

KNICKERBOCKERS, NIGHTSHIRTS, ROBES, AND A HAT WITH A STUFFED VULTURE ON TOP: CLOTHING AND ITS TRANSLATIONS IN *THE HARRY POTTER SERIES*

Irina Stoyanova-Georgieva

Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen, Bulgaria

Abstract: *The current study discusses the translation procedures applied to clothing, appearance, adornments, and decorations in the seven Harry Potter books in Bulgarian. Making use of Aixelá's (1996) methodology, the study aims not only to map and discuss the dominant translation procedures for the aforementioned categories, but to note any differences in the renditions of magical and real-world items. The results prove that the most common translation procedures for non-magical items of clothing are substitution ones like limited universalisation and naturalisation. Magical attire, however, is predominantly transmitted by conservation procedures such as linguistic (non-cultural) translation and extratextual gloss. This shows that the consistent translators' choices aimed to bring real-world clothing, appearance, and adornments closer to the reader and to retain the peculiarities and eccentricity of the wizarding items.*

Keywords: *culture-specific item (CSI), clothes and appearance, translation procedures, Harry Potter, children's literature*

About the author: *Irina Stoyanova-Georgieva, PhD is a lecturer in the English Studies Department of Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen, Bulgaria. She has done a translation traineeship at the European Parliament and has a PhD thesis on the use of intensifiers in letters to the editor in British and Bulgarian newspapers and magazines. Her main interests are in the field of translation studies and translation technologies.*

E-mail: *i.stoyanova-georgieva@shu.bg*

ORCID: *<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4065-4917>*

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Introduction

Vestis virum facit (clothes make the man) and appearance is one of the first impressions people get when meeting a person for the very first time. Long after that first contact, people continue judging the looks of the other person, their clothes, adornments, hairstyle, etc. Though clothes have not lost their primary function, namely to protect the body from unfavourable weather conditions, there are certainly other functions they perform in addition to that initial one. Long ago they started signifying the status and social position of the person wearing them, thus, they were perceived as markers of class distinction. Nowadays, they even reveal personality traits.

As a result of this, tuxedos, dress jackets, and cocktail dresses provide a lot more information, not only about the event they are required for, but about the person dressed in them. Such is the case with knickerbockers, tracksuits, and sweatshirts. It is not surprising that military personnel, policemen, firefighters, doctors and a lot more people from various walks of life wear specifically-designed uniforms, which serve as insignia of their occupation, position, and rank.

All of these details precondition the status of clothes as one of the first symbols of culture people would list, when asked about culture-specific items (CSIs). According to Hall (1976), they are part of the visible culture, unlike other items, which remain hidden behind our behaviour, ways of communication, and behind the walls of our homes. Clothes are the first items people notice when they meet somebody. Newmark (1988) lists them as manifestations of the material culture of the country together with food, housing, and transport. Vlahov and Florin (1990), Davies (2003), Dukmak (2012), and Kirkman (2015) also express a similar opinion.

In fact, clothing in the *Harry Potter* series combines most of the aforementioned functions. While *knickerbockers*, *nightshirts*, *boaters*, *bonnets*, *wellington boots*, *golfing jumpers*, *bonnets*, and many more serve as direct signals of the British cultural reality and are definitely culture-specific items (see Aixelá, 1996; Davies, 2003), garments like *cocktail dresses*, *dinner jackets*, *bow ties*, *flat straw hats*, *fox-fur scarves*, and *tweed suits* anchor the story into the world of the muggles. What is more, due to the idiosyncrasies of the various epochs, referred to in the context of the books, outfits supply valuable information about the time period a character comes from. Thus, *ruff* and *doublet* inevitably signal the specificities of 16th-17th century Western European countries' clothing, while *spats*, though suggesting vintage clothing, are connected with the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. This information allows not only for the geographical but also for the chronological positioning of the characters. References like these, however, not only enable the reader to experience different cultures but also provide the author with the means to introduce the peculiarities

of the world of wizards. These traits are best supported with examples such as *hat with a stuffed vulture, robes, moleskin coat, doublets, and ruffs*. They all reveal the identity of the non-muggles, the people who live in dusty, dingy houses, study in castles, and sometimes have house elves, ghosts, and ghouls in their homes and schools, i.e., magic permeates their lives.

Yet, all of these items epitomise translation problems (Pym, 2016). Thus, all of these need to be considered from the point of view of the translation solutions applied in the process of their rendition in Bulgarian.

Previous research in the field

All of the abovementioned details and characteristics turn clothes, appearance, and adornments into significant and valuable constituents for the story and as such they require special attention, when rendered in another language and introduced into a new culture. However, despite the fact that clothing is undoubtedly culture-specific and is “a concept that requires more in-depth explanation” (Kirkman, 2015, p. 46), it is not a topic which has received a lot of attention.

For example, Vlahov and Florin (1990) categorise clothing and adornments as parts of ethnographic realia, defining them as material culture, but do not focus their attention precisely on these items. Instead, they have oriented their studies more specifically towards the description of proper names, forms of address, foreign language in the translation, and terminology. One of the few investigations dealing with clothes is that of Khaydarova and Sarvinoz’ (2022), who reveal that the audience determines the translation procedure. According to them, while younger readers do not need literal translation of certain fashion items or translation at all, for older readers transliteration would not be enough and explication in the form of explanations would be necessary.

In terms of the *Harry Potter* series, there are not many researchers who focus their attention on the translation procedures used for the rendition of clothing, either. Kirkman (2015) discusses the translation decisions applied in the French rendition of the books. However, their analysis represents an insignificant part of her study and does not reveal information about the consequences of these translation decisions. Probably the most extensive analysis of the translation procedures applied to items of clothing in the series is that of Dukmak’s (2012). The results from her study reveal the predominance of explication, generalisation, and deletion in the Arabic translations and adds comments on the loss of meaning. However, her analysis covers only three of the books: *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* (Rowling, 1997) (volume No 1), *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (Rowling, 2000) (volume No 4), and *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (Rowling, 2005) (volume No 6). Though the material of the study is chosen well in terms of representation, i.e., all three of the books

are considered critical for the series, the study does not cover some particularly interesting items. Such are the pieces of attire, which are marked as typically British such as *wellington boots*, *knickerbockers*, *plus fours*, and items, which are openly problematic in terms of translation, like *bomber jackets*, *bloomers*, and *balaclavas*.

In addition to this, the topic has never been discussed from the point of view of Bulgarian, which makes it an interesting endeavour.

Research Questions

The research questions, the current study poses, are motivated by the various functions clothes and appearance play in the *Harry Potter* books as signifiers of two completely different social groups (wizards and ordinary people), various cultures, and periods of time. The results from Dukmak's (2012) study reveal that the three most preferred translation procedures in the Arabic version are explication, generalisation, and deletion. Khaydarova and Sarvinoz (2022), on the other hand, explain that younger readers do not need translation but prefer transliteration when rendition of clothing is needed.

Based on this, the current study aims to map the leading translation procedures used in the rendition of all garments, adornments, and nouns that define appearance in Bulgarian. It is logical that the predominance of one or several translation procedures belonging to the same category, i.e., conservation or substitution, would invariably signal a leading strategy and a specific translation approach. However, as the series employs items originating not only from the British, but from various other cultures like Scottish (*kilt*), Mexican/ South American (*poncho*), Eastern (*turban*), Roman/ Greek (*toga*), and fictional items of clothing, all of which deserve their rightful place in the Bulgarian translation, it is reasonable to assume that the employed translation procedures would reflect the type of item. What is more, each group will rely on specific translation procedures. Due to this, the study attempts to find out not only the leading approach and the dominating translation procedure, but to do that for each subgroup.

Methods

In order to answer these questions, the study analyses a corpus of 72 items about clothing, appearance, adornments, and decorations, excerpted from all seven books of the *Harry Potter* series. The items are then divided into seven groups, one for every book, which allows the researcher to track the changes in the set of preferred translation procedures in every subsequent volume of the series.

The analysis of the procedures relies on Aixelá (1996). The choice was motivated by the specification and organisation of the taxonomy and its orientation towards

culture-bound references. Despite the existence of numerous other models (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995; Newmark, 1988; Pym, 2016; etc.), the majority of those models list general translation procedures. Other models, for example, Vlahov and Florin's (1990) provide an exclusive discussion on culture-specific items (realia), a definition, a taxonomy, defining diverse types of realia, and offer a fully functional model of translation decisions. However, probably motivated by the scholars' absolute disapproval of the omission of culture-specific items, the model does not include deletion as a viable translation procedure. As deletion was proven to be among the common translation procedures in the Arabic translation of the series, it is considered significant and a necessary constituent of the preferred model.

Contrary to this, Aixelá's (1996) model offers a complete and detailed taxonomy, aimed at culture-specific items, which is reliable and easy to follow and apply. The model's organisation allows the analyst to form a clear picture of the dominating translation procedures and a way to detect inclinations towards conservation or substitution. It relies on eleven procedures, ordered successively and divided into two groups: conservation procedures (repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, extratextual gloss, and intratextual gloss) and substitution procedures (synonymy, limited universalisation, absolute universalisation, naturalisation, deletion, and autonomous creation). Their specifics reveal the gradual change from conservation to substitution. Conservation procedures retain as much as possible from the original item, as a result repetition preserves the original item in its entirety, while orthographic adaptation makes the necessary changes to adapt it to the target language. The next procedures modulate the items using literal translation or adding information into the text or as a paratext. They are followed by substitution procedures, which use synonyms, limited and absolute universalisation, or apply generalisation and use hyperonyms (Aixelá, 1996). The final procedures gradually lead to the complete substitution of items as naturalisation uses an item, specific for the target language, while deletion and creation eradicate the translation problem by completely removing it or exchanging it for an absolutely different item.

Thus outlined, Aixelá's (1996) typology represents a well-organised and descriptive method, which provides a reasonable explanation for the translation decisions.

Data Analysis

The first phase of the analysis takes into consideration all of the items of clothing, appearance, and adornment, which were extracted from the septology. Its aim is to uncover the most popular translation procedures applied to these items.

The results from it reveal that the first book contains the biggest number of unique items: 23. The rest of the books, with the exception of volume 4, which also lists a large number of items: 19, mention about 6 new items on average. This

tendency, however, is not unnatural or illogical as both the *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* and *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* precondition the need for this diverse use. The function of volume 1 is to introduce British wizards and their peculiarities in terms of attire, behaviour, and beliefs, thus infusing the text with a number of unconventional and even curious garments. *Cloaks, moleskin overcoats, beaverskin boots, work robes, turbans, pointed hats, tights, half-moon spectacles, bonnets, and ruffs* all provoke bizarre concepts into the reader's mind. While some propose the idea about the backward and retrogressive manner of life of the wizarding community, others bring forward long-gone periods of time (*ruffs, top hats, tights, etc.*), or even foreign cultures (*turban, poncho, toga, kilt*). Despite this, they all have their role in the text, identifying specific historical time, defining the specific looks of a conventional member of the wizarding community, and many more.

Volume 4, on the other hand, has a more specific role to play. Its plot reveals the initiation of *Harry*: his duel with *Voldemort*, his first ball, his first infatuation, the opening of his small world to the rest of the magical universe and the introduction of the Other (Cheshmedzhieva, 2006). The book reveals political and social problems, which were only hinted at in the previous books, and exposes the social stratification of the wizarding society (*SPEW, Ron's old-fashioned dress robes*). All of this information creates the image of the fourth book as a turning point in the series, which positions *Harry* in the world of the adults.

Taking into consideration the differing plots, lines, and roles of these items in the books, the analysis considers the procedures applied to them in every volume of the series.

As was specified, the first book of the series boasts the greatest number of unique items about garments, appearance, and adornment. The translation procedures used in the process of their rendition vary from strictly conservational ones to such that go to the furthest limits of substitution, i.e., autonomous creation. Regardless of this, none of the items in the first book was rendered by repetition, i.e., all repeated items were subjected to orthographic adaptation, which takes the second position in Aixelá's (1996) model. Such are cases like *galoshes* – *галoши* [galoshi] and *turban* – *тюpбан* [tyurban]), which are all too familiar to the Bulgarian culture. Though British *galoshes* function as overshoes and protect the shoes, not the feet, they are still very similar to the Bulgarian *галoши*. The latter, though worn predominantly in the past by people working in the fields and their gardens and not as overshoes, but as shoes, to protect the feet from mud and rainy weather, have a similar shape, form, and material as the British ones. That is why, this situation, i.e., translation procedure, can hardly introduce foreign culture elements into the target culture. It is, in its essence and result, comparable to naturalisation. The same is valid for *turban*. The word, though

orthographically adapted to Bulgarian, has long been part of the Bulgarian language and culture, due to its close communication with the Turkish culture. The next conservation procedure is that of linguistic (non-cultural) translation, which refers to 4 cases of translation (*flat straw hat* – *пласка сламена шапка* [ploska slamena shapka]; *pointed hat* – *островърха шапка* [ostrovarha shapka]; *silver fastenings* – *сребърни закопчалки* [srebarni zakopchalki] and *work robes* – *работни дълги одежди* [rabotni dalgi odezhdi]). The last item, however, relies on intratextual gloss as well, as it adds the adjective *дълги* (long) in order to further explain their type. The last conservation procedure the translator applies to the items, excerpted from the first book, is intratextual gloss. Apart from the abovementioned case, it appears also in *name tags* – *защити платнени етикети* [zashiti platneni etiketi], *ruff* – *накъдрена яка* [nakudrena yaka], and *half-moon spectacles* – *очила с форма на полумесеци* [ochila s forma na polumesetsi], which are otherwise naturalised. It is interesting that only 10 of the 27 translation procedures, applied to clothing, adornment, and appearance in this book, aim for conservation and two of them do not present new information but refer to well-known items from the life of Bulgarians.

The substitution procedures used in the first volume, however, are significantly more: 17. They consist predominantly of naturalisations (12), autonomous creation (3), absolute universalisation (1), and synonymy (1). Though they are arrayed by frequency and not according to the way they are presented by Aixelá (1996), they still signal the preference for substitution, for many otherwise unknown terms like *knickerbockers* – *къс голф* [kus golf], *dreadlocks* – *гъсти къдрици* [gusti kadritsi], *pigtails* – *плитчици* [plitchitsi], *bonnet* – *домашна шапчица* [domashna shapchitsa], *overcoat* – *палто* [palto] are substituted for more culturally appropriate terms. It is interesting that among the cases of naturalisation there are obvious borrowings from other languages, which were adopted into the language and became part of it long ago. Such are the translations of *top hat* – *цилиндър* [tsilindar], which obviously comes from the German *Zylinder* or *Zylinderhut*, *boaters* – *канотие* [kanotie], which was borrowed from the French *canotier*, or *tail coats* – *фрак* [frak], once again an orthographic adaptation of the French *frac* (see Newmark, 1988). Some of these substitutions might not present an authentic picture of the attire. *Tights*, for example, are naturalised as *трико* [triko], which is equal to the English *leotard*, close-fitting nylon garment used mainly in professional sports like gymnastics, figure skating, acrobatics. Historically, *tights* were made of natural materials like wool and linen, and though tight-fitting, they signalled high status and masculinity. As expected, the greatest lack of correspondence between the original source language item and its target language translation can be found with autonomous translation. With it, the items, which could be defined as foreign or even strange to the target culture, are exchanged for others that are more natural to readers. A typical example is the case of *dreadlocks*, which

are rendered as *зъсти къдрици* (coily hair), but *рассти* [rasti] would have been far more meaningful. The same is the situation with *pigtails*, which appeared as *плитчици*, yet the typical English pigtails can also be two pony tails on the opposite sides of the head, next to the ears.

The analysis of the first book reveals that unlike the Arabic translation, where explicitation and standardisation (extratextual/ intratextual gloss and limited/ absolute universalisation, according to Aixelá (1996)) were proven as the most common translation procedures, the Bulgarian translators relied predominantly on naturalisation. This translation decision brought clothing, appearance, and adornments, mentioned in the volume, closer to the readers. It also increased the understanding of the items, explained their function in the text, and made the text more idiomatic. The results differ from those, defined by Khaydarova and Sarvinoz (2022), as well, as translation and more precisely naturalisation are the leading procedures in rendering the information.

The comparison of the translation procedures, applied to wizarding and muggle clothing, however, revealed differences in the approach. *Work robes*, *pointed hats*, *silver fastenings* were rendered through linguistic (non-cultural) translation. The fact that other parts of magicians' attire like *cloaks* and *invisibility cloaks* were naturalised does not negate this tendency as the latter follow the model of *шанка невидимка* or *палто-невидимка*. The latter are found in many fairy tales: *Келешът и царската дъщеря* – *Keleshat i tsarskata dashterya* (The scamp and the princess¹) (п.а., 1995), *Златният сандък* – *Zlatniyat sandak* (The golden chest) (Тroyanski, 1976), *Джек, убиецът на великана* – *Dzhek, ubietsat na velikana* (Kadiyski, 1997), a translation of the popular English story *Jack the Giant Killer*.

The second book names only 6 items, which are only concerned with muggle clothing and are almost entirely translated with substitution procedures. Such is the synonymy used in the rendition of *dinner jacket* as *смокинг* [smoking], the limited universalisation used for *balaclava* – *вълнена качулка* [valnena kachulka] and *cocktail dress* – *официална рокля* [ofitsialna roklya]. The same is the situation with the naturalisations of *bow-ties* – *папиюнка* [papiyonka] and *wellington boots* – *високи гумену ботуши* [visoki gumeni botushi] as well as the translation of *knitted tank top* as *плетен елек* [pleten elek] (creation). The latter does not represent a veritable picture of a *tank top* and bears more semblance to the English *waistcoat*. An interesting case represent two of the items, which are rendered with two different translation procedures, but are actually a French and an English word orthographically adapted and accepted in Bulgarian a long time ago. These are *bow-tie* and *dinner jacket*, which appear in the text as *папиюнка* from the French *papillon* (butterfly) and *смокинг*,

1. All translations mine.

which originates from the English *smoking jacket*, which is a garment intended for cases when men gather together to smoke cigars.

It is noteworthy to register that all the items are actual, non-wizarding clothes, which are not dated. Their translation employed substitution procedures only with the exception of one case, in which *wellington boots* received an intratextual gloss *високи* instead of being rendered only as *гумени ботуши*.

Volume 3 of the series introduces an even smaller stock of clothes, only 4 (*nightshirt*, *hat with a stuffed vulture*, *gauzy spangled shawl*, and *fox-fur scarf*). Their transition to Bulgarian includes linguistic (non-cultural) translation (*nightshirt* – *нощна риза* [noshtna riza], *hat with a stuffed vulture* – *шанка с препариран лешояд* [shapka s prepariran leshoyad]) and naturalisation (*fox-fur scarf* – *яка от лисица* [yaka ot lisitsa], *gauzy spangled shawl* – *шал, украсен с пайети* [shal ukrasen s paieti]). In addition to naturalisation, the last item makes use of intratextual gloss, too.

Only one of these items is overtly marked as wizarding attire. However, because of its oddity and eccentricity, it establishes the image of the whole society, an image that is later confirmed and validated by the strange outfits worn by the magicians during the *Quidditch World Cup Championship* as well as by many others in the subsequent books. *Gauzy spangled shawls* might be a trademark of *professor Trelawny*, but their existence in the real world is probably the reason for their naturalisation. Another motivation might as well be *Professor Trelawny's* peculiar situation: despite her descent from a great seer, she is not a gifted fortune-teller herself. This reduces her status in the community and makes her almost equal to muggles. This is undeniably signalled by her clothes which resemble those of quack fortune-tellers, described in books and short stories:

Professor Trelawney moved into the firelight, and they saw that she was very thin; her large glasses magnified her eyes to several times their natural size, and she was draped in a gauzy spangled shawl. Innumerable chains and beads hung around her spindly neck, and her arms and hands were encrusted with bangles and rings. (Rowling, 1999, p. 102)

Just like book 2, the text of book 3 does not contain any words designating adornments, but in this book, garments were rendered predominantly by conservation procedures rather than by substitution ones. Instead of rendering *nightshirt* as *пижама* [pizhama] (pyjamas), for example, the translator decided to retain the foreignness of the item. However, as the latter was worn by a magician, the procedure once again highlighted the extraordinariness of the person and the community.

As was already discussed, the plot of the next book (*Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*) heralds a change in the trend and infuses the text with 19 new types of garb, in addition to mentioning some of the previous ones. One of the most

interesting cases is that of *balaclava*. This time it is orthographically adapted to Bulgarian and receives extratextual gloss, explaining its function and origin.

Analogously to the previous books, the items designating apparel in this volume are also predominantly transfigured by substitution procedures like synonymy, limited universalisation, naturalisation, and creation. Among them, however, naturalisation and limited universalisation seem to be the most widely used and are responsible for the rendition of 10 of the items (*nightgown* – *нощница* [noshtnitsa], *tie* – *вратовръзка* [vratovrazka], *buttonhole* – *петлик* [petlik], *kilt* – *шотландска поличка* [shotlandska polichka], *golfing jumper* – *спортна фланелка* [sportna flanelka], *plus-fours* – *панталони за голф* [pantaloni za golf], etc.). Just like the previous books, in this one as well, there are items of clothing, which originate from French. Such is *bowler hat*, whose translation *бомбе* [bombe] is an orthographic adaptation of the French word *bombé* which was adopted in Bulgarian as early as the beginning of the 20th century.

Some of the substitutions in the volume can be defined as especially suitable and befitting for translation. Such is the case with *петлик* for *buttonhole*, which is a colloquial word very similar to *илик* [ilik], but its status and datedness attribute colour to the text and correspond to Hagrid's messy, inelegant, even tasteless looks. The same is valid for the renditions of *plus-fours* and *tweed suit*, which due to the limited universalisation, applied to them, communicate enough information to the reader without creating comprehension difficulties.

Contrary to this, some of the cases of naturalisation applied to *dressng gown* – *халат* [halat] and *doublet* – *жакет* [zhaket] seem to instil different ideas into the readers' minds. The image of the Bulgarian word *халат* corresponds more to bath robe than to the idea of a dressing gown, whose equivalent in the Bulgarian tradition would be *пеньоар* [penioar]. As for *doublet*, its rendition *жакет* also seems to refer to female clothing, not male, and its origin leads once more to the French *jaquette*.

Though substitution procedures are responsible for the translation of the majority of the garments in the *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, the book uses more conservation procedures than the previous two books. It features 3 cases of orthographic adaptation (*poncho* – *пончо* [poncho], *balaclava* – *балаклава* [balaklava], *toga* – *тога* [toga]), 4 cases of linguistic (noncultural) translation (football shorts – *футболни шорти* [futbolni shorti], hairy brown suit – *дългокосмест кафяв костюм* [dalgokosmest kafyav kostyum], toothbrush moustache – *мустачки, подобни на четка за зъби* [mustachki podobni na chetka za zabi]). Some of the cases are even assisted by extratextual or intratextual gloss as well.

Analogously to the first book, the majority of the conservation procedures are devoted to the translation of wizarding clothes. Yet, in this book it is not the

eccentricity of the clothes, apart from the *hairy brown suit*, that makes the items specific, but the preposterous combinations of items (*plus-fours* and *ponchos*, men wearing *nightgowns*) that mark wizarding clothing.

Comparing the results with Dukmak (2012), the study reveals that unlike the Arabic translation of the fourth book, the Bulgarian translation does not rely on any cases of deletion. Cases of universalisation and intratextual and extratextual gloss do exist, but apart from limited universalisation, they cannot be categorised as leading translation procedures. The results signal the translator's resolution to render all the items of the original text.

Similarly to books 2 and 3, the analysis of the 5th volume of the series encounters a small number of unique references, only 7. Contrary to the results for the third volume, *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* shows preference for substitution procedures only. Cases of naturalisation (*cardigan* – *жилетчица* [zhilechitsa], *bomber jacket* – *кожено яке* [kozhenoyake]) predominate over all procedures. Cases of naturalisation include also *quilted purple dressing gown*, which is rendered as *тъмночервен пеньоар на баклавички* [tamnocherven penioar na baklavichki]. The translation seems to be a skilful combination of naturalisation (*пеньоар*) and autonomous creation (*на баклавички*). The choice is most probably motivated by the fact that the form of the delicious dessert, which originates from Türkiye, but is enjoyed and prepared in Bulgaria, too, seems to be a lot more informative than the word *подплатен* [podplaten]. The same is valid for *romper suit* and *bloomers*, which are rendered as *пютанки* [ritanki] and *кюлоту* [kyuloti], respectively. What is more, the word *пютанки* differs from *romper suit* as the former covers only the lower part of the body unlike the latter and *кюлоту* are just baggy, unaesthetic undergarment while *bloomers* are longer, baggy, frilly, and can have lace for decoration. Among the substitution procedures are also limited universalisation (*porter cap* – *шапка на носач* [shapka na nosach]) and creation (*pie-frill* – *шалче на точки*).

The last two books of the series continue the trend, delineated by books 2, 3, and 5. They feature almost the same number of clothing: 7 and 6, respectively, and employ almost nothing but substitution procedures. Just like *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, the garments worn by wizards do not differ by their specific names or bizarre design, but by their unnatural combinations (*one-piece bathing suit*, a *frock coat*, and *spats*). For both books, naturalisation is the dominant translation procedure: *housecoat* – *пеньоар* [penioar], *one-piece bathing costume* – *цял бански костюм* [tsyal banski kostyum], *frock coat* – *редингот* [redingot], *spats* – *гету* [geti], *cravat* – *вратовръзка* [vratovrazka], followed by limited universalisation: *tutu* – *балеринска поличка* [balerinska polichka], *handlebar moustache* – *дълги щръкнали мустаци* [dalgi straknali mustatsi]. The cases of orthographic adaptation are only 2 and cover adornments (*tiara* – *муара* [tiara] and *diadem* – *диадема* [diadema]). Just like many of the

clothes in the previous books, *педунгом* and *зему* were also borrowed and orthographically adapted from the French words *redingote* and *guêtre*. Yet, they have been in use since the early 20th century. The study also reveals one case of synonymy, when *Y-fronts* were turned into *боксерки* [bokserki] and one occasion of autonomous creation *coat* – *шлифтер* [shlifer].

As in previous books, conservative procedures are underrepresented and the only cases include the translation of adornments and one occasion of linguistic (non-cultural) translation (*travelling cloak* – *пътно наметало* [patno nametalo]). The last one may be ascribed to the magical apparel as it is an actual type of clothing, which is no longer worn.

The analysis of the final two books reveals that the leading translation procedure in both volumes is naturalisation. This differs from Dukmak's (2012) results for the Arabic translation, where once again universalisation and extratextual and intratextual gloss were the dominant ones.

Conclusion

The results from the analysis reveal several significant trends. On the one hand, the translators of all but one of the books relied predominantly on substitution procedures to render items related to clothing, appearance, and adornment. The most commonly used procedure in general is naturalisation, followed by limited universalisation, autonomous creation, and synonymy. However, the analysis shows a difference between the approach to items signalling muggle and non-muggle affiliation. The results indicate that items used as representatives of the wizarding community or as part of their ridiculous outfits, are predominantly translated through conservation procedures. While those which function as muggle apparel are rendered by substitution procedures.

The study reveals the conspicuous differences between the translation approaches applied to seemingly identical items. In addition to this, it serves as a proof for the translators' decisions to bring the real-world clothing, appearance, and adornments closer to the reader and to retain the peculiarity and eccentricity of the wizarding items. Thus showing that the translation solutions applied in the process of translation are actually subject to complex translation decisions whose impact affects the whole text.

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