Representation of Turkish Culture through Subtitling: The Case of Butterfly's Dream

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Abstract

With the increasing circulation of audiovisual products such as films and TV series across cultures, considerable attention has been paid to subtitling process which is one of the most commonly preferred modes of Audio Visual Translation (AVT). Today, Turkish soap operas and films are reaching millions of viewers around the world and this is called "Turkey's soap power". As an audiovisual product, films are true means of cultural transfer as they mirror cultural elements of a society in every aspect. The present study aims to contribute to the less widely investigation of AVT in the language pair of Turkish and English through the analysis of cultural references in the subtitling of an award-winning Turkish period drama "Butterfly's Dream /KelebeğinRüyası". Based on Venuti's definition for the closeness of the translation product to source culture "foreignization" or to target culture "domestication", the current study systematically analyzes cultural references to see whether the source text is assimilated for the sake of providing an audience-friendly subtitling or the foreignness of the original is preserved. This research intends to develop a beneficial viewpoint in the future subtitling research and practice of emerging Turkish film industry.

Keywords: Subtitling, cultural references, domestication, foreignization, Butterfly's Dream

1. Introduction

"Translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions." (Toury, 1978, p. 200). As it is clear in Toury's definition of translation, the crucial interplay of culture and translation is well established by language(s), so the question concerning whether language is culture or culture is language is difficult to answer. According to Newmark (1988, p. 95), language is a means of culture peculiar to a community and it hints the idea that every language embodies specific cultural elements. Definitions may differ; however, it is widely accepted that language and culture are closely connected and interdependent. Taking culture as the broader term and language as its part and means, viewing any language-related practice requires the consideration of cultural elements. In this sense, translation is one of the most culture inclusive practices of languages, and it is possible to say that any translation practiceis a means of transfer for cultural interaction, which is not limited to printed materials anymore thanks to today's technological developments and globalization. Audiovisual products such as films and TV series are contemporary means of cultural transfer which come in a quick and accessible form for large audiences. Venuti (2000, p. 4) states that "increasingly interdisciplinary nature of translation studies has multiplied theories of translation". The interdisciplinary nature of translation studies results in multilayered translation products one of which is film subtitling. In the current study, film as one the most instant and noted audiovisual products of cultural transfer is on the focus. A descriptive analysis of cultural references in Turkish period drama "Kelebeğin Rüyası", translated as "Butterfly's Dream", is presented to investigate the translation practice in the form of subtitling with the comparison of translation units of the source text (ST) with their corresponding target text (TT) ones and the analysis of the translation strategies applied by the subtitler.

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The frequency of the strategies will be provided to reach a possible conclusion about the choice of the subtitler in terms of Venuti's norms of the translation as foreignization or domestication.

2. Translation and Culture

Translation practice seemed to be limited to word level for a long time and meaning was the primary consideration while translating. Thus, the issue of equivalence situated at the central focus, although Nida's (1964, p. 166) definition of translation as "providing the closest natural equivalent" in the source text was accepted as an implicit inclusion of cultural perspective in translation practice. His theory of dynamic equivalence was an opposition to the prevailing word level consideration of translation and it can be said to pave the way for inclusion of culture in translation studies. Following Nida's new advance in the field, several theorists developed theories by adding the lacking notions. Vermeer (1989) built up Skopos Theory, which was mainly based on the aim of the translation. The theory focused on the text type and the aim of translation and it valued the target reader's needs. Thus, with this theory the higher position of source text started to be taken over by the target text. Following Vermeer, Nord (1997) added the notion of loyalty to Skopos Theory. Although these theories were still linguistics based, they were taking social and cultural elements into account.

Concerning the position of culture, the history of translation studies saw an important advance in translation studies with the development of Polysystem Theory marked by Itamar Even-Zohar and later improved by Gideon Toury. The polysystem is "conceived as a heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate (or system) of systems which interact to bring about an ongoing dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole" (Shuttleworth, 2001, p. 176).The theory claimed that social norms and literary traditions of the target system govern the translation process. Toury developed descriptive translation studies and his aim was to make generalizations about the decisions of translators by reconstructing the norms which govern the translation process. Norms are "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations" (1995, p. 55).

According to Toury, these norms are present in the translation of all kinds and analysis of a translation product enables general statements about the translation process and strategies applied by the translator. These ideas of Toury directly relates to the present study as the way cultural references are treated in the subtitling process will be investigated.

As Toury states, investigation of translations in order to uncover the operating norms which influence the translator's strategies is necessary to make statements about the general tendency of the translation product. The longstanding dichotomy of literary translation versus word for word translation has been offered several labels in the history of translation studies.   Another coinage by Venuti "*foreignization* versus *domestication*" strategy has been influential in terms of defining the dominant language and culture in a translation product. Evolving from Schleiermacher's "*alienating* versus *naturalizing*" strategies, foreignization strategy moves the reader to the writer and domestication does the opposite. Venuti believes that "domestication refers an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values bringing the author back home and foreignization is-an ethno-deviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad" (Venuti, 1995, p.20)."

In the framework of the current study, it can be said that if the source text is assimilated for the sake of providing an audience- friendly subtitling, the film is domesticated and if the foreignness of cultural elements is preserved, the film is foreignized. Taking the commercial concerns into account, it would not be surprising for film makers to prioritize the comprehensibility of the message of a film. However, this may lead to sacrificing culturally unfamiliar references and replacing them with familiar local ones. Also, film is a fast moving audiovisual product and it is hard for the audience to pause and search for the meaning of a foreign reference, especially when they are in the movie theatre. On the other hand, keeping the cultural flavor of the source text may mean a cultural journey to the source culture where the audience can learn about another culture, though they may search for exotic concepts after watching the film. In the limited number of previous studies carried on Turkish as the source language, the tendency of the products seems to be on domestication.

Yeni (2014) investigated Turkish to English subtitling of the film "*Davaro*" in terms of humorous instances and found out that translation was moved closer to the target audience, namely domesticated. Another study by Bagci (2013) focused on the reflection of culture in terms of translatability and untranslatability in subtitling in "*Babam ve Oglum*" and concluded that many cultural references were omitted or hypernyms were provided to make the source text intelligible for the audience.

Similar results were obtained in other studies with different language pairs where the source language is the mother tongue of the researcher. For instance, Barasoain (2008) investigated Spanish to English translations of Almadovar films and found out that most of the translators preferred domestication strategy when translating cultural references. To conclude, it could be said that maintaining the cultural identity of the source text does not seem to be the favorite strategy of the subtitlers as commercial concerns and entertainment factor outweigh.

3. Cultural References

In order to label a translation product as foreignized or domesticated, it is of great importance to understand what cultural reference is. Cultural references consist of words, terms, expressions and concepts that refer to geography, history, society, and culture of a society. These concepts are shared and understood by the individuals of a certain society. In the literature these concepts are given several denominations. Florin (1993) refers to cultural elements as "realia": "words or combination of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation" Another coinage for these elements is provided by Franco Aixela (1996) as "culture specific items". No matter which name is given for these concepts, they are believed to cause translation problems which are named as "translation hurdles" (Chiaro, 2009) or "translation crisis points" (Pedersen, 2005). Similar coinages are offered in the field; however, a relatively wider concept "cultural references" (CRs) by Foreman (1992) is utilized in this study as it includes not only culturally marked lexicon but also symbols, icons, gestures, etc.

As stated above, CRs consist of innumerable concepts related toa certain culture; therefore, categorizations of these elements have resulted in different denominations. There have been several categorizations offered for CRs by prominent scholars of the audiovisual translation (AVT) field. Most of them have been used as a practical tool for the analysis, but also criticized for sharp distinction among categories, lacking some cultural concepts or for being overwhelming. Oltra Ripoll (2005, p. 75) claims that "such an exhaustive classification should compromise all aspects of community life. In the current study, previous categorizations were taken into account. According to Gottlieb (2009, p. 32), while conducting a classification in arts and humanities, there are three main concerns: categories should accommodate all findings, categories should reflect significant differences, and the number of categories should comply with the amount of data. In the present study, CRs were sometimes difficult to put into a certain category or a new type of category was needed; thus, existing categories in the field were modified with an inductive categorization that was developed out of collected CRs.

3. Audiovisual Translation and Subtitling

Translation studies have taken its share from the gradual change in the type of translated material during the twentieth century and technical and political texts along with well-known literature could be transmitted to a larger group of audience through these products (Newmark, 199, p.16).The rapid increase and spread of audiovisual products has allowed for fast and easy circulation of cultures around the world. This circulation has brought another dimension to be investigated in the field under the branch of AVT. AVT is an encompassing term for all varieties of audiovisual material which can be basically defined as "the interlingual transfer of verbal language when it is transmitted and accessed both visually and acoustically, usually through some kind of electronic device" (Delabatista, 1989, p. 196).Among the audiovisual materials on which this visual and verbal transfer is possible, films and TV series are the ones which receive numerous audiences around the world, as they are entertaining tools for pastime activities. In Luyken's definition, audiovisual transfer "denotes the process by which a film or television program is made comprehensible to a target audience that is unfamiliar with the original's source language" (1991, p. 11).

Okyayuz (2016) states that cultures and their specific images are transferred to other cultures thanks to films, video games, TV series and other types of audiovisual products. Cultural and fictional transfer increases cultural sharing among different countries and cultures. Considering the spread of the Internet, cable TV, and DVDs, the ease of reaching audiovisual materials across the world is just a click away for the audience.

The verbal transfer of an audio visual product is also very convenient through original subtitling or dubbing provided within the product or fansubbing that can be downloaded on the Internet. The reason behind the choice between dubbing and subtitling may vary for producers, but it is generally financial. Dubbing necessitates certain equipment, competent actors, and editors and high standard sound engineering (Burgess 1980, p. 299). However, subtitling is more cost-effective and time saving than dubbing. Subtitling is briefly defined by Díaz Cintas and Remael as: a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavors to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, play cards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off) (2007, p. 8).

Despite being convenient for the audience, subtitling challenges the translator in terms of technical and cultural constraints. The ideal subtitling practice requires maximum number of showing for six seconds. Also, these two-line titles can only include seventy signs and should not cover more than 20% of the screen. Apart from these technical constraints, subtitler faces cultural constraints just as translators face in other forms of translation. Aksoy states that these constraints include principles of literature of the time, expectations of publishers or institutions from the translator, literary taste and cultural characteristics of the target society (as cited in Sahin, 2012, p.3). Thus, investigating a subtitling practice also necessitates taking these into consideration while commenting on translator's choices.

4. Methodology

4.1. The Film: Butterfly's Dream

Butterfly's Dream unearths the story of a tough period at the backdrop of 1940s wartime in Turkey when people were struggling with disease, poverty, and compulsory work in the mines of a small town called, Zonguldak. Comparing to a modern life story set in the cosmopolitan city Istanbul which would be familiar to the audience, the old story of that period in Zonguldak is a rather challenging task to tell and translate. Thus, the translation activity, subtitling, of this film is worth investigating to see if cultural references were represented in the face of time period and local elements. The story revolves around Muzaffer Tayyip Uslu and Rüştü Onur who were young and dedicated poets motivated by their literature teacher Behçet Necatigil, who gained fame as a poem in his lifetime. The film was written and directed by Yılmaz Erdoğan in 2013 and selected as the Turkish entry for the Best Foreign Language Film at the 86th Academy Awards. The film has won several awards both in national and international film festivals. *Butterfly's Dream* is believed to be a convenient case study as an international award-winning film for which subtitles are critical in conveying the message. Investigating the subtitling of a film that has been Turkey's Oscar submission in the foreign language film category and been awarded by several film festivals, it is thought to serve as a standpoint for the future subtitling research and practice in the field.

4.2. Analysis of Data

Analysis of the current study begins with the tracing step that was performed with target language (TL) subtitles, printed source language (SL) script, and SL subtitle. Banding these three sources together enables the comparative tracing of the CRs and also helps the researcher track subtitles with their time of appearance on the transfile. While tracing the existing categorizations offered in the field for CRs were taken into consideration and an inductive analysis was conducted. Then, categorized CRs were analyzed with Cintas & Ramel's (2007) translation strategies specifically developed for subtitling. At the end, general statements were made about the tendency of the subtitling process.

4.2.1. Categorization of the Cultural References

Fifty-five CRs found in the film in light of the definitions provided for CRs in the field. Then, they are categorized to serve as a practical tool for the analysis. In light of the previously offered classifications and by deducing from the current corpus CRs were divided into seven categories. These categories are aimed to be conceptual rather than lexical groupings. The data of the study shaped the categorization, so these groupings are limited to the purpose of the study; however, the seventh category can be used in the related genre.

The first category "Address Forms" consists of kinship terms, terms of endearment, addressing used for intimates or acquaintances, social inferiors or superiors and honorifics. Second category "Social Culture" includes CRs about institutions and related concepts, and references to work and leisure. Third category "Greetings and Common Expressions" refers to CRs which are in the form of conceptual expressions such as culture specific greetings, or expressions to be used in specific contexts. Fourth category "Material Culture" includes objects from daily life such as clothing, food and drinks, and accessories. Fifth Category "Religious Expressions" comprise of all kinds of references related to religion and religious expressions uttered in specific contexts. Sixth Category "Idiomatic Expressions" is the grouping of idioms, phrasal verbs, proverbs, clichés, colloquialisms, expressions, and sayings.

The last category which is a new type of category deduced from the genre and the corpus of the study is "Period Specific References". This category consists of intracultural references which are peculiar to a period of time or topical issues of a period and may not be familiar today.

4.2.1. Strategies of Cultural References

The research to date has evaluated the analysis of CRs through a rather subjective practice where only the researcher decides on the strategy applied by the translator. This study aims to offer a normative analysis by including other researchers in the decision making. To that end, content analysis of the cultural references was improved by inter-coder reliability with three coders including the researcher. A coding form consisting of a detailed explanation of translation strategies for subtitling of CRs was developed. First part of the form aims at providing a brief training for the coders; therefore, each strategy is defined and supported with examples in the language pair of Turkish and English. As for each CR, coders defined a translation strategy. In studies where the agreement of three or more coders is measured, Fleiss' Kappa is utilized (Fleiss, 1971). Inter-coder reliability level of this study was found 0.90 for the overall judgement, and as this rate is above 0.75, it is accepted as "perfect" (Fleiss, 1981). Six out of fifty-five items were found to have "a fair to good level of agreement" with 0.66, and the rest of the items have full agreement of coders. Those with fair to good level of agreement were treated with the most rated strategy, which in this case are 2 against 1.

As a developing branch of translation studies, it is inevitable for subtitling practice to benefit from existing literary theories. According to Cintas (2004, p. 63) 'Approaches to translation which have made a large impact on areas such as literary translation, are still yet to be applied to subtitling'. Thus, some scholars developed considerably similar strategies that are specific to subtitling practice. Inspired by several other scholars and their strategies, Diaz Cintas and Remael (2007, p. 200-207) offered a comprehensive categorization of strategies to be used when dealing with CRs in subtitling practice; therefore, following strategies were adopted in the current study.

1. **Loan**(direct transfer): Loan is a strategy used when "the source text word or phrase is incorporated into the target language and text, because no translation is possible and both languages use the exact same word." This strategy is accepted to be a foreignizing strategy.
2. **Calque** (Literal Translation): Calque is the literal translation of source text words or expressions into TT ones. It is a word-for-word translation which remains faithful to ST; therefore it has a foreignizing effect.
3. **Explicitation:** This is "a strategy by which the translator makes such information explicit in the TT, which is only implicit in the ST". In this strategy, the subtitler tries to make source text more comprehensible for the target audience, which makes it a domesticating strategy. In explicitation strategy, subtitler may generalize the CR with a hypernym or specify with a hyponym.
4. **Substitution:** If space constraints "do not allow for the insertion of a rather long term, even if it exists in target culture" substitution is preferred. As replacing a cultural term with a target culture equivalent may result in the loss of local color, this strategy is accepted as a domestication strategy.
5. **Transposition** (cultural adaptation): Transposition strategy is basically defined as the replacement of a cultural term in ST with another in TT, which makes it a domesticating strategy.
6. **Lexical creation:** In this strategy, translator invents new semantically close lexical items in the SL. In this way, a CR is made intelligible for the target culture (TC), so it is domesticated.
7. **Compensation:** This strategy is about "making up for a translational loss by over translating or adding something in another". It is utilized when there is little or no lexical equivalence exists in the TT.
8. **Omission** (deletion): It is not an act of translation, but the exclusion of an element. This strategy is defined as the most domesticating strategy as it completely a potentially unfamiliar ST element (Pedersen, 2007, p. 148).

9. Addition: In this strategy, translator adds an explanation in case a relevant cultural reference in the TC may cause misunderstanding (Cintas and Remael, 200, p. 200-207)

Abovementioned strategies can be grouped as domestication and foreignization strategies in terms of moving the text closer to the audience or preserving the cultural identity of the references. Explicitation, Substitution, Lexical Creation, Transposition, Compensation, Omission and Addition are considered as domestication strategies; while loan and calque are foreignization strategies.

Strategies which are determined to be applied by the subtitler are elaborated with examples of subtitles given below in the tables divided into categories.

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
ADDRESS FORMS	1) Kardeşim	My friend	"Rüştü and Muzaffer call each other as "kardeşim" though they are only very close friends.	Explicitation
	2) Baba	Daddy	Suzan, who is a modern and spoiled girl, calling out to her father lovingly.	Transposition
	3) Hocam	Sir	Rüştü and Muzaffer addressing their master Behçet Necatigil in face to face communication.	Transposition
	4) Hoca	Teacher	While Rüştü and Muzaffer addressing their master in his absence.	Explicitation
	5) Üstad	Bard	"Sen neler yapıyorsun üstad?" Rüştü asks Muzaffer on a letter. He honors his friend who is also a poet.	Explicitation
	6) Amca	Sir	Addressing an unfamiliar older man walking on the street.	Transposition
	7) Zikri Amca	Mr. Zikri	Suzan's cousin addressing her uncle (Suzan's father).	Transposition
	8) Mehmet Amca	Uncle Mehmet	Muzaffer addressing Rüştü's father-in-law.	Calque
	9) Battal Abi	Battal	Addressing an older familiar man.	Omission
	10) Kürşat Bey	Kürşat	Suzan reacts to her boyfriend in a sarcastic way.	Omission
	11) Mehveş Hanım	Mehveş	A noble man addressing his wife.	Omission
	12) Beyefendi!	Mister!	The girl calling behind an unfamiliar man.	Transposition
	13) Rüştü Bey Muzaffer Bey (used several times)	Mr. Rüştü Mr. Muzaffer	Two friends addressing each other or their master addressing them. (A friendly usage)	Transposition
	14)Muzaffer Bey	Mr. Muzaffer	As his boss fires him, he calls him "Muzaffer Bey."	Transposition

Table 1. Address Forms

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
SOCIAL CULTURE	15) Kandilli Lisesi ve her şey çok sıkıcı.	And everything is boring.	Suzan writes about her life in Istanbul. The name of the high school "Kandilli Lisesi" is omitted.	Omission
	16) Jandarma	Soldiers	"Mehmet evlenmek üzereyken Jandarmalar tarafından yakalanır" referring to security forces.	Explicitation
	17) Memur maaşı	A public sector salary	Muzaffer's father referring to his limited income.	Explicitation
	18)Leblebici Şeyhmus	The nut man	Referring to a person who sells roasted chickpeas on the street.	Explicitation
	19)Leblebici **Şeyhmus**	The nut man	Referring to a person who sells roasted chickpeas on the street.	Omission
	20) Dokuma işçisi Mediha	Textile Girl	Mediha talking about herself. "Basit bir dokuma işçisi Mediha söylemişti dersin."	Substitution
	21) Dokuma işçisi **Mediha**	Textile Girl	Mediha talking about herself. "Basit bir dokuma işçisi Mediha söylemişti dersin."	Omission
	22) Meyhaneci Ayhan Abi	The barkeeper	Referring to a familiar person who owns a tavern.	Transposition
	23) Meyhaneci **Ayhan Abi**	The barkeeper	Referring to a familiar person who owns a tavern.	Omission

Table 2. Social Culture

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
GREETTINGS AND COMMON EXPRESSIONS	24) Kolay gelsin	Hello there	Muzaffer enters an ironmaster's place.	Transposition
	25) Eyvallah	Hello	Given as a greeting response to the situation above.	Transposition
	26) Hayırdır çocuklar?	What's up boys?	Rüştü and Muzaffer visit their master late at night. And he opens the door and says "hayırdır çocuklar?	Transposition
	27) Afiyet olsun	Enjoy	A waitress serves ice cream and responds to a man who thanks her.	Transposition
	28) Hayırdır hocam?	What's happened sir?	Muzaffer asks his master curiously.	Transposition
	29)Aşk olsun!	Shame on you!	Suzan teases Muzaffer about a memory; Muzaffer says "aşk olsun" with a little smile.	Transposition
	30) Başımız sağolsun.	I'm sorry for our loss.	Suzan says this to Muzaffer and Rüştü upon losing Rüştü's wife.	Transposition

Table 3. Greetings and Common Expressions

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
MATERIAL CULTURE	31)Altın köstekli saat	Gold pocket watch	Rüştü offers his gold pocket watch to Muzaffer on a bet.	Transposition
	32) Kasket	Helmet	Referring to a simple hat worn by the mine workers.	Explicitation
	33) Revani	Such good food	While eating "revani" in the sanatorium.	Explicitation
	34) Rakı	Rakı	Rüştü washes his wife who has high fever with rakı as it is a kind of alcohol.	Loan

Table 4. Material Culture

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS	35) "En güzelinin bir şiirlik canı var."	"The prettiest can never resist a poem."	Rüştü and Muzaffer talk about girls.	Substitution
	36) "Sonunda putları yıkıyoruz."	"At last we're bringing down the idols."	Muzaffer refers to same old poets whose poems always get published in magazines upon learning that his master's poem was finally published.	Calque
	37) "bir memur maaşından daha öteye götüremedim bu gemiyi."	"could do no more than a public sector salary allowed."	Muzaffer's father referring to his financial situation.	Substitution
	38) "Ben kendi başımın çaresine bakarım."	"I can look after myself"	Suzan tells her friend.	Transposition
	39) "Hiç güvenmediğim torpillerden biri ansızın patlayıverdi."	"A miracle has happened."	Their master gives the news to Muzaffer about Rüştü's unexpected acceptance to sanatorium.	Substitution
	40) "Keyfi yerinde"	" In good spirits"	Muzaffer talks about Rüştü's life in sanatorium.	Transposition
	41) " Taktı işte biri ya"	"Someone just pinned it on."	Rüştü wants to give the money that was pinned on his collar as a wedding gift.	Calque

42)"Sizin ellerinizden öptü."	"He sends his regards."	When Muzaffers's parents asks about how Rüştü is doing.	Explicitation
Mediha: Çok aşıksın değil mi? Muzaffer: **Kendi işine bak**(43), hadi. Rüştü: Tabii. Siz de evlenin gelin bu odaya, Birlikte yaşayalım. Senin **sosyete kızı** (44) görsün bakalım **dünya kaç bucakmış.** (45) Muzaffer: Benim **sosyete kızı** benimle evlenmez.	Mediha: You're madly in love, aren't you? Muzaffer: **Mind your own business.**(43) Rüştü: Sure. Get married, move into this room with us... And let your **rich girl** (44) **see the real world**. (45) Muzaffer: My **rich girl** won't marry me.	Muzaffer visits Rüştü and Mediha in their little miserable room and they talk about Muzaffer's love, Suzan. Rüştü talks grawlingly.	43) Transposition 44)Explicitation 45) Transposition

Table 5. Idiomatic Expressions

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
RELIGIOUS EXPRESSIONS	46) Fesuphanallah!	God Almighty!	The ironmaster old man is fed up with Muzaffer's insisting on selling his book.	Transposition
	47) Allahu ekber	God is great	Repeated during a couple of scenes where the prayer was heard at the background.	Calque
	48) Allah şifa versin.	May God heal you.	Suzan's father says to Rüştü and Muzaffer as they have TB.	Calque
	49) Allah aşkı için	For heaven's sake	"Allah aşkı için ne işe yarıyor bu?" says Rüştü's mother when she sees him writing a poem.	Transposition
	50) Allah büyüktür.	God is great.	The master is trying to be optimistic about Muzaffer's acceptance to the sanatorium.	Calque
	51) Allaha çok şükür.	Praise God	Muzaffer's mother says this as she sees him recovering.	Transposition

Table 6. Religious Expressions

	ORIGINAL	TRANSLATION	CONTEXT	STRATEGY
PERIOD SPECIFIC REFERENCES	52) Mükellefiyet	Compulsory Labor Act	"In the time of compulsory labor (act)" (Referring to compulsory work in the coal mines of Zonguldak)	Calque
	53) Mükellef	Labor Dodgers	"The labor dodgers are coming…" (As a group of miners passing before the people)	Calque
	54) Heybeliada	The Sanatorium	"Rüştü Bey'i Heybeliada'ya davet ediyorlar da…" Implying that Rüştü has the chance to get treatment in the sanatorium which is located in Heybeliada.	Explicitation
	55) On para	A quarter kurush	-Kaç para bu? - On para.	Addition

Table 7. Period Specific References

As seen above, transposition (23) is by far the most favored strategy. Following transposition, explicitation (11), calque (8), and omission (7) were applied by the subtitler. Substitution (4), addition (1) and loan(1) are the least favored strategies and there are no instances of lexical creation and compensation.

These amounts are able to provide a general picture in interpreting the decisions made by the subtitler. At the first glance, the overwhelming choice of transposition strategy, which is the act of replacing a CR with another CR in target culture, may hint the fact that the film is widely domesticated by bringing the culture closer to the audience. Explicitation, as the second most applied strategy, seems to be operating in around a fourth of the whole subtitling process by generalizing or specifying a CR. This strategy is also an act of serving a familiar concept to the audience. Also, it could be claimed that frequent use of other strategies such as omission and calque may indicate that subtitling practice is in favor of either deleting a CR or translating literally at the expense of losing and rendering meaningless. Little or no use of the remaining strategies such as substitution, loan, addition, lexical creation, and compensation can again be attributed to tendency for domestication or avoidance of creativeness.

5. Conclusion

Technology improves not only the production of AVT materials, but also expedites their access and circulation around the world. The international journey of these materials are possible with several modes of AVT and, in this study, subtitling was investigated in a Turkish film "Butterfly's Dream" in the framework of cultural representation. The language pair of Turkish and English is at the core of this study for its less widely examination. The general impression drawn from findings is that the film was considerably domesticated. The massive choice of domesticating strategies such as transposition, explicitation, and omission made ST more accessible to the audience. On the other hand, providing intelligibility through audience- friendly subtitles for a film which is intended to find its place in the international arena has its commercial grounds, without a doubt. In this regard, choices of the subtitler seem to accommodate with this commercial activity at the expense of losing cultural tone at times, yet multi-layered structure of the film may compensate the loss in subtitles with its visual and acoustic power.

Drawing another conclusion from the subtitler's choices is possible with underlining some inconsistencies observed. Turkish language encompasses many types of addressing and salutation as a result of cultural values. The importance of family bonds is obvious in how the titles for each relative vary and also the same is true for how elderly or socially superiors are addressed. This situation poses a translation problem if TC does not have such a tradition. The subtitler seems to have struggled with this cultural aspect, because there are inconsistencies in the use of titles as he applied three different strategies (calque, addition, transposition) for the same kind of CRs. Another inconsistency was detected in religious expressions category where some are treated with calque and some with transposition. These examples may indicate that subtitler did not have a certain pre-planned strategy for the translation practice or he was not aware of subtitling strategies. In terms of material culture references, a food reference was treated with hyponym while a drink reference was treated with loan strategy. The subtitler might have included his subjective opinion that "rakı" can be a rather familiar CR than "revani". On the other hand, a consistent use of transposition strategy is seen in greetings and common expressions category where these expressions were rendered with their cultural counterparts. This may result from the fact that similar contexts can be well shared in two different cultures. In rendering idiomatic expressions, subtitler either provides TL equivalents when applicable, or opts for substitution with a short and close reference in the TL. Only two examples of calque indicate that this category is highly domesticated to make naturally tricky meanings as clear as possible for the audience. Finally, the genre specific category of the study "period specific references" was rendered either as literal translations where the meaning could not be transferred completely, or explicitation in the form of hypernym or addition to provide a familiar concept to the audience. These attempts are inconsistent choices at times; however domesticating in general which is in line with the nature of a commercial audiovisual product.

To conclude, it is the subtitler who decides how to translate a given term or expression (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007, p.187), but an unmethodical act may result in an ad hoc basis translation and wrong and incomplete representation of SC. It can be concluded from the current study that especially for AVT materials holding representative and commercial purposes such as films nominated for international films and TV series being exported to the world, moving towards target audience may result in domestication while losing the local flavor at times. Nevertheless, an audience-friendly translation with increased familiarity provides the audience with a fun cinema experience and helps a cultural product circulate among other cultures with ease. It should be noted that his study is limited to an award winning Turkish film; however, its cultural representation through subtitling practice could stand for a starting point for the further investigation of Turkish films and TV series.

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