of Narnia* (Fernandes, 2006). Through examples, he shows the effects of different translation methods, and how they might affect the young reader. His methodology is of particular interesting to this thesis, as the same labels will be used to describe the shifts in *Lord of the Rings.*

Davies' methodology for name translation (2003)

Another approach is fronted by Davies, who examines various translations of culture-specific items in *Harry Potter* on the micro- and macro-level. Davies' methodology for the micro-level includes preservation, addition, omission, globalization, localization, transformation, and creation; on the macro-level, the article examines how different uses of the methods affect the text as a whole.

Brønnstedt & Dollerup analysis of names in *Harry Potter* (2004)

Brønnstedt and Dollerup's 2004 study shows the translation of proper names in *Harry Potter*, with focus on Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, German, and Italian. The study found that many of the source names had British connotations (more or less obvious, and more or less speculative (Brønnstedt & Dollerup, 2004, pp. 68-69)), which non-British readers were unlikely to understand if left untranslated. Of special interest is the section on the Norwegian translation, incidentally also written by Bugge Høverstad; many of Brønnstedt and Dollerup's findings regarding his translation style are similar to the ones found this thesis.

Gutiérrez Rodríguez' analysis of Spanish Hobbit names (2004)

A similar study on name translation in Tolkien's work specifically is Gutiérrez Rodríguez' examination of the Spanish translation of Hobbit names. The Spanish translation was found to lack uniformity, being at times domesticating, at times foreignizing; this was attributed to inconsistency in Tolkien's own writings on translation confusing the translator (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2004, p. 134).

Methodology

This thesis is based largely on *Fellowship of the Ring* (hereafter shortened to *Fellowship*), the first part of *Lord of the Rings.* The project will be based on sixteen names from the early chapters of the book: Four first names, four surnames, three nicknames, and five geographical names. They have been chosen based on the relatively high frequency of their appearance; they are already in Common Speech and thus immediately translatable; and lastly, utilizing a wide array of 'name types' allows for observation how name translation styles may differ across contexts.

The names will be compared across the canon[2] translations of the Netherlands, Friesland, and Norway: Max Schuchart's *De Reisgenoten* [The Travel Companions] (originally published in 1957)*;* Liuwe Westra's *It Selskip fan de Ring* [The Fellowship of the Ring] (originally published in 2011)*;* and Torstein Bugge Høverstad's *Ringenes Brorskap* (originally published in 1980), respectively.

This thesis is centred around a re-interpreted version of Gideon Toury's view of descriptivism, and his three-phase methodology in mapping a translation in this fashion:

1. Situate the translation within the target culture system;
2. Perform textual analysis of the coupled pairs to identify the shifts;
3. Attempt generalization about the patterns identified. The patterns will be explained by looking at what norms may have been governing the process.

    (Toury, 2012, p. 131)

In step 1, I have chosen to forego a general analysis to instead focus specifically on attitudes towards English, given that it is an important cultural factor when translating. For step 2, I will apply Fernandes' analytical model to find out which methods have been applied in the translations, and whether they are domesticating or foreignizing. Roughly sorted from most to least domesticating, his methods are as follows:

Substitution: A formally unrelated name substitutes the source name.

Rendition: When a name is enmeshed in a language's lexicon and has its meaning rendered in the target language.

Recreation: Recreating an invented name from SL to TL, attempting to achieve a similar effect.

Phonological replacement: Mimicking phonological features by invoking the same sound image as its source.

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[2] With canon meaning 'most accepted'; there are in fact three Norwegian translations of *Lord of the Rings* (bokmål by Nils Wehrenskiold (1973-1975) and Torstein Bugge Høverstad (1980-1981), and nynorsk by Eilev Groven Myhren (2006)), but Høverstad's translation is the most commonly known.

Addition: Adding extra information to the source name, making it easier to comprehend for the target audience.

Deletion: Removing a source-text name entirely in the target text, often done when the character or location in question is insignificant to the plot.

Transcription: Transcription in the closest corresponding letters of a different target alphabet/language.

Conventionality: When a source name has a conventionally accepted translation of a particular source name (common with historical/literary figures and locations).

Transposition: Originally coined by Vinay and Darbelnet; when one word class is replaced with another without changing the original message.

Copy: When a name is reproduced without orthographic adjustment.

For step 3, there will be an analysis of the findings, drawing on the observations in the translations and what is known about language attitudes in the respective countries.

In the analysis, the names will be discussed in the following order: First names and nicknames, surnames, and place names. Names where more than one method has been utilized may be split into several separately discussed units. Some names might also be subject to more than one procedure; though the number of names analysed is the same, the different translations might therefore have a different total amount of procedures used.

Analysis

Max Schuchart's Dutch translation

Today, attitudes towards English in the Netherlands is generally quite high. One study finds that a) most Dutch people do not consider the English language a threat, and b) knowing both Dutch and English is an advantage (Edwards, 2014, p. 117); English also boasts a high status in the

Netherlands, especially amongst younger learners (Busse, 2017, pp. 560, 570; Edwards, 2014, p. 131). A work translated from English to Dutch can therefore be expected to be relatively foreignizing, given that both knowledge about and will to read English is sufficient to understand semantic and cultural implications.

	Source text	Dutch translation	Procedure	Strategy
First names	**Frodo**	Frodo	Copy	Foreignizing
	Sam--wise	Sam	Copy Deletion	Foreignizing Domesticating
	Meriadoc	Meriadoc	Copy	Foreignizing
	Peregrin	Peregrijn	Transcription	Domesticating
Surnames	**Baggins**	Balings	Phonological replacement	Domesticating
	Gamgee	Gewissies	Phonological replacement	Domesticating
	Brandybuck	Brandebok	Rendition	Domesticating
	Took	Toek	Transcription	Domesticating
Nick-names	**Merry**	Merijn	Phonological replacement	Domesticating
	Pippin	Pepijn	Phonological replacement	Domesticating
	Strider	Stapper [Stepper]	Rendition	Domesticating
Place names	**Misty Mountains**	De Nevelbergen [The Mist-Mountains]	Rendition Transposition	Domesticating Domesticating
	Rivendel	Rivendel	Copy	Foreignizing
	The Shire	De Gouw [The Shire]	Rendition	Domesticating
	Bree	Breeg	Phonological replacement	Domesticating
	Weathertop	Weertop [Weathertop]	Rendition	Domesticating

Table 1: Max Schuchart's Dutch translation of names in **Fellowship of the Ring.**

As outlined in table 1 (see above): Beginning with the first names, *Frodo* and *Meriadoc* have been copied from the source text. *Peregrin* undergoes a slight transcription into a more typically Dutch spelling, featuring an <ij> rather than <i>. The shift from *Samwise* to *Sam* is admittedly

more complex, given that it is a rather simple omission of *-wise*; Fernandes does not, however, have a clear label for this kind of strategy. I have chosen to split the name into two parts, *Sam* and *wise,* of which the first is copied, and the second deleted. This has as consequence that semantic load is lost – whereas *Samwise* invokes the character trait wisdom, the target name *Sam* does not.

Surnames undergo somewhat heavier change. *Baggins* becomes *Balings*, roughly keeping the sound image but losing the semantic association with bags/pockets that Tolkien intended (Tolkien, 1975, p. 1). The *Gamgee-Gewissies* shift also has a loss of meaning: *Gamgee* refers to cotton gauge, while *Gewissies* has no place in the Dutch lexicon. In the source text, there is a semantic relation between the surnames of *Samwise Gamgee* and his future wife *Rosie Cotton*, while no such relation exists in Schuchart's translation. *Took* undergoes a transcription into *Toek*, to maintain the source name's sound image (<oe> being the Dutch orthographic representation of /ʊ/). *Brandybuck* is renditioned into *Brandebok,* where the two units of the source name – *brandy* and *buck* – are separately translated into Dutch counterparts (although *brande* is not a word in itself, most Dutch readers will nonetheless associate it with *brandewijn* [brandy]).

The nicknames *Merry* and *Pippin* undergo phonological replacement into *Merijn* and *Pepijn* respectively, which are both known (albeit rare) names in Dutch culture. The nickname *Strider* is renditioned into *Stapper*, roughly translating to 'one who steps' (derived from the verb 'stappen' [to step]), in line with the source name's semantic meaning.

Geographical names undergo more drastic change. *The Shire*, *Misty Mountains*, and *Weathertop* contain explicit lexical meaning in the source language, which Schuchart has renditioned into Dutch. *Misty Mountains* further undergoes transposition; whereas the source name is comprised of an adjective and noun, the Dutch translation instead forms a noun-noun compound. *Bree* undergoes only a slight phonological replacement with the addition of a <g> at the end. This is possibly to make the name sound more natural in Dutch while still keeping the sound image, but may also be to avoid reference to 'Breestraat', a common Dutch street name. Lastly, *Rivendel* is transferred unchanged.

Liuwe Westra's Friesian translation

Friesian is a comparatively small language, with roughly 400 000 speakers. In the Friesian-speaking areas, there is great encouragement from the government to preserve the language in

everyday life, with multiple language policies in place to support this (Hilton & Gooskens, 2013, pp. 140-141). In literature, there is encouragement towards fiction written in the language, and presumably also towards translation; given the relatively few speakers, however, the pool of literature is naturally smaller than in Dutch and Norwegian. Given the general positive attitude towards the use of Friesian, the translations that do exist can be expected to be more domesticating than foreignizing.

	Source text	Friesian translation	Procedure	Strategy
First Names	**Frodo**	Frodo	Copy	Foreignizing
	Samwise	Tabe	Substitution	Domesticating
	Meriadoc	Meriadoc	Copy	Foreignizing
	Peregrin	Pilegryn	Phonological replacement	Domesticating
Surnames	**Baggins**	Balsma	Substitution	Domesticating
	Gamgee	Snasta	Substitution	Domesticating
	Brandybuck	Brandebûk	Rendition	Domesticating
	Took	Tûk	Transcription	Domesticating
Nick-Names	**Merry**	Merten	Transcription|	Domesticating
	Pippin	Pepyn	Transcription	Domesticating
	Strider	Strider	Rendition	Domesticating
Place Names	**The Misty Mountains**	Diisbergen [Mist-Mountains]	Rendition Transposition	Domesticating Domesticating
	Rivendel	Riedelle	Recreation Phonological replacement	Domesticating Domesticating
	The Shire	It Goa [The Shire]	Rendition	Domesticating
	Bree	Skree	Recreation	Domesticating
	Weathertop	Waarshichte [Weather-height]	Rendition	Domesticating

Table 2: Liuwe Westra's Friesian translation of names in **Fellowship of the Ring.**

Table 2 shows that first names *Frodo* and *Meriadoc* are copied directly from the source text. *Peregrin* undergoes a phonological replacement into *Pilegryn. Samwise,* however, is substituted for the Friesian name *Tabe*; there is no semantic, phonological, or orthographic relation between the two, and there is a subsequent loss of sound image as well as semantics.

The surnames are interesting to observe. Worth noting is the substitution of *Baggins – Balsma* and *Gamgee – Snasta.* Endings such as *-stra, -ma, -ga,* and *-ta* are staples of Friesian surnames, and give the surnames a distinctly Friesian sound image, albeit at the cost of the source names' aforementioned semantic meanings. The shift from *Brandybuck* to *Brandebûk* is a rendition of the same kind as seen in the Dutch translation. Lastly, *Tûk* is a transcription of *Took.*

Merry and *Pippin* have undergone phonological replacement and become *Merten* and *Pepyn*, which are familiar names in the Friesian lexicon, though they remain orthographically close to their source names. *Strider* is a complex case: The English verb 'to stride', from which *Strider* is derived, is orthographically (but not phonologically) identical in Friesian. It is therefore difficult to see what method has been applied, because it could be a copy or rendition depending on how it is intended to be pronounced. Given the otherwise domesticating tone of the translation, I have chosen to interpret it as a Friesian rendition rather than a copy.

As for place names, the majority have been renditioned. *The Misty Mountains* undergoes a shift to *De Diisbergen* [Mist-Mountains]; *Weathertop* becomes *Waarschichte* [Weather-Height]*,* and *The Shire* becomes *It Goa* [The Shire]. An interesting exception, however, is *Rivendel,* which is made into *Riedelle.* This is neither pure phonological transcription nor recreation, but rather a mixture of both: *Riedelle* invokes the sound image of *Rivendel,* but notably not the semantic meaning; whereas the *riven* in *Rivendel* invokes a split or tear, the translation calls on the Friesian words *ried* and *rie*, respectively *council* and *advice*. It may be an coincidental side effect of translation, if the author intended to keep the sound image; it may also be a play on the important chapter taking place in the setting of Rivendel, the aptly named *De Ried fan Elrond* [The Council of Elrond]. Lastly, *Bree* is recreated into *Skree*; some of the sound image is preserved, but the target name more resembles a recreation than a phonological replacement.

Torstein Bugge Høverstad's Norwegian translation

In Norway, there is typically a negative attitude towards English in everyday speech. Too much English is viewed as encroaching upon 'pure' Norwegian, possibly putting the language in danger of obsoletion, and the general attitude is to preserve the natural language of the country (Graedler, 2014, pp. 308-309). One might then expect that translation of English fiction, among which Høverstad's *Ringens Brorskap*, will have a greater degree of domestication.

	Source text	Norwegian translation	Procedure	Strategy
First Names	**Frodo**	Frodo	Copy	Foreignizing
	Sam--wise	Sam--vis	Copy Rendition	Foreignizing Domesticating
	Meria--doc	Muntia--dok	Rendition Transcription	Domesticating Domesticating
	Peregrin	Peregrin	Copy	Foreignizing
Surnames	**Baggins**	Lommelun	Rendition	Domesticating
	Gam--gee	Gam--god	Copy Phonological replacement	Foreignizing Domesticating
	Brandybuck	Brennibukk	Rendition	Domesticating
	Took	Tók	Transcription	Domesticating
Nick-Names	**Merry**	Munti	Rendition	Domesticating
	Pippin	Pippin	Copy	Foreignizing
	Strider	Vidvandre	Rendition Transposition	Domesticating Domesticating
Place Names	**Misty Mountains**	Tåkefjellene	Rendition Transposition	Domesticating Domesticating
	Rivendel	Kløvendal	Rendition	Domesticating
	The Shire	Hobsyssel	Addition Rendition	Domesticating Domesticating
	Bree	Bri	Phonological replacement	Domesticating

	Weathertop	Blåstertopp	Rendition	Domesticating

Table 3: Torstein Bugge Høverstad's translation of names in **Fellowship of the Ring.**

As seen in table 3, *Frodo* and *Peregrin* have been copied from the source text. *Samwise* is renditioned into *Samvis,* with the -*wise* part of the name being translated as the adjective *wise*. Renditioning is also applied to the full name *Meriadoc,* becoming *Muntiadok.* Note also the <c> becoming a <k>, in keeping with Norwegian spelling conventions, where the <c> is very rarely used.

Baggins is renditioned into *Lommelun*: Lomme is meant as a translation of *Bag,* keeping the surname's intended semantic load of being related to pockets (Tolkien, 1975, p. 1). *Gamgee* undergoes a phonological replacement into *Gamgod,* adding the semantic load of -*god*; there is a loss of the source name's reference to cotton, but gains reference to a positive character trait. *Brandybuck* is renditioned into *Brennibukk*. Lastly, *Took* is transcribed into *Tók*. It appears an odd choice for transcription, given that the <ó> (and accents in general) is not used in Norwegian – the accent was, however, used in Old Norse to mark a long vowel, and may have been chosen for that reason.

Of the nicknames, *Pippin* is copied, while *Merry* is renditioned into *Munti,* invoking the adjective *munter* (eng. *merry,* in the sense of being of good mood). *Strider* is renditioned into *Vidvandre*, invoking the verb *vandre* [wander] combined with the adjective *vid* [wide]. Whether or not this is to be interpreted as a verb or a noun is speculative; while -*vandre* implies a verb, there exist Norwegian words ending with verbs that are nonetheless counted as nouns (e.g. *nøtteskrike* [Eurasian jay]). Given the rarity of this type of word, however, it is difficult to state exactly what was intended.

The geographical names are largely renditioned. *Misty Mountains* becomes *Tåkefjellene*; *Rivendel* becomes *Kløvendal,* keeping the association of the source name; *Weathertop* becomes *Blåstertopp*, with *Blåster* referring to *å blåse,* 'to blow', likely in the sense of blowing winds. *Bree* undergoes phonological replacement into *Bri,* likely since Norwegian does not utilize double vowels, and <i> in Norwegian has the same possible phonology as <ee> in English. Lastly, there is *Shire,* translated as *Hobsyssel.* I have chosen to interpret this as a combination of rendition and addition: *Syssel* is one of the Norwegian translations for *Shire,* while *Hob-* serves

the function of informing the reader that it is a shire of Hobbits (in other words, a 'Hobbit-shire').

Discussion

General observations

As can be seen in figure 1 below, renditioning was the most widely used procedure with 20 instances across the three translations. Copying was the second-most utilized, occurring 11 times; in third place is phonological replacement, with 9. Transcription and transposition are used sparingly by all three; deletion, substitution, recreation, and addition are more rarely utilized, and not across translations.
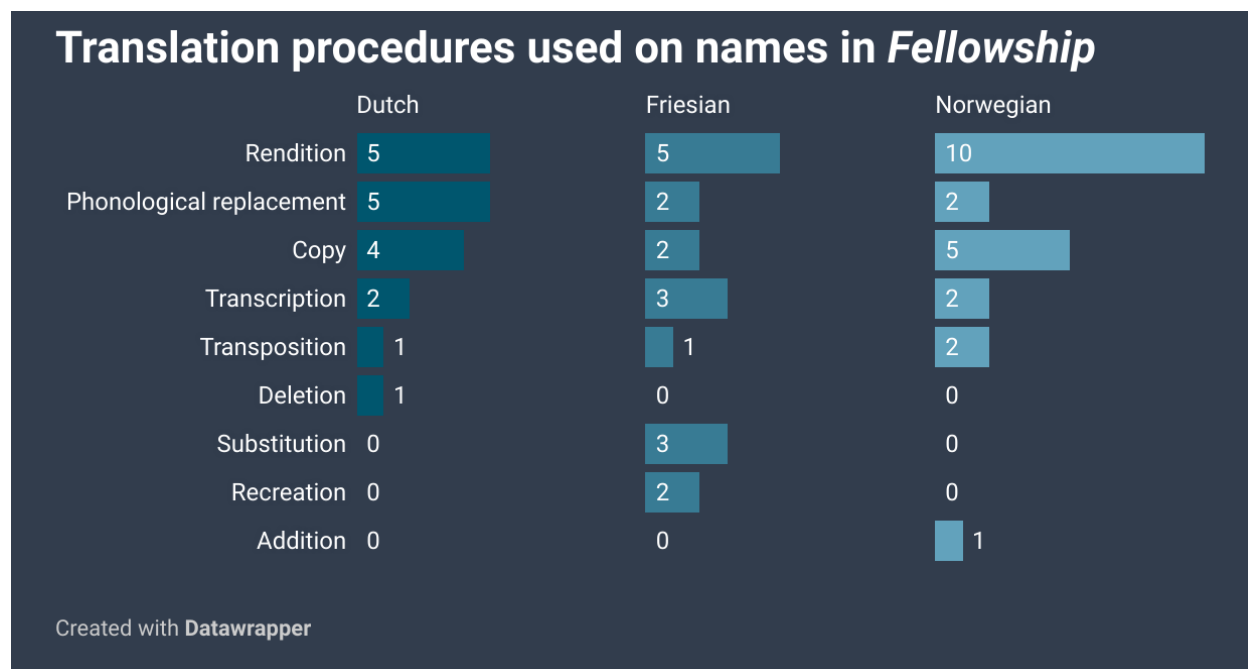

Translation procedures used on names in *Fellowship*

	Dutch	Friesian	Norwegian
Rendition	5	5	10
Phonological replacement	5	2	2
Copy	4	2	5
Transcription	2	3	2
Transposition	1	1	2
Deletion	1	0	0
Substitution	0	3	0
Recreation	0	2	0
Addition	0	0	1

Created with **Datawrapper**

Figure 1: The translation procedures used for names across the three translations of **Fellowship of the Ring.**

The high amount of renditioning is likely explained by the amount of lexical items enmeshed in the names. Renditioning was used especially for geographical names, as they were comprised of lexical items that allowed for them to be easily translated into the target language. Meanwhile, copying and phonological replacement are the most utilized procedures for personal names. Copying can be explained by the names being novel items even in the source language (such as *Frodo*) or common enough to be familiar to target readers (such as *Sam*). In cases of phonological replacement, this can be because the procedure easily 'bridges the gap' between

source and target text: The spelling becomes more familiar to the target readers, all the while preserving the feel of the original text.

Following the aforementioned assumption that direct translations are domesticating while oblique translations are foreignizing, copying is the only one of the procedures which can be counted as foreignizing. Considering the relatively low amount of copying compared to domesticating procedures, all three translations skew heavily domesticated (see figure 2 below).
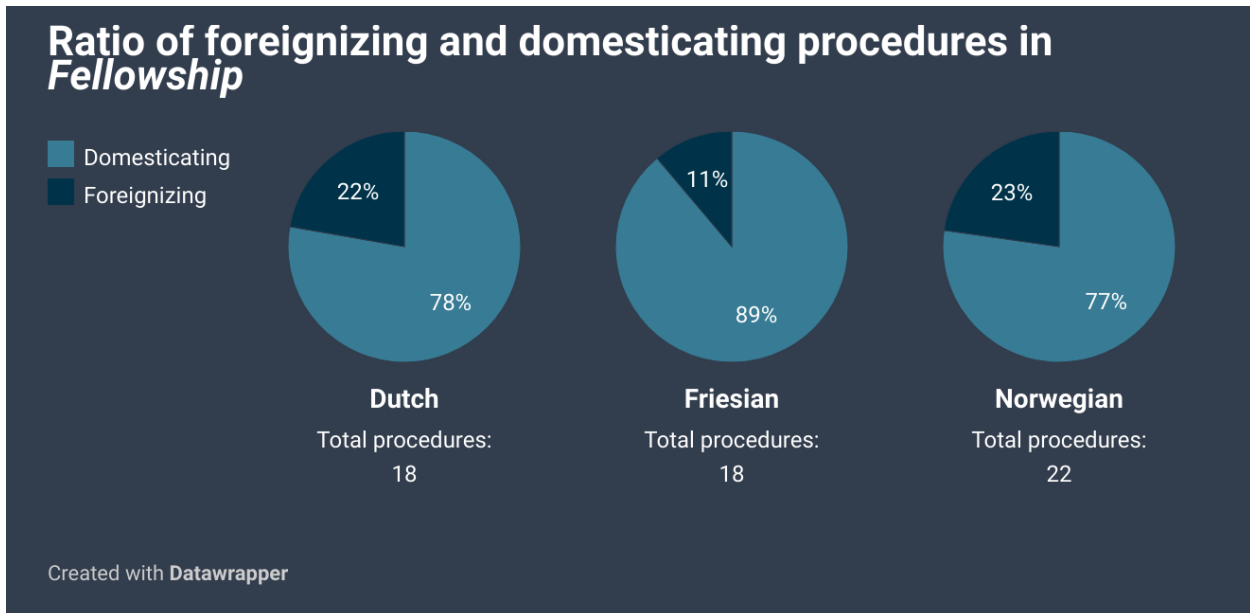

Figure 2: The ratio of domesticating and foreignizing procedures in the three translations of **Fellowship of the Ring.**

In the Dutch translation, the high amount of domestication overall might appear disparate with what one might expect, given the positive English attitudes. However, while English enjoys a high status in the Netherlands today, this may not have been the case at the time of publishing. *De Reisgenoten* was published in 1957, at a time where access to and education in English was lower than today; it is possible the average reader might not have understood enough of English language and culture to appreciate foreignized names. The names have since become established parts of the translation, possibly explaining why they have survived subsequent republishing.

The Friesian translation, however, is much more modern, having first been published in 2011. The knowledge of English is higher than it was in 1957, and yet, this translation is more domesticating than Schuchart's. It is therefore not a lack of knowledge that drives the domestication; rather, it can likely be explained in part by language attitudes. In Friesian-speaking territories, there is a strong trend towards the use of the native tongue in everyday life,

as well as translation. In this case, the trend is shown especially in Westra's extensive use of renditioning, substitution, and transcription.

Finally, if sorting by method ratio, the Norwegian translation is the least domesticating of the three. Nonetheless, due to the high amount of renditioning compared to other procedures (see, again, figure 1), the shifts appear to be more radically different. As opposed to Schuchart and Westra, Høverstad has chosen to preserve meaning over phonology; as a result, there is a greater orthographic and phonological difference, lending the appearance of greater domestication.

Here, too, the domestication should come as no surprise given the typically negative attitudes towards English in Norwegian discourse. Additionally, there is the personal style of the translator: Høverstad is well-known for creative renditions of proper nouns, and his works have been known to spark discussions among scholars as well as casual readers (see for example Trulsen, 2010; Johnsen, 2016).

Conclusion

This paper set out to examine the methods used in name translations in *Lord of the Rings,* and whether they could be influenced by the target cultures' attitudes towards English. Using Fernandes' model, I have found that the Dutch, Friesian, and Norwegian translations in large part use renditioning, phonological replacement, and transcription to domesticate the source names to better fit the target language. The choices made quite accurately reflect the Friesian and Norwegian negative attitudes towards English, as well as positive attitude towards native language use. The Dutch translation is somewhat more ambiguous, but may be explained by its relatively old age. For the Norwegian translation, Høverstad's domesticating personal style is also clearly shown and may affect the result further.

Obviously, the slight size of the study poses some limitations. 10 names from a 1000-page book is a small sample size – especially when examining Tolkien, who is famous for the vast amount of names included in his works – and the results are therefore limited in their generalizability. Additionally, the translations' ages vary from barely one decade old (Friesian) to well over sixty years (Dutch). Especially the latter translation might have become so established that the names simply remain the same for force of habit, even if it theoretically might have been done differently today.

It might be worthwhile for a later study to examine a greater pool of names, and/or focus on one specific name type. Additionally, one might undergo a more expansive three-phase methodology, examining more factors than language attitudes alone. For a broader study, one might also compare the findings with previous editions of the books, or Tolkien's own writings on translation of his works.

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