

'Banja' and 'bejsbol' in Finnish context: making a dictionary of *realia*

*ABSTRACT: A research project called FINREALIA was started at the University of Tampere to create a translator's database and compile a Finnish-Russian dictionary of culture-bound words in Finnish. This paper discusses some theoretical and practical problems involved in this kind of lexicography in a small country. A short report of the work in process will be presented. More attention will be paid to general questions: the role of a dictionary of *realia* among other dictionaries, and the concept of *realia* itself, as well as how to define the criteria for the selection of entries.*

0. Introduction

"The absence of a particular expression in the vocabulary of a nation does not necessarily coincide with the absence of the corresponding notion but it certainly impairs the fullness and readiness of the latter's perception. (Vladimir Nabokov, Nikolai Gogol)

In addition to "cheap, sham, common, smutty, pink-and-blue, high falutin', in bad taste" given as English words expressing some aspects of the Russian word *pošlost'*, Nabokov looks for equivalents to the notion, for example, in ROGET'S THESAURUS under "cheapness", and finds there "inferior, sorry, trashy, scurvy, tawdry, gimerack" etc. In all, it takes Nabokov twelve pages to explain what it is all about.

Since it is quite a challenge to devote twelve pages to the description of a single lexeme in an ordinary dictionary, there is some justification in trying to compile specific culture-bound dictionaries, where the number of entries is limited, whereas more information is given of the use and connotations of the head-word. Although the Russian word mentioned above would probably not be included in a dictionary of Russian *realia*, it illustrates one end of the continuum made of words that are "hard to translate", the other end representing words for "absolute culture-specific *realia*". The latter are easier to explain (if not to translate) in the sense that they are a priori unique and non-equivalent to any target language concept (a certain *tabula rasa* effect). It is obvious, too, that (the grade of) culture-specificness depends upon the respective target language (culture).

Thus material we have to tackle with is twofold in undertaking a Finnish-foreign database of culture-bound words and concepts. Indeed, there are, on one hand, words (and expressions) that are more or less unique by content (depending on the target language; quasi-*realia*), and, on the other hand, concepts (genuine *realia*) that lack equivalents (in the target culture).

Below, a short description of the FINREALIA project is presented. However, no thorough description of the micro- and macrostructure of the planned dictionary will be given, nor will any specific problems of Finnish-Russian lexicography (cf. Lehmuskallio & Podbereznyj 1989, Tommola 1989, Lehmuskallio & al. 1991) be discussed in detail.

Instead, some examples of Finnish culture as reflected in the vocabulary are dealt with from the point of view of a comprehensive dictionary of realia.

1. Lexical and conceptual gaps

The lexico-semantic structures of two languages are not identical even if the referential reality is the same. Or the other way round, it could be maintained that they are not identical since the referential reality is, originally, different for the speakers of different languages. In a general bilingual dictionary instances of lexical discrepancy have to be tackled (as Eng. *glass* for Russian 1. *steklo*, 2. *stakan*; or Bulg. *čaša* for Russ. 1. *čaška* 'cup', 2. *stakan* 'glass' etc.).

It is often difficult to tell, whether cultural lacunae are lexical or conceptual gaps. Certainly, we have to call a 'spade' a *spade*, even if the connotations of what is a prototypical 'spade' may differ, and this is then no instance for our dictionary of realia – even if it could be an issue of culture-specific lexicology and lexicography.

Classifications of realia are given, for example, by Koneckaja (1978) and by Vlahov & Florin (1980). I find the distinction made by Koneckaja between the realia and the quasi-realialia important. For example, the Russian (now obsolete) adjective *vesesojuznyj* (lit.) 'all-Union' (as opposed to the individual Soviet republics) is/was perhaps in the majority of the cases conceived as a genuine Soviet realia. However, it sometimes emphasized merely the scope comprising 'all the state' (*gosudarstvennyj*), being an exact equivalent of the Finnish adjective *valtakunnallinen* '[of the] state, national', which is perfectly well suited when referring to other states than the (former) Soviet Union, too. In Finnish a specific equivalent was coined, *yleisliittolainen* (which is now a historicism), having Soviet reference only. Then, both of the Finnish adjectives could be used with reference to the Soviet reality, while only the common one applies to non-Soviet use, of course. *Yleisliittolainen* is, thus, a "foreign" realia¹ in Finnish.

2. The realia and the quasi-realialia

While it is practical to distinguish a certain quasi-realialia use of words for original realia that allows the use of common words in translation, it is also important to distinguish the possible quasi-realialia from the universalialia, and to deliberate a vice versa use of words for (quasi-)realialia in two languages. One example of rejecting foreign culture words could be our reluctance to refer to the Finnish police-forces (*poliisi*) in Russian as *milicija*; another of the kind is the impossibility to call traditional Finnish neighbour-aid (*talkoot*, Am. *bee*) in Russian *subbotnik* ('non-paid collective work on Saturday'). The fact that similar or identical functional features of the realia often do not suffice to make a pure terminological equation in view of mostly ideological connotations is further elucidated by the (sometimes "necessary", sometimes "unnecessary") renaming process in today's Russia.

But the reasons are hardly restricted to ideological matters only. Even though there have always existed bathhouses in Russia, called *banja*², which is an old equivalent to the Finnish *sauna*, the Finnish word has found its way into Russian where it is used for (private) saunas people (or groups of people, clubs etc.) have, for example, in their houses. In Finnish, *sauna* is not restricted to private saunas, even if public saunas (which were a novelty of the industrialization and urbanization process) are becoming rare.

Besides, words originally borrowed as *exotisms* need not remain such, nor do they always preserve the original meaning. At least the German *Sauna* does not reflect the Finnish realia, if one is entitled to judge by the advertisements found in newspapers under the heading "Miscellaneous" (N.B.: in Finland public saunas are not open from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m., as a rule).

To take another example: are we entitled to call Libya's foreign representation an *embassy* just because the terminological standardization aspect would suggest it, ignoring that they call it the *Libya People's Office* themselves? An opposite example would be the case of the Estonian *saatkond*, which is the word for 'embassy'. But, long before the perestroika the word also applied to the representation of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in Moscow. And, to be sure, in this use the word could hardly be identified as a functional equivalent of an 'embassy' referring to the diplomatic representations of foreign countries.

Most of the book by Vlahov & Florin (1980) is devoted to the problem of **translating** culture-bound words and expressions. The authors give different classifications both of the realia themselves and of relevant translation strategies. It is often up to the translator's competence and inventiveness how adequate solutions he or she finds to convey the culture-specific content of the original. It is naturally also up to the translator to decide, if the cultural context is relevant for the function of the target text or not. Here the text-type tends to be important.

To some extent the problems are similar to those in dictionary-making: there are a) prototypical terminological cases where the translator has to know/choose a suitable equivalent (more or less the same for both the native and the non-native translator), and b) prototypical identification cases where the translator translating from his or her native language has merely difficulties in formulation, whereas the translator translating from a foreign language may need help in understanding the cultural components of the text (explicitly expressed in words, or implicated by the context, cf. Tommola 1989).

3. Target groups

The problem of defining the target group is specifically a problem of small nations; on the other hand, it is a matter not restricted to the culture-bound lexicography. In Finland translations are made by Finnish translators not only from foreign languages into Finnish, but also from Finnish into foreign languages. Finnish is not attractive as a working language for foreign translators. Foreigners that know Finnish are probably journalists, historians, social scientists, linguists and other specialists who happen to specialize for one reason or another in Finnish culture and society. Professional translators and interpreters working in the fields of commerce and industry etc., are, as a rule, (native) speakers of Finnish living in Finland. The bilingual dictionary business is naturally also affected by the fact that there is no larger interest in the language outside of Finland. That is why there are no separate active and passive bilingual dictionaries designed to meet the needs of either native or foreign users (cf. Kelletat 1987, 1988a, b). Consequently, if any dictionary necessarily is a compromise, as stated by Vladimir Gak (1992), Finnish bilingual dictionaries are such by definition.

As maintained above, in a certain practical sense the concept of realia is relative to the languages compared. It may be wise both from the native and the foreign users' perspec-

tive to include in a dictionary of realia words for such concepts that - strictly speaking - are not typical of the source language area only, but that happen to be unknown in the target culture. It is not only because the foreign (Russian) users are often unfamiliar with a specific concept that is common in the respective (European) culture, but also the native (Finnish) speakers (translators) do not find translations for many frequently used words or expressions in the standard dictionaries.

To some extent, this problem is losing its relevance, because the immense changes in the Russian society are increasingly deminishing the need to explain Western realia to the Russian users of a dictionary. For example, in the political, economic (finance, banking, stock exchange business), and many other areas the standard uni- and bilingual dictionaries of Russian are to be rewritten soon. Consequently, the tasks of a culture-bound dictionary are going to be more precisely defined. There will be no need to include entries for, e.g. *AD (reklamist), freelance* etc. in a Finnish-Russian dictionary of realia. Many of the foreign realia ("exotisms") that used to be known to Russians as something specific for the bourgeoisie/capitalist countries have become or are bound to be common and "domestic" words in the new society ('wild strikes' etc.).

Another problem, again, is universal, in the sense that it is not restricted to certain kinds of nations or languages, small or big. It is not easy to distinguish between lexical units representing specific terms (LSP) and those belonging to the common vocabulary. There are clear cases, as *sauna* 'the Finnish steam bath, bathhouse', *löyly* 'steam in a Sauna bath', *kiuas* 'pile of (cobble)stones on top of a bath-house fireplace [on which after heating, water is thrown to make steam]' (Alanne 1982), which are everyday Finnish concepts, while, for example, *kakkospolttaja* 'a field player in the Finnish baseball game' and *piikki* 'a type of strike in the Finnish baseball game' might be unknown even for a Finn, unless he or she is familiar with the game. In administrative vocabulary, the names of the ministries are probably not all "ordinary" words, even if most of them will be recognized by an average Finn, whereas different departments within the ministries are definitely technical (administrative) terms.

These both spheres of vocabulary have a different status for the respective target groups (of the dictionary users, translators), foreigners and natives. Finnish translators will mainly need assistance in finding proper equivalents for specific terminological concepts, i.e. using a foreign language (e.g. Russian) actively, while foreign (Russian) users might not even recognize the concept known by an average Finn, still less be aware of the connotations of the word. This is crucial, because you can not translate adequately, if you do not understand the (cultural) context. For the Finnish user the terminological (standardization) aspect can be seen as primary, while for the foreign user the informative (encyclopedic) aspect is more important.

4. Lexicalization and compounding: *Sauna*

Culture-bound root words are also involved in the word-formation process. The fact that we find words for common concepts in foreign languages more or less expressive than the equivalents in our own language, is often due to the culture-specific derivation process. The compounds involving a realia element may or may not be culture-bound themselves. *Joulusauna* 'a sauna bath taken on Christmas Eve' belongs exactly to a Finn's experience, whereas *selkäsauna* 'beating, whipping, thrashing, trouncing; loss' (Alanne

1982) is a lexicalization without any culture-bound peculiarities (on the reference level). *Häkälöyly(t)* constitutes (or constituted, before the era of the saunas being heated continuously) a final step in the sauna heating ceremony, whereas *verilöyly* merely is the word for 'blood-bath, massacre' having nothing to do with the specifically Finnish culture(!) (see the figure in Appendix, part 1).

Selkäsauna (lit. 'back-sauna') and *verilöyly* (lit. 'blood saunasteam') are lexicalizations that happen to employ culture specific head-components: they have to be included in a general dictionary, but, having nothing to do with 'sauna' resp. 'steam', they are not Finnish realia. While *joulusauna* (lit. 'Christmas-sauna') clearly is one instance of a regular process producing parallel compounds like: *juhannussauna* 'Midsummer-sauna', *lauan-taisauna* 'Saturday-sauna' etc., *selkäsauna* is not supported by any parallel compounds like **vatsasauna* 'belly-sauna', or **jalkasauna* 'foot-sauna'. *Häkälöyly* (lit. 'coal-gas-saunasteam') can perhaps be seen against the compounds *alkulöyly* 'beginning steam' or *jälkilöyly* 'after steam, after heat', even if 'carbon monoxide' does not belong to the same class with the temporal determiners 'beginning' and 'after', and the meaning of the compound can not be deduced from those. From the denotative point of view, an entry for *häkälöyly* is required in a dictionary. *Joulusauna* is not necessary as an entry in the same way; the motivation for its inclusion will be purely encyclopedic.

Phraseology in an individual language is always culture-specific, and there are examples of phraseological dictionaries or dictionaries of proverbs that are labelled culture-specific. However, it does not seem to be sensible to include the entire phraseology and all idiomatic expressions in realia lexicography. For enabling a passive user to understand genuine foreign texts it is much more important, in a dictionary of realia, to supply information about the relevant notions which might occur in idiomatic use. No dictionary of proverbs or idioms is supposed to provide information on occasional new idioms or possible fresh metaphors. Above some examples were given of the concepts connected with the Finnish sauna-bath culture, as reflected in the compounding and lexicalization process. The words for the 'sauna' itself, and for different related notions have permanent potential for creating expressions in an extended meaning (cf. Appendix, part 1).

5. Idioms: 'baseball' in Finnish context

Games where a ball is hit with a stick of wood have been played in different countries, probably all over the world, at least from the beginning of the 19th century. The contemporary Finnish *pesäpallo* evolves from such a game, so does the Russian *lapta* (which the British *cricket*, according to Room & al. 1978, "remotely resembles"). In Finnish-Russian dictionaries (e.g. Vahros & Scherbakoff 1975) *pesäpallo* is translated 'bejsbol, finskaja lapta'. Unlike the Russian *lapta*, however, *pesäpallo*, in its sophisticated form created under the influence of the American baseball in 1920s, is a major sport in Finland. That is why we recommend as a translation into Russian *finskij bejsbol* 'Finnish baseball' rather than *finskaja lapta* 'Finnish lapta'.

Baseball terminology can largely be applied for creating English terminology for *pesäpallo*. For most special terms for equipment, playing field lay-out, players, game procedure etc. the English terms used in baseball can be regarded as equivalent. There are certain divergencies that have to be taken into consideration, of course, in terminographic work. In our context, where a dictionary of realia is concerned, the game is

interesting just as far as the notions related to the 'Finnish baseball' are conceived of as having meanings that can be transferred outside the game. The entire Finnish baseball vocabulary, description of the field of play, player's functions, equipment etc. has to be explained in a sports dictionary rather than in a general dictionary of Finnish realia. The question is, what are the common terms to be included in a general dictionary. Obviously, the entry for the game itself (*pesäpallo*) is to be found in every bilingual dictionary. But what about the first component of the compound, *pesä*? In Alanne (1982), for example, equivalents for half a dozen senses are offered under this head-word ('nest', 'oven', 'furnace', etc.), but not 'base'. In Vahros & Scherbakoff (1975) the translation *baza, gorod* ("v igrah, napr. v bejsbole") is given as the seventh meaning of the word. Is the entry giving this meaning necessary in a general dictionary?

Firstly, considering the 'base' in a (Finnish) baseball context, it seems to be unnecessary to explain this word separately, because anybody having to do with the game, immediately realizes the crucial role of the 'bases' in 'baseball'. One must look for the motivations for a 'base' entry in a general dictionary in creative language use where Finnish baseball terminology is rather frequent. Secondly, it is not much use to know that 'base' is something which is very important in a particular game, if you do not know the rules of the game, and consequently, the functions of the terms. For example, a newspaper headline read (lit.) 'The government's bases full' ('all the bases are loaded/occupied'), it referred to desired rearrangements in the work of the current Finnish government (see Appendix, part 2). One has to know the rule that applies to the Finnish equally as to the American baseball: "Only one runner may have title to a base at any given moment" to understand that if a base (a seat reserved to a particular party representative in a cabinet committee) is occupied, no one else can occupy it, unless the player/person previously entitled to it will be forced to "run".

There are several potential expressions derived from the baseball terminology describing a critical situation where a decision has to be made: *ajolähtö* (lit. 'drive start') 'force(d) play', *takapesät täynnä* 'outer i.e., second and third bases occupied', *merkki päällä* 'sign on' ('the runner on third base is supposed to try to score a run') etc.³ What is suggested here is that such key terms be included in a dictionary, not (only, and in the first place) to tell the equivalent (baseball) term, but rather to give the user a hint how this kind of expression could be interpreted when encountered in a non-sports context.

6. The FINREALIA project

"*Sisu, Sauna and Sibelius*" is the traditional (if not archaic) stereotyped answer to the question: what is Finland? These three words can be used to illustrate the types of entries to be included in a culture-specific Finnish dictionary. *Sisu* 'perseverance, stamina, grit, guts, etc.' is the quality supposed to be characteristic of (only?) Finns, *sauna* is a part of the traditional Finnish way of living, and Jean Sibelius is (actually, was, of course) the Finnish composer. The first lexeme is an example of a claimed lexical gap (often taken as an indication of a conceptual one) in any other language, the second one is a typically culture-bound word implying a realia (concept specific to a particular country or nation), and the third is a proper name denoting a unique reference. The grade of abstraction goes descending from *sisu* over *sauna* to *Sibelius*, displaying the scope of types of information looked up in dictionaries: from lexical to encyclopedic.

FINREALIA is the working title of a project aimed to create a translator's database and to compile a Finnish-Russian dictionary of Finnish culture-bound words. To our knowledge, this kind of dictionary does not have many predecessors. The most famous of them is probably the English-Russian dictionary of Great Britain (Room & al. 1978). At the 4th EURALEX Congress in Málaga (1990) Morton Benson spoke of lexical and conceptual gaps in a lexicographical framework, and Maja Bratanić presented a paper on an English-Croatian project of American educational realia, which seemed to evoke interest also among dictionary publishers. Even if the obvious reason was the input language being English, there should be some relevance in this kind of research in general.

The general bilingual dictionaries seldom help the translator to translate culture-bound words, denoting phenomena, for example, of the governmental system, the system of education or social welfare in a certain country. The idea of a Finnish-Russian dictionary of culture-bound words grew out of practical needs: to help the Finnish translator to find Russian translations for words and concepts that have no equivalents in the Russian language and/or in the Soviet society (see Lehmuskallio & al. 1991). Lack of proper funding has made the work on the project difficult. However, the recent changes in the former Soviet Union are to be sure to affect the dictionary-making process in several respects, and the delay that was due to the lack of resources may turn out to have been of advantage. In what follows some aspects of the work completed by now are discussed.

6.1. Getting started

At the first stage words denoting phenomena typical of Finnish reality were collected in a rather impressionistic and occasional way, i.e. relevant vocabulary was drawn from books about Finnish institutions written by Finns and translated into Russian. Along with the collecting of primary material the structure of the database records (which is not identical with the final dictionary entry) was developed and the classification of the vocabulary considered (see Appendix, part 3).

To choose the material on the basis that published translations into Russian were available was not a recommendable way to proceed any further. Translated literature is scarce, and the quality of the translations cannot be guaranteed. What is needed is a representative basic corpus, which could be used for several bilingual purposes, independently of possible available translations.

At the second stage a decision was made to work systematically on some of the categories to get a few areas more or less completed. In fact, already at the first stage there was one accentuated area, namely, the university vocabulary, to which we paid special attention in order to cover it thoroughly. But this is, actually, a separate parallel project, which aims at creating a terminological database and dictionary of the university level education and academic activities in Finland in general, and a handbook of the University of Tampere, in particular. The main areas to which we devoted attention on the second stage were politics, church and religion, the police-forces and the system and judicial administration. The work was concentrated on gathering only genuine Finnish realia, or words that are otherwise (for cultural reasons) difficult to translate into Russian, thus leaving out the pretension of a full terminological coverage (unlike the university vocabulary).

The procedure for preparing the material of the database applied so far can be characterized as follows: 1) A suitable source or suitable sources of information are chosen for every topic category, i.e., sufficiently comprehensive and up-to-date reference books in the respective sphere of the society. 2) The selected lexical material drawn from the sources, i.e. the culture-bound words are keyed into the computer. 3) The descriptions are formulated for each entry, either on the basis of the source text, if there happens to be a suitable definition, or, if not, the description is looked for in the Dictionary of Modern Finnish and in encyclopedias. In producing the explanations, making up a scheme for a relevant system of concepts will be of great help. This is useful and partly necessary also from the contrastive point of view when the related Russian culture concepts are looked for and their possible correspondence to the Finnish ones considered. 4) For compound words and entries with two or several words the morphological structure and word-for-word translations are supplied in the "structure" field (see Appendix, part 3). 5) The standard Finnish-Russian dictionaries are consulted, and, in case the entry is found, the translations are registered in the "found translation" field. 6) The literature on Finland written in Russian is consulted for the "found translation" field, too. In addition, they can sometimes provide suitable descriptions.

6.2. Pilot studies – the frequency aspect

Faced with the reality suggesting that a comprehensive dictionary will not be completed in the near future, we spent a lot of time wondering what kind of pilot studies should be done. One alternative was discussed above, i.e. focusing on thematic sectors (university vocabulary, administrative terminology etc.). Another possible direction to proceed is to create a "miniature model" of a comprehensive dictionary of realia. This was done by consulting the Frequency Dictionary of Finnish (Saukkonen & al. 1979) in order to find out, how many culture-bound words there are among the most frequent Finnish words and which thematic areas they belong to. In the sample of 1000 most frequent words there were only 5 that could be labelled culture-specific, and among the first 2000 words 21 items were found. In all, ca. 5 % of the corpus in Saukkonen & al. (1979) was characterized as culture-specific. The distribution of these realia in the thematic categories (see Appendix, part 3) shows that 53 % belong to one of the categories 00100 (system of government), 00200 (politics), 00600 (education and science), 00400 (labour relations), or 10100 (religious life and churches).

In another pilot study a corpus was compiled from the materials in the leading Finnish national newspaper (Helsingin Sanomat) during two weeks in June 1991. The investigation of this corpus confirmed our conviction that (also) the culture-specific vocabulary is liable to undergo considerable changes over the years. Indeed, most culture-bound words found in the Helsingin Sanomat corpus do not occur in Saukkonen & al. (1979), while the thematic distribution has roughly remained the same. However, a new major category now is 00800 (transport and mass media), and, in addition, the representation of the sub-category 00410 (titles, names of professions) has increased noticeably.

6.3. The results in spe

This is in short what has been done and what kind of work still remains to be done. Nevertheless, the use of the database (search procedure etc.) can already be demonstrated. We can hardly speak of any real results of the project at this stage. The practical results will be available only when the dictionary (in any form, let it be partial) is ready. At the moment no part in any class of the words is finished, no entry is completed, because all texts in Russian must be checked by not only a native speaker but also by a competent lexicographer. There are about 3500 entries stored in the database, most of them with a Finnish description, while only max. 10 % of the material is provided with satisfactory translations and Russian descriptions. However, some areas are quite well covered already, e.g. if somebody will look for a term related to higher education, he or she will certainly find it, even if there might be an empty field of the suggested translation.

If one should anticipate some theoretical results expected to be acquired from the research project, then perhaps among the most interesting achievements will be, firstly, (a) a theory of the relationships between a general bilingual lexicography and a culture-oriented one, secondly, (b) between general bilingual dictionaries of realia and terminology, and, thirdly, (c) between the culture-oriented lexicography and encyclopedias. As practical bi-products there will be a comprehensive bibliography of reference books about Finland in two languages. The basic material will also serve as a reasonable starting point for other bilingual dictionaries of the same type.

Notes

- 1 Cf. the classification in Vlahov & Florin (1980). They also discuss the terminological confusion due to the fact that *realia* is used to refer a) now to *concepts* ("things behind the words"), b) now to *words* themselves, and, c) often, for example, in translation studies, to *translations*.
- 2 Cf. literary works such as Majakovski's play and Zoščenko's short story with the title *Banja*.
- 3 Cf. the titles of a novel trilogy by Orvokki Autio: *Kotipesä* 1982, *Merkki päällä* 1985, *Pesäriikko* 1986. They ('home-base', 'sign on', 'home break') refer to the living situations of the characters, not to the Finnish baseball game other than in a symbolic sense (the writer comes from regions where most of the famous Finnish baseball teams used to come).

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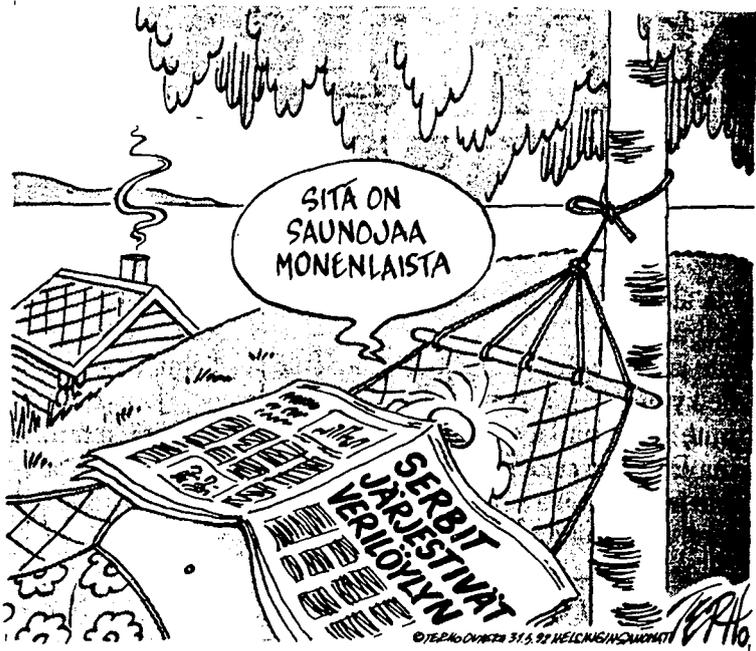
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KEYWORDS: culture-oriented lexicography, culture-bound words, lexical gap, conceptual gap, translation, bilingual dictionary

Appendix

1. *Sauna vs. selkäsauna; löyly vs. verilöyly* (Helsingin Sanomat 31.5.1992)



The text reads in translation: "Serbians organize a massacre" (the newspaper headline), "There are bathers of divers hues ..." (lines spoken by the man reading the newspaper).

2. 'The bases are occupied'. (Helsingin Sanomat 7.5.1992)

Hallituksen pesät täynnä

Eeva Kuuskosken (kesk) vapaaksi jättämän paikan täyttämisen hallituksen talouspoliittisessa ministerivaliokunnassa aiheuttaa päänvaivaa pääministeri **Esko Aholle** (kesk). Paikalle pitäisi saada Kuuskosken seuraaja, sosiaali- ja terveysministeri **Jorma Huuhtanen** (kesk), mutta hallituskumppani kokoomuksenkin hyvinvointia olisi ajateltava. Kokoomuksen ministeriryhmän puheenjohtajalle **Pertti Salolaiselle** ei ole löytynyt tilaa hallituksen tärkeimmästä valiokunnasta, koska siinä on ollut asetuksen sallima täysmiehitys eikä kokoomuksen edustajia voi vaihtaa. He ovat jäseniä tehtävänsä perusteella. Ahon arvellaan ratkaisevan pulman asetusta muuttamalla: valiokuntaan lisätään perjantaina yksi jäsenen paikka.

3. FINREALIA.

The fields in a dBase-record:

- 1) index number
- 2) term (entry)
- 3) realia (yes/no)
- 4) category
- 5) sub-category
- 6) level of explication
- 7) proper name (yes/no)
- 8) origin (Finnish/Scandinavian/European/other)
- 9) style 1 (register)
- 10) style 2 (emotionality)
- 11) description in Finnish
- 12) source of the Finnish description
- 13) description in Russian
- 14) source of the Russian description
- 15) structure of the term
- 16) found translation
- 17) source where found
- 18) suggested translation
- 19) related Russian concept

A preliminary classification:

- 00100 system of government
- 00110 armed forces
- 00120 police
- 00130 system of punishment
- 00140 justice
- 00150 fire service
- 00200 political scene, politics
- 00300 economics (trade/industry)
- 00301 economics (banking/insurance)
- 00400 labour relations, pensions
- 00500 health service and social security
- 00600 education and science
- 00700 culture and arts
- 00800 transport and mass media
- 00900 geography and nature
- 00901 agriculture and forestry
- 10000 history
- 10100 religious life and churches
- 10200 housing
- 10201 population and family life
- 10202 sports and entertainment, hobbies
- 10203 food and traditions
- 10204 clothing and fashion
- 10300 miscellaneous