ASOS JOURNAL

The Journal of Academic Social Science

Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, Yıl: 10, Sayı: 125, Şubat 2022, s. 203-227

ISSN: 2148-2489 Doi Number: <http://dx.doi.org/10.29228/ASOS.56823>

Yayın Geliş Tarihi / Article Arrival Date
10.01.2022

Yayınlanma Tarihi / The Publication Date
28.02.2022

Öğr. Gör. Dr. Bülent AKAT

Çankaya Üniversitesi, Mütercim ve Tercümanlık Bölümü
bakat952@gmail.com

Öğr. Gör. Dr. Tuba KÜMBÜL (Sorumlu Yazar)

Hitit Üniversitesi, Ortak Zorunlu Dersler (İngilizce) Bölümü
tubakumbul@gmail.com

**TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-BOUND ITEMS: A STUDY ON THE
ENGLISH VERSION OF LATİFE TEKİN'S *BERCİ KRİSTİN ÇÖP
MASALLARI* IN THE LIGHT OF JAN PEDERSEN AND MONA BAKER'S
TRANSLATION STRATEGIES**

Abstract

This study attempts to analyze Saliha Paker and Ruth Christie's translation of Latife Tekin's novella *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları* (*Berji Kristin Tales from the Garbage Hills*) in the light of Jan Pedersen and Mona Baker's taxonomy of strategies for the translation of culture-bound items. The reason for selecting this particular work for study is that it abounds in proper names, colloquialisms, traditional expressions, idioms, local poems, folkloric songs, and other elements peculiar to the source language and culture. Hence, the novella lends itself well to the application of the translation strategies cited above. In this article, culture-bound items selected from the original text and their translations have been evaluated in two main categories: extralinguistic and intralinguistic items. Extralinguistic items were studied in the light of Pedersen's, while intralinguistic ones were analyzed under Baker's taxonomy. Pedersen's strategies for translating extralinguistic culture-bound items (ECRs), designed particularly for subtitle translation, have been transplanted to the rendering of ECRs in a literary work.

Basically, the applicability of Pedersen's strategies to the translation ECRs in a literary work has been evaluated and verified. An attempt has been made to find out the basic inclinations of the translators as to whether they followed a source-oriented or a target-oriented approach. In the process, special emphasis has been placed on finding out which strategies predominated over the others in the translation of the novella. It has been found that, in the translators' rendering of extralinguistic items, there is no single strategy that predominated over the others. On the other hand, in the translation of intralinguistic items, particularly idioms, the translators often employed the strategy of 'paraphrase', which can be viewed as a reflection of their inclination toward a target-oriented approach.

Keywords: Jan Pedersen, Mona Baker, Translation strategies, Extralinguistic culture-bound items, Intralinguistic culture-bound items

KÜLTÜRE BAĞLI ÖĞELERİN ÇEVİRİSİ: JAN PEDERSEN VE MONA BAKER'İN ÇEVİRİ STRATEJİLERİ IŞIĞINDA LATİFE TEKİN'İN BERCİ KRİSTİN ÇÖP MASALLARI İSİMLİ KISA ROMANININ İNGİLİZCE VERSİYONU ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

Öz

Bu çalışma, Latife Tekin'in *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları* isimli kısa romanının Saliha Paker ve Ruth Christie tarafından yapılmış olan çevirisini, Jan Pedersen ve Mona Baker'ın kültüre bağlı öğelerin çevirisine yönelik stratejileri ışığında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Makalede bu kısa romanın seçilmesinin nedeni, eserde kaynak dil ve kültüre özgü özel adlar, konuşma dilinde kullanılan sözcükler, geleneksel anlatımlar, deyimler, yöresel şiirler, türküler gibi dil içi ve dışı unsurlara geniş yer verilmiş olmasıdır. Bu nedenle, seçilen kısa roman ve çevirisinin, Pedersen ve Baker'ın çeviri stratejileri kapsamında uygulama ve değerlendirmeye oldukça uygun olduğu görülmüştür. Bu makalede, özgün metin ve çevirilerinden seçilen kültüre bağlı öğeler, dil dışı ve dil içi öğeler olmak üzere iki ana kategoride ele alınmıştır. Dil dışı öğeler Jan Pedersen'in taksonomisi ışığında, dil içi öğeler ise Baker'ın taksonomisi çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Pedersen'in özellikle altyazı çevirisi için tasarladığı, dil dışı kültüre bağlı öğelerin çevirisinde uygulanmak üzere ortaya koyduğu stratejiler, edebi bir eserde mevcut olan dil dışı öğelerin çevirisine aktarılmıştır. Pedersen'in stratejileri edebi bir eserdeki dil dışı öğelerin çevirilerine uygulanmak suretiyle değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır. Çevirmenlerin kaynak odaklı/hedef odaklı olarak tanımlanan iki temel yaklaşımdan hangisine daha fazla eğilim gösterdikleri belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, eserin çevirisinde hangi stratejilerin diğerlerinden daha baskın olduğu tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Dil dışı öğelerin çevirisinde çevirmenlerin belli bir stratejiye diğerlerinden daha fazla ağırlık vermek gibi bir eğilim içinde olmadıkları görülmüştür. Öte yandan, özellikle deyimlerin çevirisinde olmak üzere, dil içi öğeler söz konusu olduğunda çevirmenlerin genellikle hedef odaklı bir çeviri eğilimi içinde oldukları; bu kapsamda çoğunlukla 'açıklama' stratejisini kullandıkları belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Jan Pedersen, Mona Baker, Çeviri stratejileri, Dil dışı kültüre bağlı öğeler, Dil içi kültüre bağlı öğeler

INTRODUCTION

The term culture was formed by the combination of the Latin word 'cultus', which means 'care', and the French word 'colere', which means 'to till' (as in 'till the ground'). One of the earliest definitions of the term was proposed by the English anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) who defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Katan, 2003, p. 25). A more elaborate definition of the term was provided by David Katan, who described culture as

a shared mental model or map of the world. The model is a system of congruent and interrelated beliefs, values, strategies and cognitive environments which guide the shared basis of behaviour. Each aspect of culture is linked in a system to form a unifying context of culture which identifies a person and his or her culture (cited in Taylor, 1998, p. 103).

The relationship between translation and culture has been one of the central topics of discussion in translation studies. It was especially after the 1970s that culture came to be recognized as an important parameter in the translation process. Viewed as a whole, two major trends can be noted in the development of translation studies in the twentieth century: the Linguistic turn and the Cultural turn. The Linguistic turn in translation studies began in the 1950s and continued well into the mid 1970s. Translation theorists such as Roman Jakobson, Eugene Nida, John C. Catford and Peter Newmark defined and studied translation from the perspective of linguistics, with special focus on the notion of equivalence. Then, from the mid 1970s onwards, André Lefevere published a series of research papers in which he directly challenged the established conventions of Descriptive Translation Studies. Lefevere viewed translation less as a process associated with linguistic considerations or as the mechanical substitution of structures and lexical items in one language for the ones in another, than as a form of transfer in which language proved to be "an expression and repertory of the cultures involved" (Castello, 2014, p. 6). In 1990, Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere introduced the concept of "cultural turn" to translation studies. In essence, the two scholars suggested that "neither the word, nor the text, but the culture becomes the operational 'unit' of translation" (cited in Petterson, 1999). The cultural approach to translation is marked by a critical stance toward the emphasis on linguistics, particularly the notion of equivalence, accompanied with a tendency to view translation as a contextual process, a fact of history, and primarily a product of the target culture. Viewed from this perspective, translation is seen as a complex process that cannot be reduced to the use of various strategies to achieve linguistic correspondence between languages; nor is it appropriate to evaluate translation on the basis of "universal standards of quality and accuracy" (Marinetti, 2011, p. 26). With the shift in focus from language to culture, it became possible to expand the boundaries of theoretical developments in the field of translation studies, such as the concepts of "power" and "discourse", bringing with it a fresh look into the contexts and circumstances that influence translation (p. 26).

As a matter of fact, since 1990s, translation scholars have been increasingly preoccupied with the relationship between language and culture, among them Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, who considered translation to be "a communicative process which takes place within a social context" (cited in Larsen, 1993, p. 209). The two scholars emphasized the translator's role as a "mediator" between two languages and cultures; hence the need to have a clear insight into source and target cultures:

Translators mediate between cultures (including ideologies, moral systems and socio-political structures), seeking to overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way of transfer of meaning. What has value as a sign in one cultural community may be devoid of significance in another... (cited in Larsen, 1993, p. 209).

Hatim and Mason pointed out that translation is a mode of communication carried out by going beyond one's own language and culture, and then stepping into the territory of another language and culture. In the process, the translator moves back and forth between the two realms, continually facing problems that are both intrinsic and extrinsic to the language (Larsen, 1993, p. 209). Another scholar who addressed cultural issues involved in translation is Mary Snell-Hornby, who, in her seminal work *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach* (first published in 1988), made a distinction between problems that are inherent in any language, as opposed to those that are external to it. When referring to linguistic features of a given text, Snell-Hornby used the term "dimension":

Dimension refers to the linguistic orientation realized in lexical items, stylistic devices and syntactic structures, and it becomes a translation problem when multidimensionality in linguistic expression is involved.... Thus dimension focuses on internal aspects of language... (1995, p. 51)

Moreover, Snell-Hornby referred to factors that lie beyond the realm of language, for which they employed the term "perspective" – i.e., factors "[focusing] on the relationship of the text to external, social and cultural factors..." (p. 51). Writing to the same effect, David Katan called attention to the importance of achieving awareness about cultural factors in translation: "The process of translation is now being understood as an exercise, not only in understanding texts, but in understanding cultural frames" (cited in Taylor, 1998, p. 106). Another prominent translation scholar, Eirlys E. Davies defined culture "as the set of values, attitudes and behaviours shared by a group and passed on by learning" (2003, p. 68). According to Davies, the translator has the responsibility to bridge the gap between two languages and cultures, as well as to present the target audience with all that they need to know so that they will be able to "process the translation in a way similar to the way members of the source culture process the source text" (p. 68).

The author of a highly influential book in the field of translation studies, *Language to Language* (1998), Christopher Taylor held that language is closely associated with culture, as it comprises various aspects of human life as part of a community, ranging from "geographical names to institutional terms, to culture-specific terminology referring to ways of life, social organisation, local customs, material artefacts and so on". Then, he added that the cultural dimension of language should be viewed "in relation to the vast areas of language use that are of a more universal nature" (1998, p. 103-104). It was this particular aspect of the translation profession that Taylor called attention to when he suggested that translators are supposed to be "bilingual and bicultural" alike. Since competent bilinguals are regarded as part of both cultures, translators should have the ability to move across two cultures with ease. They need to have a clear insight into the potential of both cultural systems, so that they can achieve linguistic transitions from one to the other without causing distortions in meaning (p. 103).

The relationship between language and culture has been studied by many other scholars, among them Ian Higgins and Sándor Hervey, who, in their work, *Thinking French Translation: A Course in Translation Method: French to English* (2002), pointed out that translating involves a transfer of messages not only between two languages, but also from one culture to another.

Obviously, one of the fundamental features of any particular culture is its language or languages. In other words, linguistic features that characterize a given text are a part and parcel of the “culturally relevant features” (p. 31). The American linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, and the Polish-British anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski contended that anyone using their native language would communicate their messages through linguistic means that reflect their cultural upbringing, and therefore their view of the world (Taylor, 1998, p. 102). One can assume that if a literal translation works in a given context (as it so often does), the translation can be considered “culturally neutral”. However, due to cultural differences that often prove to be more complicated than linguistic ones, translators are usually confronted with situations in which the rendering of a given source-text message necessitates the employment of “less neutral” translation procedures. In other words, linguistic features of a given text cannot be divorced from the ‘culturally relevant features’ (Higgins and Hervey, 2002, p. 31).

TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-BOUND ITEMS

Over the course of history, problems that arise in the translation of specific items peculiar to source culture have been addressed from various viewpoints. Difficulties encountered in the translation of culture-bound items i.e. “customs, traditions, clothes, food, or institutions” at the “lexical or semantic” levels have usually been tackled by means of cultural classifications and possible strategies for coping with them (Davies, 2003, p. 68). There are two diametrically opposed ways of dealing with culture-bound items: (1) retaining the features of the source text as much as possible, which helps to create “an exotic or strange effect” on the target audience; (2) adapting the source text to the target culture so that the translation appears “normal, familiar and accessible” to the target reader (Davies, 2003, p. 69). These two tendencies constitute the polar ends of a spectrum, which are referred to by various terms. In order to distinguish between the two strategies, Toury (1980) made a distinction between “adequacy” and “acceptability”, Holmes (1988) used the terms “retention and re-creation”, while Venuti (1995) introduced the strategies of “foreignization and domestication” (p. 69).

Since the beginning of the Cultural Turn in translation studies, various views and strategies have been proposed for translating culture-bound items. In his seminal book *A Textbook of Translation* (1988), Peter Newmark listed five cultural categories: (1) ecology; (2) material culture; (3) social culture; (4) organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts; (5) gestures and habits (p. 95). Setting cultural terms apart from universal and personal language, he pointed out that, as opposed to universal words, cultural words are difficult to translate unless there is a cultural correspondence between the SL and the TL (p. 94). Apart from these cultural categories, Newmark introduced twelve procedures that can be employed in the translation of cultural elements: (1) transference; (2) cultural equivalent; (3) neutralisation; (4) literal translation; (5) label; (6) naturalisation; (7) componential analysis; (8) deletion; (9) couplet; (10) accepted standard translation; (11) paraphrase; (12) classifier (p. 103).

One of the earliest classifications for the strategies that can be used in the translation of culture-related items was introduced by Ian Higgins and Sándor Hervey (1992). Their categorization consists of five strategies: exoticism, calque, cultural borrowing, communicative translation, and cultural transplantation. Later, Javier Franco Aixelá (1996) proposed a highly elaborate taxonomy for rendering culture-specific items, one that consists of two main categories: conservative strategies and substitutive procedures. The former comprises repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, extratextual gloss, and intratextual

gloss; while the latter involves synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization, naturalization, deletion, and autonomous creation. Another set of strategies for rendering culture-bound references is provided by Christopher Taylor (1998), whose taxonomy involves several procedures: culture-bound items can be "transcribed, translated literally or transparently or provided with a couplet –or even a triplet" (p. 105). Alternatively, a cultural equivalent can be used in the target language. However, in some cases, the specific nature of the cultural term in the source text may be such that it could be impossible to use a cultural equivalent in the target text. If these strategies fail to yield the desired result, the translator can try employing three other strategies: "(1) paraphrase, (2) annotated explanations, or (3) deletion", provided that exclusion of the term does not cause a distortion in the basic sense it conveys (p. 105). Another scholar who proposed procedures for dealing with culture-specific items is Eirlys E. Davies (2003), whose taxonomy is composed of seven strategies; namely, preservation, addition, omission, globalization, localization, transformations, and creation.

JAN PEDERSEN AND MONA BAKER: TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-BOUND REFERENCES

Jan Pedersen is an associate professor in Translation Studies, and Director and Chairman of the Board of The Institute for Interpreting and Translation Studies at the Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism at Stockholm University. He is known particularly for his studies on subtitling and his strategies on the translation of culture-bound items. In his paper "How is Culture Rendered in Subtitles?" (2005), Pedersen's views on subtitle translation are noted by a deep insight into the interrelated nature of language and culture, the notion of language as a complicated matter, and by the conviction that, depending on one's vantage point, "everything, some things, or nothing is purely intra-linguistic" (p. 2).

Pedersen discusses culture-bound references (CBRs) in two categories: Extralinguistic Culture-bound References (ECRs) and Intralinguistic Culture-bound References (ICRs). ECRs refer to expressions related to items beyond language, such as "names of people, places, institutions, food and customs" that one may not be familiar with, even if one knows the language used for describing these items (Pedersen, 2011, p. 2-3). As "extralinguistic entities", ECRs are cultural items lying outside language; still, they are communicated through language (p. 46). The other category, ICRs refers to expressions such as "idioms, proverbs, slang and dialects", which lie outside the scope of Jan Pedersen's model. In this article, translation of extralinguistic CBRs will be discussed in the light of Jan Pedersen's taxonomy of strategies for translating extralinguistic culture-bound references, while the rendering of intralinguistic CBRs will be studied on the basis of Mona Baker's categorization of strategies for translating idioms, the latter being a systematized model for the rendering of intralinguistic culture-bound references.

The rationale behind employing Baker's taxonomy of strategies for translating idioms is based on Pedersen's contention that, while his taxonomy is mainly centered on "descriptive observations of norms" associated with sub-titling, it can be applied, with some alterations, to other fields of translation (p. 3). To quote Pedersen:

The language issue is of course a complex issue, as, depending on your standpoint, everything, some things, or nothing is purely intralinguistic. This means that the study of intralinguistic culture-bound references, such as idioms, proverbs, slang and dialects are not included in this model, even though it is possible that the model could be modified for

the study of those as well (2005, p. 2).

ABOUT *BERCİ KRİSTİN ÇÖP MASALLARI* AND THE TRANSLATORS

Latife Tekin's *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları* is a work of fiction published in 1984. It is a story written in the tradition of magical realism, a genre of fiction in which fantastic, mythical or supernatural elements are blended with objective and realistic material (Hart, 2005, p. 1). The novella is rich in elements of folk culture, particularly in culture-bound items. The story involves genies and fairies, as well as fictional and heroic figures of folk culture, such as Keloğlan, Beybörek, and giant wives. In the novella, Tekin used the language and narratives of the people living in a shantytown located in a garbage dump and its surroundings, as well as giving us a glimpse of their beliefs in the supernatural. She depicted scenes from the miserable lives of people in the slums area, using folk expressions as part of their oral culture, and identifying herself with them at the level of language. The language here belongs not to the village, but to the quarters lying in the fringes of the city. While on the one hand Tekin employed elements of local language, as well as references to superstitions, which are manifestations of oral language; on the other hand she employed a 'hybrid language', which was formed by the incorporation of values and concepts peculiar to the new culture. In addition, the rapid flow of narrative typical of tales, short sentence structure based on repetitions, reduplications, analogies, cliché expressions, tongue twisters, laments, and chansonettes are the predominant language features of the novella (Balık, 2011, p. 251- 253).

The novella was translated into English by Saliha Paker & Ruth Christie, and printed by Marion Boyars Publishers in 1993. Saliha Paker has various essays in international publications, as well as translations of modern Turkish literature such as Latife Tekin's *Sevgili Arsız Ölüm* (*Dear Shameless Death*), and *Buzdan Kılıçlar* (*Swords of Ice*). Ruth Christie translated into English several works written by Turkish authors, such as a chapter titled "Mehtaplı Gecelerde Hep Seni Andım" (I've Always Remembered You On Moonlit Nights) from Murathan Mungan's autobiographical work *Paranın Cinleri*, and *Duvarların Ötesinde: Seçme Şiirler* (*Beyond the Walls: Selected Poems*) by Nazım Hikmet.

PEDERSEN'S TAXONOMY OF STRATEGIES FOR THE TRANSLATION OF EXTRALINGUISTIC CULTURE-BOUND REFERENCES (ECRs) AND THEIR APPLICATION TO *BERCİ KRİSTİN TALES FROM THE GARBAGE HILLS*

In his discussion on the translation of ECRs in subtitles, Pedersen proposes two main categories, each consisting of three strategies: (1) Source language-oriented strategies: (a) retention, (b) specification (explicitation and addition), (c) direct translation; (2) Target language-oriented strategies: (a) generalization, (b) substitution (cultural substitution and paraphrase), (c) omission.

1. Retention

The most source-oriented of all translation strategies, retention involves directly carrying over to the target text a given word or expression in the original text. The strategy of 'retention', which corresponds to Vinay and Darbelnet's notion of borrowing, is used with reference to a situation where an ECR item in the ST is directly transferred to the TT with no change in form. Sometimes the ECR that is directly communicated to the target text is separated from the rest of the text by quotes and sometimes by italics. Also, it is possible to modify the ECR slightly to adapt it to target language conventions by changing the spelling or deleting an

article. Though widely used in translating ECRs, retention is not an ideal way for dealing with “an ECR crisis point” in that “it offers no guidance whatsoever” to the target reader. (Pedersen, 2005, p. 4).

The strategy of using an ECR as a loan word may give rise to some problems in translation. Sometimes, an ECR that has been directly transplanted from the original text might be totally unfamiliar to the target reader. On other occasions, an ECR that sounds familiar to the target reader may not have the same connotations in the target culture as it does in the source culture. In other words, there may not be an absolute equivalence between these ECRs in terms of the sense they communicate in two different cultures (Taylor, 1998, p. 48).

Below are several extralinguistic culture-bound references taken from the English version of *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları*, along with their translations that illustrate the various ways in which ‘retention’ was used as a strategy for rendering ECRs in the original work.

Table 1: Translation of ECRs: Retention / Retention with a Slight Change

Source Text	Target Text
Zurna (p. 46)	Zurna (p. 54) (Retention)
Bağlama (p. 112)	Bağlama (p. 127) (Retention)
Ramazan davulu (p. 124)	Ramazan drum (p. 139) (Retention with a slight change)
Laz (p. 100)	The Laz (p. 112) (Retention with a slight change)
Mevlit (p. 24)	Mevlut (p. 30) (Retention with a slight change)
Simitçi (p. 11)	Simit-sellers (p. 16) (Retention with a slight change)
Kızılbaş (p. 111)	The Kızılbaş sect (p. 126) (Retention with a slight change)
İmamlar (p. 132)	The imams (p. 148) (Retention with a slight change)
Hacı Müezzın (p. 133)	Hacı the Muezzin (p. 149) (Retention with a slight change)
Helva (p. 26)	Halva (p. 32) (Retention with a slight change)
Yaşmak (p. 38)	Yashmak (p. 44) (Retention with a slight change)
Atatürk (p. 136)	Ataturk (p. 152) (Retention with a slight change)

The above examples from *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları*, along with their translations, demonstrate that the strategy of retention or its variant (retention with slight change) is widely employed in the reproduction of the ECRs, particularly proper names, in the source text. This procedure is based on the strategy of retaining culture-bound references in the original text (i.e. personal names, national cuisine, historical figures, streets or local institutions), thus familiarizing the target reader with various elements of the foreign culture.

2. Specification

Specification refers to a situation in which the translator prefers not to translate the ECR at all, but adds some extra information that does not appear in the source-text. Consequently, the ECR in the target text becomes more specific than the ECR in the source text. There are two ways of employing this strategy: Explicitation and Addition (Pedersen, 2005, p. 4).

2.1. Explicitation

In general terms, explicitation can be defined as the strategy of expanding the source text or explaining a source-language item that is not explicit in the original text. In the present taxonomy, however, the use of the term explicitation is restricted to situations in which the material added to the translation is "latent in the ST ECR, as part of the expression side (the name) of the ECR" (Pedersen, 2005, p. 4-5).

Vinay and Darbelnet, the first scholars to introduce the term explicitation, defined this strategy as "a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation" (1995, p. 342). The scholars cautioned translators that the excessive use of explicitation results in "overtranslation" (p. 342). Examples of explicitation provided by Vinay and Darbelnet indicate that they all refer to situations in which the meaning of the TL item becomes more specific/informative, rather than explaining the source-language item in a way that leads to generalization. (Murtisari, 2016, p. 67). Blum-Kulka, on the other hand, described explicitation as "the process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text" (cited in Murtisari, 2016, p. 69). Writing on the same strategy, Delisle et al. maintained that the translator inserts details into the target text in order to facilitate understanding in the face of the "constraints" in the target language as well as the lexical, syntactic, stylistic and cultural differences between the two languages (Delisle et al, 1999, p. 139).

In the rendering of ECRs, the strategy of explicitation can be applied in several ways. Among them are such techniques as explaining an acronym or abbreviation, adding someone's first name, or completing an official name to clarify an ECR for the target reader who has little idea about the sense and implications of the ECR (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5).

In the following table are several extralinguistic culture-bound references extracted from the source text, along with their translations representing different ways of using the strategy of explicitation:

Table 2: Translation of ECRs: Explicitation

Source Text	Target Text
Kızılbaşların "cem" i (p.112)	The ritual assemblies of the Kızılbaş (p.126)
Hikmetli su (p. 3)	A powerful and holy water (p. 39)
Şalvar (p. 85)	Baggy trousers (p. 95)
Feneralay (p. 24)	Nightly lantern groups (p. 29)
Yazmalar (p.27)	Floral headscarves (p. 33)
Pirlik katı (p.33)	The rank of spiritual guide (p. 39)
... grev bezi asan iplik işçileri... halay çekerken türkünün gülünü yeline kaptırdılar. (p. 42)	... the linen workers who put up their strike banner and let the wind blow the rose of the song away while they danced a folk dance shoulder to shoulder . (p. 49)
Beziranlar (p. 60)	Rich merchants (p. 68)
Pirler (p. 60)	Wise old men (p. 68)

The translators employed the strategy of explicitation to elaborate on the ECRs presented above, whose sense and implications would otherwise have remained unknown to the target reader.

2.2. Addition

In this strategy, information added by the translator is already inherent in the ECR, whose meaning and connotations lead you to uncover the extra material potentially hidden within it. However, there are several drawbacks to this strategy: (1) one needs to use extra words and phrases to convey the message; (2) the strategy might be deemed somewhat “patronizing” (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5).

Table 3: Translation of ECRs: Addition

Source Text	Target Text
Hacı Müezzîn kısır kadınları okuyup üflemeğe, gönül yaralarına muskalar yazıp yakmaya başladı. (p. 133)	Hacı the Muezzin began to pray and breathe over barren women and to produce charms and amulets for broken hearts. (p. 149)

As can be seen from the above example, the translators used an extra word (charms) to clarify the ECR in question, and to reinforce the message being communicated.

3. Direct translation

This strategy refers to the use of the closest possible equivalent in the target language for a given source-language item. In Pedersen's taxonomy, direct translation is outlined as a normative strategy consisting of calque and shifted direct translation. According to Pedersen, while ‘calque’ is a standard term referring to ‘loan translation’, ‘shifted direct translation’ would be a more appropriate term than Vinay and Darbelnet’s ‘literal translation’. In contrast to the strategies of specification and generalization, direct translation conveys the sense of the ECR in the source text with no additions or omissions. The translator transfers the ECR to the target text without bothering to convey its implications. This strategy refers to the use of the closest possible equivalent in the target language for a given source-language item. In contrast to the strategies of specification and generalization, direct translation conveys the sense of the ECR in the source-text with no additions or omissions. The translator transfers the ECR to the target text without bothering to convey its implications. While rarely applied in the rendering of proper names, direct translation is widely used for the translation of the names of “companies, official institutions, technical gadgetry etc.”. In Pedersen's taxonomy, direct translation is outlined as a normative strategy consisting of calque and shifted direct translation. According to Pedersen, while ‘calque’ is a standard term referring to ‘loan translation’, ‘shifted direct translation’ would be a more appropriate term than Vinay and Darbelnet’s ‘literal translation’. Actually, It is difficult to distinguish between the two subcategories, for the outcome is the same. (Pedersen, 2011, p. 83). A calque is the result of a strict literal translation, and it may sound foreign to the target reader. (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5). The shifts that occur when calques are used are compulsory - necessitated by the divergence between source language and target language. On the other hand, shifted direct translation is a strategy relatively removed from the source language. This procedure refers to cases where the translator applies some optional shifts on the ECR in the source text. Shifted direct translation is often employed for the purpose of

making the ECR more implicit in the target text. Hence, the strategy of direct translation stands midway between the source-oriented (exoticizing) and target-oriented (domesticating) strategies (Pedersen, 2005, p. 5).

Below are several extralinguistic culture-bound references excerpted from the source text, along with their translations, exemplifying the ways in which direct translation can be used:

Table 4: Translation of ECRs: Direct Translation

Source Text	Target Text
Çiçektepe'de çiçekler açılınca, gün ışığında ilk önden, minaresi tenekeden bir cami kuruldu. Caminin minaresini kurulduğu günün gecesinde rüzgar söküüp uçurdu (p. 21).	When Flower Hill broke into blossom, the first thing to be erected by daylight was a mosque with a minaret of thin plate, but the very day the mosque went up the night wind tore it apart and blew it away. (p. 26)
Bulgur (p. 26)	Cracked wheat (p. 32)
Saklambaç (p. 27)	Hide-and-seek (p. 33)
Körebe (p. 27)	Blind man's buff (p. 33)
Lokum (p. 37)	Turkish delight (p. 44)
Tavla (p. 50)	Backgammon (p. 58)
Pullu Tülbent (p. 92)	Spangled muslin (p. 103)
Padişahlar (p. 97)	Sultans (p. 109)
Fermanlar (p. 97)	Imperial edicts (p. 109)
Dantel (p. 116)	Lace (p. 130)
Dünürçüler (p. 119)	In-laws (p. 134)
Kocası iş bulan kadın bir çalımla tüm konduları gezdi. Helva dağıtıp el öptü . (p. 26)	... a woman whose husband had found a job strutted proudly round all the huts, distributing halva and kissing hands . (p. 32)

The examples presented above demonstrate the translators' attempt to reproduce in English the ECRs in the original text without making any additions or deletions.

4. Generalization

The strategy of generalization involves substituting a more general lexical item for a specific ECR in the source text. Generalization is done in two ways: (1) employing the technique of "hyponymy* or metonymy**" after grasping the sense and connotations of the ECR in the source-text, and then replacing it with a "superordinate term***"; (2) using the technique of paraphrase, a procedure through which the ECR in the source-text is changed with a phrase that is usually longer, but somewhat "synonymic", as well as being less specific (Pedersen, 2011, p. 85).

Below are several extralinguistic culture-bound references taken from the source text, along with their translations illustrating the use of 'generalization':

*Hyponymy is a situation in which a particular word coming out from a broader class of words. For example, daisy

and rose are hyponyms of flowers.

**Metonymy is a figure of speech in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it's closely associated (such as "crown" for "royalty").

***Superordinate term: A more general term, one which includes another, for example, "child" is a superordinate term for "girl".

Table 5: Translation of ECRs: Generalization

Source Text	Target Text
İçlik (p. 13)	Underwear (p. 17)
Duvak (p. 24)	Veil (p. 30)
Madımak (p. 26)	Herbs (p. 32)
Türkü (p. 42)	Song (p. 49)
Mintan (p. 44)	Shirt (p. 51)
Mani (p. 50)	Song (p. 58)
Mescit (p. 88)	Mosque (p. 99)
Semah (p. 111)	Dancing (p. 126)
Kemençe (p. 112)	Fiddle (p. 127)
Kondu (p. 11)	Shelter (p. 15)
Ermış (p. 100)	A holy man (p. 112)

In each of the translations above, a source-language item with a specific meaning has been rendered into the target language by using an item with a more general meaning. Alternatively, in the rendering of the ECRs, one could employ the strategy of retention, accompanied with a footnote explaining the ECRs (e.g. mescit, madımak, semah, etc.).

5. Substitution

In this strategy, the translator omits the ECR in the source text and then replaces it with another ECR that sounds familiar to the target reader, or uses some kind of paraphrase in which there is no ECR (Pedersen, 2005, p. 6).

5.1 Cultural substitution

A more remarkable variant of substitution is cultural substitution, in which an ECR in the source culture is replaced by an ECR in the target culture. In Venutian terms, this is the most "domesticating" of all strategies used for translating ECRs because it deletes a foreign item altogether and uses a domestic one instead. Defined in Schleiermacher's terms, cultural substitution refers to the strategy of "leaving the reader in peace as much as possible, and moving the author towards him (domestication)" (cited in Pedersen, 2011, p. 92). Cultural substitution is often employed for the purpose of translating the ECRs related to "official institutions or titles" (Pedersen, 2005, p. 7).

Below are several extralinguistic culture-bound references taken from the source text, along with their translations, which illustrate the use of 'cultural substitution':

Table 6: Translation of ECRs: The Cultural Substitution

Source Text	Target Text
Kondu (p. 11)	Hut (p. 15)
Tablacı (p. 11)	Pedlar (p. 16)
Entari (p. 15)	Bodice (p. 20)
Yatır (p. 21)	Saint (p. 27)
Devkarılar (p. 60)	Giantesses (p. 68)
Maaşallah (p. 92)	May God preserve him (p. 103)
Ocak (p. 112)	Fraternity (p. 126)
Cümbüş (p. 112)	Banjo (127)

As a target-oriented strategy, translation by cultural substitution involves replacing a culture-related expression with an ECR in the target language for the purpose of adapting the former to the target culture. Evidently, behind the use of this strategy is the desire to produce a translation that sounds more natural, familiar, and comprehensible to the target reader.

5.2 Paraphrase

The strategy of paraphrase refers to communicating the sense of the original text by using words or phrases that are different from those in an otherwise literal translation. In essence, this strategy involves rewriting the ECR. Often, this is done in two ways: (1) one can focus on the sense being communicated by the original ECR; (2) one can totally delete the sentence that includes the ECR, and then replace it with a paraphrase suitable for the situation (Pedersen, 2005, p. 8).

Below are several ECRs taken from the source text, coupled with their translations, which illustrate the use of 'paraphrase':

Table 7: Translation of ECRs: Paraphrase

Source Text	Target Text
İslamın 5 şartı (p. 21)	Five Pillars of Islam (p. 26)
Teravih namazları (p. 112)	The evening prayers (p. 126)
Ellerini burnuna kapayıp ağzıyla yanık yanık zurna sesleri çıkardı. Konduların sorunlarını uzun havaya çevirip çeke çeke söylemeye başladı. (p. 46)	Cupping his hands round his nose he began to imitate the melancholy notes of a zurna mourning the hut people's troubles. (p. 54)
Erkekler günlerce işsiz dolandılar. Öyle uzun zaman dolandılar ki iş bulana topluca gözün aydına gitmek adet haline geldi. (p. 26)	The men went without work for days, for so long that they got into the habit of getting together to congratulate anyone who had found work... (p. 32)

In the translations of the ECRs above, the translators replaced the original texts with paraphrases, reformulating the meanings of the ECRs in the source text in a different way.

5.2.1 Paraphrase with sense transfer

In this strategy, the translator omits the ECR in the source text, yet tries to ensure that its meaning and suggestions are retained through the use of paraphrase. This strategy is often employed in cases where the procedures of generalization or specification fail to yield the desired result in dealing with complicated ECRs (p. 8).

5.2.2 Situational paraphrase

This strategy involves omitting the sense of the source-text ECR altogether, and then substituting for it an expression appropriate for the context, irrespective of the meaning of the ECR within the source culture. Situational paraphrase bears the traces of omission and is often employed for the translation of the ECRs that appear in puns (p. 9).

(For practical purposes, here no distinction will be made between situational paraphrase and paraphrase with sense transfer)

6. Omission

In general terms, omission involves dropping a word or a set of words from the source language in the process of translation. In Pedersen's model, this strategy refers to using nothing instead of the ECR in the source text. As Gideon Toury suggested, omission is a “valid” translation strategy that can be applied in certain situations with some justification. In certain cases, omission can be the only feasible choice in translation, but sometimes this strategy is employed simply because the translator feels reluctant to search for a corresponding item in the target language (Pedersen, 2005, p. 9). Or, in the words of Ritva Leppihalme, “a translator may choose omission responsibly, after rejecting all alternative strategies, or irresponsibly, to save him/herself the trouble of looking up something s/he does not know” (cited in Pedersen, 2005, p. 9).

Below are several ECRs taken from the source text, together with their translations, which demonstrate the different ways in which the strategy of ‘omission’ can be used:

Table 8: Translation of ECRs: Omission

Source Text	Target Text
Zilli kocaman bir tefle (p.92)	A huge tambourine (p.104)
Dede Müritleri (p.112)	The disciples (p.126) (Generalization by omission)
İhtiyar heyeti (p.92)	The elders (P. 104) (Generalization by omission)

Omission refers to a situation in which a culture-bound item is omitted altogether or only part of an ECR is deleted. In the first example, the ECR "zilli kocaman bir tefle" has been rendered as “a huge tambourine” (p. 104). Notably, the word ‘zilli’ has been deleted in translation. Here, the strategy of omission may have been used simply because, for the word ‘zilli’ in the source text, there is no corresponding expression in the target language. In the translation of the second ECR in the table, the translators have employed a different strategy - generalization by omission, i.e., deleting the word ‘Dede’ from the ECR and conveying the meaning through a more general expression - ‘the disciples’ - in the target text. Similarly, in the rendering of the third ECR, the translators used the strategy of generalization by omission, removing the word ‘heyet’ from the ECR in the source text, and thus turning the original item

into a general expression. Here, as an alternative method, the source-text item 'ihtiyar heyeti' could have been rendered literally as 'the council of elders' in order to clarify the meaning of the ECR.

In addition to the strategies cited above, there is another procedure called 'official equivalent', which stands apart from the other strategies in that it involves, in the words of Pedersen, "a bureaucratic rather than linguistic" process. Official Equivalent is at work when there is an established standard for translating an (ECR) and no requirement associated with translation can justify rendering it in another way. In cases where, for an ECR in the original text, there is an official equivalent readily available in the target language, one is not likely to experience "a translation crisis point, as there is a pre-fabricated solution to the problem" (Pedersen, 2005, p. 3). A typical example of this are the standard renderings of 'Gross National Product (GNP)' and 'Ministry of Education' into Turkish as 'Gayrisafi Milli Hasıla' and 'Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı' respectively. On the other hand, the literal translations of the original ECRs- 'Büyük Milli Ürün' and 'Eğitim Bakanlığı' - would not be appropriate.

TRANSLATION OF INTRALINGUISTIC CULTURE-BOUND ITEMS

In the process of translation, culture-bound problems, particularly lexical items that are hard to make sense of, may pose a special difficulty (Taylor, 1998, p. 105). Culture-bound problems associated with the intralinguistic aspect of language are not fewer than those related to the extralinguistic sphere of language. In written expression; syntactic structures, lexical items, metaphors, idioms, and the use of rhetoric may prove to be highly problematic in translation. Figures of speech such as dialect, sarcasm, irony etc. may be rather hard to translate. Strategies that can be employed to address issues associated with intralinguistic culture-bound problems are different in nature from those used to deal with extralinguistic ones. As Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen put it, "There are also certain differences regarding strategies and possibilities that would present difficulties in a joint description" (1993, p. 210). To overcome this problem, the strategies specified in Pedersen's model can be "modified" – as he himself pointed out - in order to address intralinguistic culture-bound problems (idioms in particular). In this study, for practical purposes, discussions on the translation of intralinguistic culture-bound items will focus exclusively on the translation of idioms, whose analysis is likely to yield more tangible results.

MONA BAKER'S THEORY OF EQUIVALENCE FOR COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS AND IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Mona Baker is a professor of translation studies and Director of the Centre for Translation and Intercultural Studies at the University of Manchester in England. She is renowned for her work on translation equivalence and her taxonomy of translation strategies. In her book *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation* (1992), Mona Baker suggested eight translation strategies at word level, one of them being 'cultural substitution', a procedure that can be defined as "replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target-language item that does not have the same propositional meaning but is likely to have a similar impact on the target reader" (2018, p. 31). This strategy allows the target reader to find "a concept with which s/he can identify, something familiar and appealing" (p. 31).

The concept of equivalence is a fundamental issue in the translation theory. The idea behind achieving equivalence in translation is to produce an effect on the target reader similar to

the one created by the writer of the original text on the source-text reader. The choice of a suitable equivalent in a given context depends on a wide variety of factors, some of them being purely linguistic, others extralinguistic:

(i) the linguistic system or systems being used, as well as the way the source-text writer and the translator use the linguistic systems at work; (ii) the expectations, background knowledge and biases of readers within a specific culture; (iii) the translator's own conception of his/her task, including his/her decisions about what is suitable in a given context; (iv) several constraints such as censorship by official authorities and various kinds of demands imposed by people other than the translator, author and reader (Baker, 2018, p. 16).

In her seminal work, *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation* (first published in 1992), Mona Baker proposed her theory of equivalence, elaborating particularly on 'equivalence at word level' and 'equivalence above word level'. According to Baker, a major difficulty involved in the process of translating has to do with lack of equivalence at word level. A given word in the source language may suggest a notion that is completely unfamiliar to the target reader. This particular concept may be abstract or concrete, and is often termed 'culture-bound', in the sense that it is usually associated with a religious belief, a social tradition, a kind of food, etc. (2018, p. 19). Like culture-bound words, "collocational patterns" (idioms and fixed expressions), due to their "arbitrary nature", can pose serious problems for the translator (p. 66). Collocations are groups of words that are usually used together. While some collocations give us an idea about the cultural context in which they occur (p. 66), often it is difficult to figure out what they mean simply because they do not lend themselves to literal translation.

A major lexical pattern above word level, an idiom is an expression whose meaning is different from the sense conveyed by its individual parts. In the words of Baker, idioms are "frozen patterns of language which allow little or no variation in form and often carry meanings which cannot be deduced from their individual components" (p. 69). To cite a few examples, 'to bury the hatchet' means 'to become friendly again after a disagreement or quarrel'; 'to have one's feet on the ground' suggests 'being sensible and practical' (p. 69).

In their influential book, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (1982), Nida and Taber defined an idiom as "a phrase structure, the meaning of which is not simply the sum of the meanings of the parts" (p. 45). The two scholars pointed out that idioms often entail semantic adjustment, for they do not lend themselves so well to literal translation. As a matter of fact, it is a rare occasion when one can match an idiom in the source language by an idiom in the target language. Nida and Taber introduced the concept of "adjustments" as a special strategy that can be employed when it is impossible to achieve equivalence through a literal translation. The scholars mentioned three types of adjustment: addition, subtraction and alteration. They argued that in the process of translating idioms a certain amount of 'loss' inevitably occurs in semantic content. Still, the process can be planned in such a way that losses are kept to a minimum through a number of adjustments: (a) from idioms to nonidioms (e.g. 'Dilimde tüy bitti' – 'I am tired of saying it'); (b) from idioms to idioms (e.g. 'Yüreğim ağzıma geldi' – 'My heart jumped into my mouth' and (c) from nonidioms to idioms (e.g. 'Tarafsız kalmayı tercih ettim' – 'I preferred to sit on the fence').

In his book *About Translation*, Peter Newmark defined an idiom as "a current and frequently used group of collocated words whose meaning is not clear from the common meanings of its constituent words". Newmark further pointed out that the literal translation of an

idiom makes almost no sense to the reader (1991, p. 58). According to him, in such cases, one must search for an expression in the target language that best communicates the overall meaning of the source-text idiom, rather than replacing individual words in the idiomatic expression with their literal equivalents in the target language (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, & Cormier, 1999, p. 144). Another scholar whose views shed light on the translation of idioms is Antoine Berman, who took a firm stand against the substitution of an idiom for an equivalent in the target language, and regarded this tendency as a reflection of 'ethnocentrism'. Also, Berman pointed out that "to play with 'equivalence' is to attack the discourse of the foreign work" (cited in Munday, 2008, p. 148).

TRANSLATION OF INTRALINGUISTIC CULTURE-BOUND REFERENCES: IDIOMS

Idiomatic expressions are an integral part of language and culture, which are inseparably linked with each other. These expressions give us a clear insight into social norms, customs, beliefs, as well as into people's thoughts and feelings. Idioms are phrases or syntactic structures that cannot be rendered through a literal translation, for their meanings and connotations are quite different from the sense conveyed by the words that constitute them (Baldick, 2001, p. 121).

MONA BAKER'S TAXONOMY OF STRATEGIES FOR TRANSLATING IDIOMS

In her book *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*, Mona Baker proposed her own taxonomy of strategies for translating idioms as employed by professional translators. In the same book, Baker also addressed the problem of non-equivalence, as well as the difficulties involved in translating certain kinds of semantic, lexical and syntactic items, among them culture-specific concepts (2018, p. 21). With regard to the translation of collocations with cultural associations, Baker argued that, in this process, the use of extra information is not only unavoidable, but also desirable, for, without it, the target reader would not be able to make sense of the meaning and implications of the collocation in the source text (p. 59-60).

In the rendering of idioms, the major difficulty lies in identifying them; but in most cases it is not so easy to do so. There are several kinds of idioms, some of which are easier to recognize than others. The ones that are easily identifiable are those phrases in English which suggest a clear distortion of reality; for example, 'It's raining cats and dogs'; 'throw caution to the wind'; 'storm in a tea cup'; 'jump down someone's throat'; 'food for thought'. Some idioms contain phrases that do not conform to the grammatical rules of the language. To cite a few examples, 'trip the light fantastic'; 'blow someone to kingdom come'; 'put paid to'; 'the powers that be'; 'by and large'; 'the world and his friend' (p. 71). There are mainly two situations in which an idiomatic expression can be misunderstood if one has never seen the idiom before. Certain idioms tend to mislead the reader partly because they make a good sense when literally translated, and partly because it is not so easy for the reader to grasp their idiomatic connotations in the context where they are used. A good many idioms in English, as in many other languages, can be interpreted both at literal and idiomatic level. For instance, 'going out with someone' may mean 'having a romantic or sexual relationship with someone'. Likewise, 'taking someone for a ride' may be used in the sense of 'cheating someone in some way'. A translator who fails to recognize an idiomatic expression may translate it literally, thus "missing the play on idiom" and the intended meaning along with it. (p. 72). The second case has to do with a translation error in which an idiom in the source language is matched by an idiom that

seems quite similar in appearance, yet has a slightly or completely different meaning (p. 72).

Mona Baker's work on the translation of idioms throws considerable light on rendering intralinguistic culture-bound references. According to Baker, the major problems that arise in the rendering of idioms are: (1) difficulties involved in identifying and interpreting an idiom accurately; (2) problems translators might be confronted with in transferring to the target language different meanings and connotations of a source-text idiom (2018, p. 71).

Translation of idioms might pose a number of problems:

(a) For a given idiom in the source text, there may be no corresponding idiom in the target language; or a message conveyed by one single word in a language can be communicated by an idiom in another (p. 73).

What makes an idiomatic expression “untranslatable” or hard to render are not the specific lexical items the idiom contains, but the sense that particular expression communicates and its “association with culture-specific contexts”. A case in point is the English idiom to ‘carry coals to Newcastle’, a culture-bound intralinguistic item that literally refers to Newcastle coal, while metaphorically suggesting a sense of unnecessary abundance – taking something to a place where it is not needed because a large amount of it is already there (p. 74).

(b) An idiom in the source language can be matched by an idiom in the target language, but the situations in which these idioms are used could be different; also, the two idioms may evoke different connotations. Though these idiomatic expressions sound similar in terms of the sense they communicate, the contexts in which they are used might be different (p. 74.)

(c) Sometimes, a source-text idiom might be used in such a way that it can be interpreted both in literal and idiomatic sense. If the idiom in the target language does not match the idiom in the source language in terms of form and content, it will be impossible to effectively recreate “the play on idiom” in the target text (p. 74-75).

(d) The way idioms are used in written forms of expression, the situations in which they are employed, and the frequency with which they are used might be different in the source and target languages (p. 76).

STRATEGIES FOR TRANSLATING IDIOMS

Mona Baker lists six strategies for translating idioms: (1) Using an idiom of similar meaning and form; (2) Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form; (3) Borrowing the source language idiom; (4) Translation by paraphrase; (5) Translation by omission of a play on idiom; (6) Translation by omission of entire idiom.

1. Using an idiom of similar meaning and form

This strategy involves replacing the original idiom by an idiom that has a similar meaning and form. Some idioms in Turkish can easily be matched by idioms in English. For example, the Turkish idiom ‘bir taşla iki kuş vurmak’ is translated into English as ‘killing two birds with one stone’. Though the use of this strategy sounds like an optimum solution, it is a rare occasion when the translator can establish one-to-one correspondence at idiomatic level. According to Baker, the strategy of using an idiom of similar meaning and form may fail to yield “the ideal solution” in all cases (p. 77). She believes that insistence on matching an idiom by an idiom may result in some losses or distortions in meaning. This view is supported by

Chitra Fernando and Roger Flavell, who suggest that “strong unconscious urge in most translators to search hard for an idiom in the receptor language, however inappropriate it may be” (cited in Baker, 2018, p. 77).

The examples below clearly illustrate the strategy of finding out idioms with similar meaning and form when rendering idioms in the source language.

Source Text	Target Text
... duvağı alıp üç gün koynunda saklayanın başına talih kuşu konacağı öne sürdüler. (p. 24)	... they maintained that the Bird of Luck would perch on the head of anyone who took the veil and hid it in their bosom for three days. (p. 30)
Cigerci üç gece soluklanmadan anlattığı Beybörök'in maceralarından sonra konducuların yüreklerinde kendine taht kurup yer etti . (p. 61)	After a breathtaking account lasting three nights, all about Beybörök's adventures, Liverman was firmly enthroned in the hearts of the hut people. (p. 69)
Cigercilerin konusu sessizliğe gömüldü . (66)	Liverman's hut was buried in silence ... (74)
Çöp Ağası'na ateş püskürür , çöp tepeleri istenmez olurdu. (p. 95)	... the squatters who would then breathe fire and flame at Garbage Owner and disown the garbage mounds. (p. 106).
Yarın Allah'ın hesap soracağına , el kadar bebeklerin yüzlerine işeyeceğine dair bir nutuk çekti. (p. 123)	He lectured them and declared that God would soon call them to account and that even tiny babies would pee on them. (p. 138)
... Çiçektepe Sanayi'nin renkli bulutları kıskançlıktan çatladı . (p. 134)	... the multi-coloured clouds of the Flower Hill Industries burst open from envy . (p. 149)

From the excerpts above, it is clear that Paker and Christie tried to match the source-text idioms with idioms that have a similar form and meaning in the target language. The translators aimed to achieve one-to-one correspondence between the SL idiom and TL idiom in terms of structure and the sense being communicated. In each example, the TL idiom represents a faithful way of translating the original.

2. Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form

This strategy involves the use of an idiom or fixed expression with a meaning similar to the one suggested by the idiom in the source language. Yet, in this case, the idiom or fixed expression in the target language involves different “structural” and “lexical” features (Baker, 2018, p. 79). It is possible to achieve one-to-one correspondence at semantic level between certain idioms in Turkish and those in English. For instance, idiomatic expressions such as ‘bir çuval inciri berbat etmek’, ‘uyuyan yılanı uyandırmak’, and ‘iğne atsan yere düşmez’ can be translated into English as ‘to upset the apple cart’, ‘to let sleeping dogs lie’, and ‘bursting at the seams’, respectively. These examples clearly illustrate that in each of them equivalence is achieved through the use of lexical items that are quite different from the ones that would be used in the case of a literal translation.

Source Text	Target Text
Bu tepecikler mahalleler ve kondular arasında kavga kıyamet paylaşıldı . (p. 25)	... all hell broke loose over the division of these mounds among the neighbourhoods and the hut people. (p. 30)
Çöp Bakkal'ın öfkeden kanı tepesine çıktı . (p. 55)	The Grocer's blood boiled with rage ... (p. 64).
Bürokrasi üstüne söyledikleri ve elindeki mor kâğıtlara çizili yerleşim planlarıyla Çiçektepe'yi ayağa kaldırdı . (p. 64)	He took Flower Hill by storm with his speech on bureaucracy and the settlement plans drawn up on purple paper. (p. 73)
Kızılbaşların kara üzümle oruç tuttuğuna inanmayanlar davulcunun aklına uydu . (p. 112)	... the rest who had no such conviction about the Kızılbaş went the drummer's way ... (p. 127)
Ramazan davulundan on beş kahve ve kumar sevinci çıkaran Çiçektepe Lado'nun kaçtığı gecenin sabahında mezarlıkta yapılan bir operasyondan sonra yine marifet saçtı. "Anarşist" diye bir lafın anlamını kovalarken, konduları soyup soğana çeviren bir çeteye kavuştu. (p. 124)	The morning after Lado ran away, there was a raid in the graveyard. Flower Hill, which had enjoyed its gambling joints and its fifteen coffeehouses as a result of the row over the Ramazan drum, once again displayed its ingenuity, managing to acquire a gang of marauders who stripped the huts of all their possessions , while the people were in hot pursuit of the meaning of 'anarchist'. (p. 139)
Konduların bağırıp çağırmasının heyecanına kapılıp kendinden geçti . (p. 137)	Elated by the squatters' excited shouts and yells, he lost his head ... (p. 152)

In each of the examples above, it is evident that Paker and Christie tried to reproduce the sense inherent in the SL idiom by matching it with a TL idiom that consists of different lexical items. The translators aimed to achieve semantic equivalence between the SL and TL idioms though there is little or no correspondence between these idioms in terms of form.

3. Borrowing the source language idiom

Borrowing (employing loan words) is a strategy widely-used in handling culture-bound items, among them idioms, which can occasionally be transferred to the target text in their original forms (Baker, 2018, p. 80). This strategy is employed in situations where (1) the idiom has no (generally accepted) equivalent in the target language; (2) it is possible to translate the idiom, but the original idiom sounds "better" (more specific, fashionable, exotic); (3) the idiom preserves the effect of the source language.

Borrowing corresponds to Pedersen's strategy of retention, which involves transferring ECRs to the target text as they are. In rendering ECRs, Paker and Christie sometimes applied the strategy of retention (borrowing), carrying some of the ECRs over to the target text in their original forms. However, when dealing with intralinguistic culture-bound references-particularly, idioms in the source text- the translators did not opt for using the strategy of borrowing. In the target text, there is not one single idiom that has been borrowed from the source text.

4. Translation by paraphrase

This strategy is applied in situations where correspondence at idiomatic level cannot be achieved between the source language and the receptor language; or when it would be

problematic to employ idiomatic language due to “stylistic” differences between the two languages (p. 81). For example, for the English idiom ‘Scratch my back, I scratch yours’, there is no corresponding idiom in Turkish. Here, one can resort to the strategy of paraphrase, rendering this idiom as ‘Sen bana yardım et, ben de sana edeyim’. To cite another example: the idiomatic expression ‘elephant in the room’ could be translated into Turkish, without retaining the idiomaticity of the original phrase, as ‘kimsenin konuşmak istemediği ciddi bir sorun’, because, for this particular idiom, it is almost impossible to achieve one-to-one correspondence at idiomatic level in the target language.

The Turkish versions of the idioms in the original text reveal that Paker and Christie often applied the strategy of paraphrasing the source-text idioms due to the non-existence of corresponding idioms in the target language.

Source Text	Target Text
Kulaktan kulağa , Allah’ın onun gözlerini kör ettiğine pişman olduğu, sonradan ona gözlerini isteyip istemediğini sorduğu, Güllü Baba’nın da gözlerinin yerine kuvvetli bir zihin dilediği söylentileri yayıldı. (p. 39)	Rumours were rife that God regretted making him blind, that He had asked him whether or not he wanted eyes, and that Güllü Baba had asked for a powerful mind instead of eyes. (p. 39)
Kulaklarından telleri çekip aldı. İşçilerin, sendikacıların konuşmalarını dinleye dinleye fabrikaların sır perdesini araladı. (p. 47)	He removed the wires from his ears, and by listening to the talk of the workers and union members he discovered the factories’ secrets. (p. 54)
Güllü Baba’nın Çiçektepe’nin geleceği üstüne çeşitli tahminleri vardı. Bunlar öyle tahminlerdi ki kimse öne sürdüklerine akıl sır erdiremiyordu. (p. 34)	Güllü Baba made various predictions about the future of Flower Hill. They were so mysterious that nobody could understand them. (p. 40)
Kara Hasan baygınlık geçiren işçilere her ay havlu dağıtıldığını, sabun ve şeker verildiğini söyleyerek yüreklerine su serpti. (p. 47)	... Kara Hasan consoled them saying that towels, soap and sugar were distributed every month to the workers... (p. 55)
Gözbebeklerinde, kulaklarında açılan yaralar yüzünden gözü önünü görmez, ağızından çıkanları kulakları duymaz oldu. (p. 52)	The sores in her eyes and ears were so bad she didn’t know what she was saying or doing. (p. 61)
Allah’ın onca meleği varken insanlardan ibadet istemesine de aklını yatıramadığını söyledi. (p. 63)	He also declared he couldn’t work out why God wanted men to pray to Him when He had so many angels. (p. 71)
Çöp Bakkal tenhalarda Çöp Ağası’yla ağız ağıza verdi. (p. 64)	... Garbage Grocer held conversations in quiet corners with Garbage Owner. (p. 72)
Padişah tarafından şehir dışına kovalanan Romanikaların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na karşı bayrak açtıklarını... (p. 98)	He told them how the Romanies had been chased from the city by the sultan, had rebelled against the Ottoman Empire... (p. 111)
Çiçektepelili kadınların açılıp saçılması, teneke minareli camilerden birinde müezzinlik yapan Hacı Hasan’ın burnunun iman direğini sızlattı. (p. 132).	Hacı Hasan, the muezzin in one of the mosques of the tin minarets, was shocked by the Flower Hill women’s immodest dress... (p. 147)
... Çiçektepelili kadınların kulağına erkek işçilerin yerine kadın işçiler alınacağı çalındı. (p. 139)	... the Flower Hill women heard they would be taken on instead of the men. (p. 154)

When rendering the idioms above, Paker and Christie employed the strategy of

'paraphrasing', communicating the meaning of the source-text idiom through a non-idiomatic translation. Given the fact that there are no idioms in English to match those in Turkish, the translators' reliance on the strategy of paraphrase seems to have been less a matter of choice than a procedure employed out of necessity.

5. Translation by omission of a play on idiom

The strategy of omitting puns describes a case in which the translator conveys only the literal sense of an idiom. This results in a situation where the playfulness of the source-text idiom is not transferred to the target text (Baker, 2018, p. 85). A pun (wordplay) is "a figure of speech that plays with words that have multiple meanings, or that plays with words that sound similar but mean different things" (Florman, 2017). If an idiom of this kind is translated literally, the element of pun will be removed from the idiomatic expression. In her discussion on the subject, Baker calls attention to a major difficulty in dealing with puns in translation.

Baker cites an example to show how hard it is to reproduce in translation the double meaning inherent in a pun. On a promotional paper distributed to visitors at the Wedgwood factory and exhibition, where luxury fine china, porcelain, and accessories manufactured by the famous British firm were being displayed, there was a short note: 'Centuries of craftsmanship on a plate', with the suggestion that anything being handed on a plate is made easy to acquire. In the English version, the pun on the idiomatic meaning of the expression and the concrete meaning of plate are particularly remarkable simply because Wedgwood is famous for producing crockery. However, this play on idiom is very difficult to express in other languages (p. 87).

Granted the difficulties involved in translating puns, there are cases in which it is possible to reproduce, to a certain extent, the effect of the pun in the original text by using an idiom in the target language with some kind of sound effect. Below are two examples that illustrate how this can be done:

Example I: I passed the course **by hook or by crook**. If the idiom in the statement is translated into Turkish as 'allem edip kallem edip', the pun (word-play) will be retained in the idiom. However, if the original idiom were literally translated as 'elimden ne geliyorsa yapıp', it would be impossible to create an effect similar to that of the pun in the original text.

Example II: John loves to **wheel and deal** in the money markets. If the idiom 'wheel and deal' is translated into Turkish as 'alavere dalavere çevirmek', the pun (word-play) will be reproduced in the target language. If the idiom were literally rendered as 'sahtekârlık yapmak', the pun effect would be lost.

As there are no idioms with puns in *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları*, no examples of this strategy are available in the English version.

6. Translation by omission of entire idiom

There are times when a source-text idiom is deleted altogether because "it has no close match in the target language, its meaning cannot be easily paraphrased, or for stylistic reasons" (p. 86).

In the extract below, the idiom 'iş sıkı tutmak' has been omitted in translation. One might infer that Paker and Christie must have considered it unnecessary to render the expression 'iş sıkı tutmak' because they probably thought it would not have contributed much

to the overall message being conveyed by the statement. The translators must have felt convinced that the syntactic and lexical items they used in translation would be enough to communicate the message.

Source Text	Target Text
... Çöp Muhtar işi sıkı tuttu. Kendisinin de okulun yapımında bizzat çalışacağına, Çiçektepe'nin resmini gazeteye çıkaracağına yemin etti. (p. 91)	... Garbage Chief kept his promise to take part personally in building the school and to bring out a photograph of Flower Hill in the newspaper. (p. 102)

Another strategy that can be employed in translating idiomatic expressions is 'compensation'. This refers to a translation procedure in which an idiomatic expression is omitted or made to seem less important in the target text than it is in the source text, and then re-introduced in another place in the target text (p. 87)

Source Text	Target Text
(Hınk Alhas) çingeneler hakkında etraflı ve doğru bilgi edinmek için kulak kabartan insanları padişahlardan, fermanlardan, sokakları tahta döşeli şehirlerden ve altın kapı tokmaklarından haberdar etti. (p. 97)	The squatters wanted detailed and accurate information on the gypsies, but he (Hınk Alhas) filled their ears with accounts of sultans, imperial edicts, cities with streets inlaid with wood, and golden doorknockers. (p. 109).

In the above extract, the translators literally rendered the excerpt '... etraflı ve doğru bilgi edinmek için kulak kabartan...' as '... (who) wanted detailed and accurate information on the gypsies', replacing the idiom in the original text with a non-idiomatic expression that conveys almost the same sense. However, when rendering the statement (that follows the previous excerpt) '... insanları padişahlardan, fermanlardan, sokakları tahta döşeli şehirlerden ve altın kapı tokmaklarından haberdar etti', the translators opted for an idiomatic translation, rendering it as '... he (Hınk Alhas) filled their ears with accounts of sultans, imperial edicts, cities with streets inlaid with wood, and golden doorknockers'. On the other hand, for the expression "kulak kabartmak", the translators applied the strategy of compensation, choosing the idiom 'filled their ears with accounts of', rather than such verbs as 'informed them' or 'let them know' as literal equivalents of 'haberdar etmek'.

CONCLUSION

In this study, Jan Pedersen's strategies for translating Extralinguistic Culture-bound References (ECRs), originally formulated for subtitle translation, has been applied to the rendering of ECRs in a work of fiction -the English version of Latife Tekin's *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları*. The justification for using Pedersen's strategies for the translation of ECRs is that culture-bound items are an integral part of language, whether they appear in subtitles or literary works. In view of Pedersen's suggestion that, with some modifications, his taxonomy of strategies for the translation of ECRs can be extended to include the rendering of ICRs, an attempt has been made to incorporate into this study Mona Baker's strategies for translating idioms. Accordingly, a synthesis has been established between Pedersen's taxonomy for translating ECRs and Baker's classification of strategies for rendering idioms as a model for translating Intralinguistic Culture-bound References (ICRs). Idioms have been particularly singled out from among other ICRs such as words, phrases, collocations, proverbs, slang,

dialects etc. mainly because, as linguistic items loaded with cultural overtones, they pose special difficulties in translation.

Starting from the assumption that Pedersen's strategies for the translation of ECRs in subtitles can be applied to a work of fiction for the purpose of evaluating the translation of ECRs, an analysis of the English version of the novella has been made. The strategies employed by Saliha Paker and Ruth Christie in dealing with ECRs and ICRs have been analyzed. It has been found that, when rendering ECRs, the translators often followed a source-oriented approach by using the strategies of retention, specification (explication and addition), and direct translation, whichever was appropriate in that particular context. In the translation of ICRs (idiomatic expressions), on the other hand, the translators mostly relied on the strategy of paraphrase, probably because of the difficulties involved in –and even the impossibility of– finding out corresponding idioms in the target language. When dealing with idioms, the translators shifted from a source-oriented translation to a target-oriented approach that aimed at deverbaling the idiomatic expression in question with a view to conveying the sense and feelings behind it.

REFERENCES

- Baker, M. (2018). *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*. (Third Edition). Routledge: London and New York.
- Baldick, C. (2001). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford University Press.
- Balık, M. (2011). *Latife Tekin'in romancılığı*. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Castello, D. (2014). *Descriptive translation studies and the cultural turn*. University of Birmingham. (Master thesis).
- Davies, E. E. (2003). A goblin or a dirty nose?, *The Translator*, 9:1, pp: 65-100. DOI: 10.1080/13556509.2003.10799146
- Delisle J., Hannelore, L. J., and Monique, C.C. (1999). *Translation Terminology*. Herausgeber (ed.). John Benjamin Publishing.
- Florman, B. (2017). "Pun." LitCharts LLC. Retrieved August 11, 2021. <https://www.litcharts.com/literary-devices-and-terms/pun>.
- Hart, S. M. (2005). Magical realism: Style and substance. In S. M. Hart & W. Ouyang (eds.), *A Companion to Magical Realism*. Woodbridge, UK: Tamesis. p. 1-13.
- Higgins, I. and Hervey, S. (2002). *Thinking French translation: A course in Translation Method: French to English*. Routledge: London and New York.
- Katan, D. (2003) *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators*. Routledge: London & New York.
- Larsen, B. N. (1993): Culture-bound problems in subtitling. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 1:2, pp. 207-240
- Marinetti, C. (2011). Cultural approaches. In Y. Gambier & L. van Doorslaer (eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 2*. John Benjamins Publishing. pp. 26-30
- Munday, J. (2008). *Introducing Translation Studies Theories and Applications*. 2nd ed. New

York: Taylor & Francis.

Murtisari, E. T. (2016). Explication in translation studies: The journey of an elusive concept. *The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research*. Vol 8 No 2.

Newmark, P. (1988) *A Textbook of Translation*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Newmark, P. (1991). *About Translation*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Nida, E. A. & Taber, C. R. (1982). *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Pedersen, J. (2005). How is culture rendered in subtitles? In MuTra Conference Proceedings. Retrieved February 27, 2021, from http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2005_Proceedings/2005_Pedersen_Jan.pdf

Pedersen, J. (2011). *Subtitling Norms for Television: An Exploration Focussing on Extralinguistic Cultural References*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Petterson, B. V. (1999). The postcolonial turn in literary translation studies: Theoretical frameworks reviewed. Retrieved December 23, 2021, from <http://realenglish3.blogspot.com/2015/03/the-postcolonial-turn-in-literary.html?m=0>

Snell-Hornby, M (1995). *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Taylor, C. (1998). *Language to Language: A Practical and Theoretical Guide for Italian/English Translators*. Cambridge University Press.

Vinay, J., & Darbelnet, Jean. (1995). *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*. (J.C. Sager & M.-J. Hamel, Trans). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Original work published in 1958).