

## Culture specific items in literary texts and their translation based on “foreignization” and “domestication” strategies

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### Abstract

The purpose of this study is to determine culture specific items in the novel titled *Baba Evi* by Orhan Kemal and find out the translation strategies used in translation of these culture specific items in English translation of the novel titled *My Father's House* with a view to exemplifying and presenting potential translation strategies for professional and prospective literary translators. To this end, Newmark's (2010) categorization of culture specific items was adopted in order to classify the culture specific items besides proper nouns suggested by Aixelá (1996) as culture specific items. The translation of those culture specific items was analyzed based on a synthesis of Aixelá's (1996) conservation and substitution strategies with Venuti's (2001<sup>[1995; 1998]</sup>) foreignization and domestication strategies. The analysis of the culture specific items in the source text yielded 194 items specific to the source culture. 31 items were found from proper nouns category while 163 items were found based on Newmark's (2010) categorization. The translation analysis showed that foreignization strategies were dominantly used in translation of the culture specific items in the novel, while domestication strategies were used infrequently. Besides foreignization and domestication strategies, the translator also preferred to translate 59 source culture specific items through universal and neutral signs, favoring neither foreignization nor domestication strategies. Therefore, literary translators could benefit from both foreignization and domestication translation strategies rather than adopting only one of them in translation of culture specific items.

**Keywords:** Culture specific items, translation strategies, foreignization, domestication, Aixelá.

## Yazınsal metinlerde kültüre özgü öğeler ve “yabancılaştırma” ve “yerlileřtirme” stratejileri ile çevirileri

### Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Orhan Kemal'in *Baba Evi* başlıklı romanındaki kültüre özgü öğeleri saptamak ve bu terimlerin *My Father's House* başlıklı İngilizce çeviri metindeki çeviri stratejilerini çözümleyerek yazın çevirmenlerine potansiyel çeviri stratejilerini örneklerle sunmaktır. Bu amaca yönelik olarak, kültüre özgü öğelerin saptanmasında Newmark'ın (2010) sınıflandırması temel alınmış, bunun yanı sıra Aixelá'nın (1996) kültüre özgü öğeler olarak öne sürdüğü özel isimler de kaynak metinde saptanmıştır. Kültüre özgü öğelerin çeviri çözümlemesi, Aixelá'nın (1996) öne sürdüğü çeviri stratejileri ile Venuti'nin (2001<sup>[1995; 1998]</sup>) yabancılaştırma ve yerlileřtirme stratejilerinin sentezlenmesiyle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kaynak metnin çözümlenmesi sonucunda 194 kültüre özgü öğe saptanmıştır. 31 öğe özel isimlerden oluşurken 163 öğe Newmark'ın (2010) sınıflandırmasındaki öğelerden oluşmuştur. Çeviri değerlendirmesi sonuçlarına göre, romandaki

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kültüre özgü öğelerin çevirisinde yabancılaştırma stratejileri yaygın şekilde kullanılmışken yerleştirme stratejileri az kullanılmıştır. Yabancılaştırma ve yerleştirme stratejilerinin yanı sıra, çevirmenin 59 kültüre özgü öğeyi nötr ve evrensel göstergelerle çevirdiği, böylelikle 59 öğenin çevirisinde yabancılaştırma veya yerleştirme stratejilerini kullanmadığı bulunmuştur. Böylelikle, yazın çevirmenlerinin kültüre özgü öğelerin çevirisinde sadece bir çeviri stratejisi kullanmaktan ziyade hem yabancılaştırma hem yerleştirme stratejileri kullanabilecekleri sonucuna varılmıştır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Kültüre özgü öğeler, çeviri stratejileri, yabancılaştırma, yerleştirme, Aixelá.

## 1. Introduction

Every natural language has its roots in its speaking community’s cultural values. It is without doubt that a community’s cultural values not only shape the language but also direct people’s use of that language. While the term “culture” is an abstract notion that has been subject to diverse definitions, among the various definitions stand out the following three definitions for the scope of this study: a) “the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group”; b) “the set of values, conventions, or social practices associated with a particular field, activity, or societal characteristic” and c) “the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations” (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary). What characterizes and prevails in these three definitions is the notion of “social”. The culture of any community is based on a consensus and shared by all members of that group. Moreover, the “shared beliefs, conventions and social practices” of a community tend to be passed down to the “succeeding generations” according to those definitions, retaining the social consensus for traditional beliefs and practices of that particular community. However, it not uncommon that certain cultural practices, if not most of them, can be lost or modified against the test of time. Societies with a distant past might keep most of their beliefs and practices as they are to date, but it is also a common occurrence that some practices could lose their value or may change over time. Nevertheless, even such changes entail social consensus to survive in a particular period not only in the short run but also in the long run. Not only the long-surviving elements but also small or large modifications in cultural practices and beliefs tend to find their ways in the language a particular community is speaking. Therefore, synchronic or diachronic studies of natural languages reveal a lot about the culture of the communities speaking those languages. “Language and culture cannot exist without each other, and languages not only represent elements of culture, they also serve to model culture” (Nida, 1998: 29). The culture of a community might be expected to affect almost all aspects of that community’s language, from the most basic element of word choice to the upper-most elements like connotative or associative aspects of words or phrases. “As culture normally changes faster than language, the meaning of a word must be determined by both the syntagmatic contexts and the cultural contexts” (Nida, 1998: 29). Moreover, just as the notion of culture exerts its effects on all aspects of a language, literature is no exception to the clear manifestation of those effects given that literature is based on written or oral language of a community; that is, literature owes its existence to the entity of language. It is almost inevitable that a community’s culture is reflected in all genres of its literature, whether it is fiction or nonfiction. It is particularly the former one that lends itself to studies on cultural elements in literature while the latter one should not be singled out as it might also yield striking findings. It is important to note that the scope of this study is built upon the analysis of cultural elements in fiction.

Among the many sources authors are fed with in constructing their fiction is the culture they are raised in. Therefore, it is hard for authors to refrain from the cultural elements of the community they belong to in producing their literary texts. Even if the plot or setting of a literary text might be foreign to an author’s own culture, it is still highly likely that the elements of the literary text will be interwoven with the constituents of that author’s home culture. Accordingly, the consumption and signification of any literary text indeed involves “deconstruction”<sup>2</sup> of the cultural elements it was produced in. The readers of a text produced within their own cultures might not be compelled to make “retroactive reading”<sup>3</sup> in order to deconstruct a cultural sign if it does not refer to a very specific phenomenon or a very distant and obscure past. However, foreign readers of a literary text might not be able to make much of it due to the cultural references alien to those readers. Just as the foreign readers of a text might be faced with difficulties in reaching the meaning universe of a literary text (whether read in the source language or as a translated work), a literary translator, who is primarily a reader, could be forced to deconstruct the cultural elements and referents in the text prior to the actual act of translation. If translation is the act of rendering the signs of a culture to another culture, then a literary translator is expected to mediate between those two cultures; namely, the source culture and the target culture. Therefore, a literary translator needs to be familiar with the cultural phenomena in the source and target cultures.

## 2. Cultural turn in translation studies

As the frequency of cultural items increases in a literary text, literary translators could be urged to make a more-in-depth retroactive reading in order to deconstruct those cultural items alien to their own cultures. Hence, translators do not translate texts, but rather they translate cultures. This paradigm shift in translation studies was labeled “the cultural turn”. It was the “cultural turn of 1980s that largely established the basic profile [of translation studies]” (Snell-Hornby, 2006: 47). Therefore, the cultural turn in translation studies was adopted by a great many eminent scholars.

In 1990, [Bassnett and Lefevere] were the first to suggest that translation studies take the ‘cultural turn’.[...] Following Bassnett and Lefevere, translators have increasingly become more empowered and less self-effacing, a development that has allowed theorists to better view the process of mediating between cultures and /or of introducing different word forms, cultural nuances, and meaning into their own respective culture. (Gentzler, 1998: ix)

As is clear from the statement above, the cultural turn of the 1980s and 1990s contributed to the decision-making processes of translators, enabling them to mediate between two cultures more straightforwardly. This shows the practical value of the cultural turn in translation studies besides the theoretical dimension. To expand on the practical value of cultural turn in translation studies, “[i]t was precisely the formulation and recognition of this cultural turn in translation studies that served to extend and revitalize the discipline and to liberate it from the comparatively mechanical tools of analysis available in linguistics” (Trivedi, 2007: 280). This proposition takes the cultural turn one step further to ascribe it the quality to finally separate and free it from the analysis methods already dominant in linguistics. Thus, it would not be far-fetched to conclude that translation studies seems to have found its own methodology as a scientific discipline through the cultural turn. For the cultural turn and its effects on translation, Bassnett (2014) proposes the following:

In 1990, André Lefevere and I suggested that translation was undergoing a cultural turn, as attention was now focused on issues of context, history, and convention. Translation, we argued, is

<sup>2</sup> The term “deconstruction” was adopted from Derrida (1976) for this study.

<sup>3</sup> The term “retroactive reading” was adopted from Riffaterre (1978) for this study.

never an innocent activity. A text is produced in one context and is then transposed into another context for another readership with a different history and different expectations. What this means is that there is always going to be a discrepancy between the reception of a text in the source context and its reception in the target system. (Bassnett, 2014: 85).

This proposition posits that the elements of a culture a text is produced in are embedded in that text, and the translated text will not bear the same meaning universe as the original one on account of the cultural elements in that text. This will inevitably lead to a tension in translators in trying to transpose the elements of a specific culture into a relatively or utterly distinct culture. The cultural turn in translation studies is not confined to the priority of the translation of cultural elements into a new culture, but it involves the role the act of translation undertakes in cultural transmission. According to Lefevere (1998: 41), “cultural capital is transmitted, distributed, and regulated by means of translation, among other factors, not only between cultures but also within one given culture”. Therefore, translation could be considered a medium of cultural survival, and it happens to be the case not only in the inter-lingual but also in the intra-lingual framework.

### 3. Cultural elements in texts for translation

Given the importance of culture in translation, it is essential to demonstrate what cultural elements could be encountered in literary texts. In general terms, the concept of “culture” can be agreed to consist of shared values, shared beliefs and practices, customs and traditions, artistic expressions, symbols, norms like written or unwritten rules, artifacts, fiction and heroes, religious issues, cuisine, sports, and language. However, it is also possible to add more specific phenomena to define the concept of “culture”. While the generally agreed components of the term “culture” are given here, it is also crucial to categorize the cultural elements readers and translators might be faced with in literary texts. Certain scholars have provided categorizations for cultural elements in literary texts with a view to providing insight to literary translators. One of such categorizations belongs to Antonini (2007). Drawing upon the language variety used in Italian screens, Antonini (2007: 154) considers “education, politics, history, art, institutions, legal systems, units of measurement, place names, foods and drinks, sports and national pastimes” as culture specific references. Accordingly, culture specific references are broadly categorized as “education system, food and measurements, sport, institutions, famous people, and events, [and] the legal system” (Antonini, 2007: 160). Even if this categorization of culture specific references into six broad terms is extensive enough, it is not used in data collection procedure in this study since this categorization is based on the cultural phenomena on the silver screen while this study focuses on a literary text as the data collection tool.

Another important categorization of culture specific items was provided by Aixelá (1996).

Each linguistic or national-linguistic community has at its disposal a series of habits, value judgments, classification systems, etc. which sometimes are clearly different and sometimes overlap. This way, cultures create a variability factor the translator will have to take into account. (Aixelá, 1996: 53)

Therefore, a translator should not and cannot be left helpless in deciding what to focus on as culture specific items. Besides this proposition, Aixelá (1996) states that “[t]he first problem we face in the study of the cultural aspects of translation is how to devise a suitable tool for our analysis” (Aixelá, 1996: 26). In such a tool to determine the culture specific items in a literary text to be translated, Aixelá (1996: 59) begins with distinguishing two basic categories of culture specific items. The first category is labeled “proper nouns” while the second category is labeled “common expressions” (Aixelá,

1996: 59). To elaborate on “common expressions”, Aixelá gives the examples of “world of objects, institutions, habits, and opinions restricted to each culture and that cannot be included in the field of proper names” (Aixelá, 1996: 59). While this second basic category is not used as data collection procedure in this study, the first category (proper nouns) is used to support the major categorization system used in this study and fully analyze the source literary text of focus. Therefore, it would be necessary to elaborate on the first basic category of “proper nouns”. Inspired by Hermans, Aixelá (1996) divides proper nouns as culture specific items into two categories. The first category is labeled “conventional proper nouns” which are “seen as ‘unmotivated’ and thus as having no meaning of themselves” (Aixelá, 1996: 59). Therefore, ordinary names given to people in each culture without specific references to religious or historical figures can be categorized as “conventional proper nouns” unless special references are deliberately made by authors overcoming the randomness of those proper nouns. The second category for proper nouns is labeled “loaded proper names” which “are somehow seen as ‘motivated’; they range from faintly ‘suggestive’ to overtly ‘expressive’ names and nicknames, and include those fictional as well as non-fictional names around which certain historical or cultural associations have accrued in [...] a particular culture” (Aixelá, 1996: 59). According to this categorization, literary translators could pay special attention to the proper nouns in literary texts to be translated.

While there are some other categorizations of cultural elements in literary texts for translation in the relevant literature, that of Newmark’s (1988; 2010) will be presented as the ultimate categorization for this study since the data collection procedure of this study is mostly based on that categorization given its extensive and detailed classification system for culture specific items. While the first categorization of culture specific items by Newmark can be traced to 1988, it is in 2010 that its final version was given. In this study, this latter version is used in data collection from the source text. Table 1 shows the categorization of culture specific items by Newmark (2010).

**Table 1.** Categorization of culture specific items by Newmark

Category	Examples <sup>4</sup>
Ecology	Geological and geographical environment. <i>Hills, sea, mountains, cities and states, etc.</i>
Public life	Politics, law or governmental patterns. <i>Political parties, liberal or socialist governments, specific laws like no chewing gum on streets, etc.</i>
Social life	Economy, occupations, social welfare, health or education systems. <i>Colleges, euphemisms for certain jobs, endangered jobs, specific titles, names of the funds for the underprivileged, endemic diseases, etc.</i>
Personal life	Food, clothing, housing patterns. <i>Foods specific to a culture like taco for Mexicans or sushi for the Japanese, kilts or scarves, igloos, skyscrapers, etc.</i>
Customs and pursuits	Body language, hobbies, sports and the related national idioms. <i>Gestures, postures, mimics specific to cultures, bungee-jumping, trekking, jogging, wrestling, football, soccer, etc.</i>
Private passions	Religion, music, poetry, social organizations, churches, poetry societies. <i>Buddhism, Taoism, reggae, folk songs with their titles, Shakespeare’s sonnets, etc.</i>

(Newmark, 2010: 174-177).

To further elaborate on the categorization in Table 1; what is now Aegean Sea used to be called “Mediterranean Sea” during the Ottoman reign. While there is a clear distinction between the two

<sup>4</sup> The examples in italics in Table 1 are provided by the author of this study to elaborate on the general categories.

bodies of water presently, the whole body of water until the Sea of Marmara was called “Mediterranean Sea” in Ottoman and Turkish texts until about the opening decades of the 20th century. While this cultural item (the Mediterranean Sea to refer to the Aegean Sea in Ottoman Times) could be clear to a Turkish reader today, it might require extensive retroactive reading for readers alien to Turkish culture and history. This would serve as an example to Newmark’s (2010) “ecology” category. On the other hand, the American electoral system is quite different from that of the Turkish system. The items “Republicans vs. Democrats” could be easily understood by an American reader while it might not make much sense to a reader alien to American electoral system. This would be the case even for Turkish readers whether they read the original text or its translation since the Turkish electoral system is not based upon two absolute camps to compete for presidency. The allocation of chairs in the American senate could also be incomprehensible to a Turkish reader as the systems are distinctly different in two cultures. This would serve as an example to Newmark’s (2010) “public life” category. As another example, the units of currency used in the United States or in the United Kingdom are different from the units used in Turkish currency system. The items “dime, nickel” to refer to ten cents and five cents respectively in American currency system do not have equivalents in the Turkish currency system. This example is for Newmark’s (2010) social life category. To exemplify “personal life” category, a particular Turkish housing decoration called “şark köşesi” is foreign to the Western world. This decoration involves Ottoman couch, cushions, carpets or rugs to hang on the walls and lay on the ground, and round copper tray. While the cultural item “şark köşesi” bears connotations like warm hospitality or Anatolian type of decoration for Turkish readers, it does not exist in the Western culture, which would make it incomprehensible for readers alien to Turkish culture. The Japanese traditional sport sumo-wrestling could be taken as an example for “customs and pursuits” category. Readers from other cultures than Japanese would not be able to make sense of the special words used for each movement in sumo-wrestling either in the original text or in its translation unless they have a special interest in that sport. As the last example, the lines from a haiku embedded in a literary text might not mean much to readers from the Western world unless they have special interest in that poetry while the same lines could arouse profound sentiments in a Japanese reader. This could be considered an example to “private passions” category.

With all this complexity arising from culture specific items, translators need to be the mediators between two distinct cultures. Even if the target culture is similar to the source culture (let alone distinctly different cultures), the connotations or associative meanings of culture specific items would still differ remarkably between two cultures.

[I]n translation, a [culture specific item] does not exist of itself, but as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem due to the nonexistence or to the different value [...] in the target language culture. (Aixelá, 1996: 57).

It is clear from this proposition that certain cultural items in the source text could be nonexistent or totally different from those of the target text culture. Here emerges one of the great obstacles to literary translation. However, this does not mean that literary translators are helpless when they encounter such difficulties. Various scholars have provided translation strategies for culture specific items. The next part of this study deals with the translation strategies for culture specific items.

#### 4. Translation strategies for cultural elements

Translators make use of different strategies to overcome the pitfalls in literary texts. While some translators consciously benefit from translation strategies, others might use them unconsciously. According to Gambier (2010: 414), “strategy is [...] a tool to tackle the possible problems that emerge during the translation process”. Therefore, problems are naturally expected in almost every literary translation; however, it is through translation strategies that translators can render a text into a new culture. Quite some lists of translation strategies for culture specific items (CSI) have been put forth so far. One of the earliest categorizations of translation procedures can be traced to Vinay and Darbelnet, who posited two general procedures of “direct translation” to include “borrowing, calque, and literal translation” procedures and “oblique translation” to include “transposition, modulation, equivalence, and adaptation” procedures (Vinay and Darbelnet, 2000<sup>[1958]</sup>: 84-90). Following Vinay and Darbelnet, Nida (1964: 226-238) proposes “techniques of adjustment” for translation. As techniques of adjustment, Nida (1964: 227-238) first proposes three major categories. The first major category is “additions” and nine translation techniques are grouped under this category. The second major category is “subtractions” and seven translation techniques are grouped under this category while the third major category is “alterations” with seven techniques included. In Newmark’s (2010<sup>[1988]</sup>) translation procedures for CSIs, five basic procedures are put forward: “transference of a cultural word, target language cultural equivalent, descriptive equivalent, componential analysis, transonym” (Newmark, 2010<sup>[1988]</sup>: 176-177). Besides the basic procedures, Newmark (2010<sup>[1988]</sup>) also proposes marginal procedures for translation of CSIs. Apart from the lists of categories discussed so far, Baker (1992) proposes a taxonomy of eight translation strategies; namely, “translation by a more general word, translation by a more neutral word, translation by cultural substitution, translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation, translation by paraphrase using a related word, translation by paraphrase using unrelated words, translation by omission, translation by illustration” (Baker, 1992: 26-42). Chesterman (1997) also suggests a categorization of translation strategies under the umbrella term of “local strategies”. These local strategies are further divided into “syntactic strategies” with ten sub-categories; “semantic strategies” with nine sub-categories; and “pragmatic strategies” with nine sub-categories. While there are also other translation strategies applicable to culture specific items, only the most popular ones are summarized in this part. In this study, translation strategies of CSIs proposed by Aixelá (1996) are used for data collection in identification of translation strategies employed in English translation of the novel, titled *Baba Evi [My Father’s House]* the source culture of which is Turkish and written in Turkish originally. The reason for this preference can be attributed to the fact that rather than suggesting general translation strategies, Aixelá (1996) puts forward a detailed list of translation strategies specifically proposed for translation of CSIs as given in the following part.

##### 4.1. Aixelá’s strategies for translation of CSIs

Aixelá (1996) proposes an extensive list of translation strategies for culture specific items. Aixelá begins with dividing CSI translation strategies into two major categories: “conservation” and “substitution” (Aixelá, 1996: 61). According to Aixelá, translation strategies labeled as “repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, extratextual gloss [and] intratextual gloss” (Aixelá, 1996: 61-62) can be categorized under conservative translation strategies of CSIs. Table 2 shows the conservative translation strategies of CSIs with their brief definitions by Aixelá (1996).

**Table 2.** Conservation strategies of CSI translation

Strategy	Definition
Repetition	The translators keep as much as they can of the original reference. The obvious example here is the treatment of most toponyms (Seattle-Seattle).
Orthographic adaptation	[...] procedures like transcription and transliteration, which are mainly used when the original reference is expressed in a different alphabet from the one target readers use. (Kemidov-Kenidof)
Linguistic (non-cultural) translation	[...] the translator chooses in many cases a denotatively very close reference to the original but increases its comprehensibility by offering a target language version which can still be recognized as belonging to the cultural system of the source text. (Units of measurement and currencies)
Extratextual gloss	The translator [...] considers it necessary to offer some explanation of the meaning or implications of the CSI [...] by marking it as footnote, endnote, glossary, commentary/translation in brackets, or in italics.
Intratextual gloss	This is the same as the previous case, but the translators feel they can or should include their gloss as an indistinct part of the text, usually so as not to disturb the reader's attention.

(Aixelá, 1996: 61-62).

The strategies in Table 2 are called “conservation” strategies by their very nature since all those strategies seem to literally “conserve” and retain the foreignness of a cultural sign to the target culture. To illustrate, in the “repetition” strategy a translator literally “repeats” a culture specific item in the source culture no matter how alien it might sound to the target language culture. This strategy could be the case particularly with proper nouns specific to the source culture. While the sign “Washington D.C.” could evoke nationalist sentiments and some other emotions in American readers, it could sound only as the capital of the U.S. for readers from other cultures. As a result, repetition strategy keeps the source culture sign alien to the target culture. While “orthographic adaptation” does not go as far as repetition strategy in alienating a CSI from the target culture, it still preserves the foreignness of the CSI since target culture readers can easily recognize the foreign nature of the sign even if it is transcribed or transliterated in their own alphabet and phonotactics. Translation of “Washington” as “Vaşington” for Turkish readers would not make this CSI a familiar sign to Turkish readers. In “linguistic (non-cultural) translation”, a translator uses a denotatively close sign to the source culture sign; however, the connotations this sign bears are excluded, still retaining its foreignness to the target culture. Translating “250 feet” as “250 ayak” in Turkish would be a good example to this strategy. Even if a denotative sign is used in Turkish translation for the measurement unit “feet”, it would still sound odd for Turkish readers since “ayak” is not a standard measurement unit in Turkish and the foreignness of this CSI is still preserved. In extratextual and intratextual gloss, a translator over-interprets a CSI; however, the foreignness of this sign can still be recognized. If the over-interpretation is not embedded within the natural flow of the text, target culture readers can easily recognize the foreignness of this CSI and feel the need to read the extratextual explanations. Intratextual translation does not reduce the foreignness of a CSI more than extratextual gloss strategy since translation of the mythological sign “Mars” as “Tanrı Mars” [Mars the God] could be considered an intratextual gloss strategy with explanation embedded in the Turkish translation regarding the quality and title of a proper name, which would still “conserve” the alien nature of the CSI to the target culture.

Besides “conservation” strategies of CSI translation, Aixelá (also) proposes “substitution” strategies of CSI translation. These strategies are: “synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization,



naturalization, deletion, [and] autonomous creation” (Aixelá, 1996: 63-64). Table 3 shows the substitutive translation strategies of CSIs with their brief definitions by Aixelá (1996).

**Table 3.** Substitution strategies of CSI translation

Strategy	Definition
Synonymy	The translator resorts to some kind of synonym or parallel reference to avoid repeating the CSI.
Limited universalization	[When] the CSI is too obscure for readers or that there is another, more usual possibility, [... translators] seek another reference, also belonging to the source language culture but closer to their readers another CSI, but less specific. (An American football- a ball of rugby)
Absolute universalization	Translators do not find a better-known CSI or prefer to delete any foreign connotations and choose a neutral reference for their readers. (a Chesterfield – koltuk [sofa-backtranslation])
Naturalization	The translator decides to bring the CSI into the intertextual corpus felt as specific by the target language culture.
Deletion	[Translators] decide to omit [a CSI] in the target text.
Autonomous creation	Translators [...] decide that it could be interesting for their readers to put in some nonexistent cultural reference in the source text.

(Aixelá, 1996: 63-64).

The strategies presented in Table 3 literally “substitute” a CSI in the source text with a target culture referent. To illustrate, the word “synonym” refers to the use of exactly or almost the same word across and within languages. No matter how hard it is to obtain exact synonyms in languages, a translator uses a sign that is approximately the same and in this way almost blacks out the foreignness of a CSI for the target culture. However, as stated above, it is hardly possible to find exact synonyms across and within languages; therefore, the readers of the target culture might still feel foreignness in a CSI with its synonym in the target text. In “limited universalization”, the translator substitutes a specific CSI in the target culture with a more general CSI in the target culture. However, no matter how general this new CSI might sound, it still retains its foreignness to the target culture since it belongs to the source text culture. In “absolute universalization”, a translator almost utterly blacks out the foreignness of a CSI for the target culture and finds a totally neutral sign that does not belong to either the source culture or the target culture. From “absolute universalization” onwards, the foreignness of a CSI in the source culture is not felt or recognized by target culture readers. In “naturalization” strategy, a CSI in the source text is translated with a CSI belonging to the target culture. In this strategy, the foreignness of a CSI is totally eliminated and presented with a sign that might make the target culture readers feel as if this text (only considering that sign in their own culture) was produced by an author with the same cultural background as their own. In “deletion” strategy, the translator does not translate a CSI at all and target culture readers are not exposed to this sign either in its foreignness or domesticated version. This might be due to ideological grounds besides simple stylistics grounds and the structure of the target language. The last substitution strategy in Table 3 is labeled as “autonomous creation”, in which the translator might choose to add a cultural item belonging to the target culture while it does not exist in the source text. This is the furthest point of “manipulation” of a CSI as Aixelá (1996: 60) calls it. Using this strategy, the translator might be willing to evoke the feeling that this text belongs to the target culture’s own literary system. While Aixelá (1996: 64) also mentions some other translation strategies for CSIs (compensation, dislocation, attenuation), methodological usefulness of those strategies still incurs doubts, and the strategies explained in this part prove sufficient for analysis and translation evaluation of CSIs in this study.

The strategies for translation of CSIs as given in Table 2 and Table 3 are used in this study. Translation of any CSI determined in the source text was evaluated based on those strategies. However, the significance of this study lies in the fact that rather than stating which of Aixelá’s translation strategies was used in translation of a CSI, those strategies in Table 2 and Table 3 are further categorized under Venuti’s (2001<sup>[1995: 1998]</sup>) concepts of “foreignizing strategies” and “domesticating strategies”. Apart from a theoretical categorization, these strategies applied on translation evaluation in this study are also discussed with reference to Venuti’s concepts of “foreignization” and “domestication”.

#### 4.2. Venuti’s concepts of “foreignizing” and “domesticating” strategies

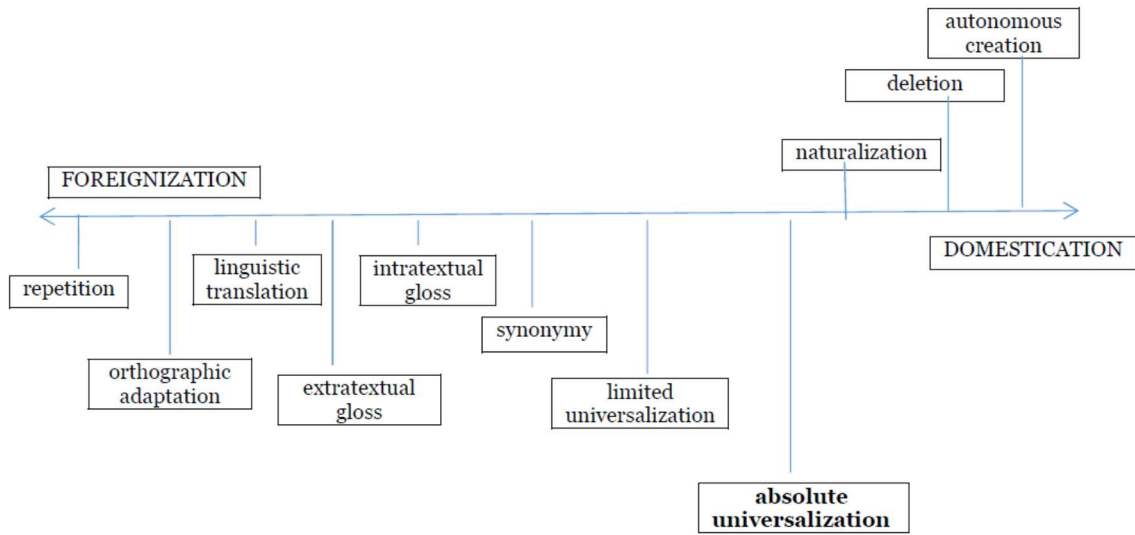
Lawrence Venuti (2001) divides translation strategies into two broad categories: foreignizing strategies and domesticating strategies. According to Venuti (2001: 240-241), domesticating strategies trace back to ancient times. “[...] Latin translators not only deleted culturally specific markers but also added allusions to Roman culture and replaced the name of the Greek poet with their own, passing the translation off as a text originally written in Latin” (Venuti, 2001: 241). Venuti (2001: 241) further attributes domesticating strategies to Nietzsche’s proposition in which Nietzsche considers translation as a type of “conquest”. Therefore, domesticating strategies could be thought to be a translation tradition of cultures with hegemony over the world to show their cultures’ superiority to others. Venuti (2001: 241) confirms this stating that domesticating strategies were mostly employed “in English and French translation traditions particularly during the early modern period”. This might have been caused by nationalist movements and sentiments. Venuti (2001: 241) further states that cultural and political reasons far outweigh economic reasons for domesticating strategies, adding that even the selection of a text for translation is motivated by these reasons to domesticate the text into the translators’ own cultures. As can be understood from these propositions, domesticating strategies eliminate cultural values and items of a source text and bring that source text into a target culture with cultural items totally belonging to the target culture, showing the text as if it was originally written in the target culture.

On the other hand, foreignizing strategies mean “a close adherence to the foreign text, a literalism that resulted in the importation of foreign cultural forms and the development of the heterogeneous dialects and discourses” (Venuti, 2001: 242). As can be seen in this definition of foreignizing strategies, translators stick to the foreignness of cultural items in the source text while bringing it to the target culture no matter how alien they would seem to the receiving culture. Venuti (2001: 242) further states that foreignizing strategies do not attach importance to the overwhelming cultural values in the target language culture. Accordingly, Venuti (2001) seems to imply that while domesticating strategies of translation are ethnocentric decisions taken by translators for various reasons, foreignizing strategies pave the way for foreign cultural elements to enter a new culture in their total foreignness, even going to extremes in re-shaping the literary culture and system of the target culture.

Venuti’s concepts are not free from criticisms. Baker (2010) states that a translated text might contain both domesticating and foreignizing strategies while Tymoczko (2000) claims that even foreignizing strategies might serve to reinforce cultural hegemony. Tymoczko’s proposition concerns the ideological side of translation, but this study does not touch upon the ideological concerns. On the other hand, Baker’s criticism seems to obscure the sharp distinction Venuti tries to draw between translations with domesticating strategies and those with foreignizing strategies. It stands to reason that translators might choose to use different strategies even for the same cultural items in different parts of a text. “There is nothing odd in the same translator using different strategies to treat an identical potential

CSI in the same target text” (Holmes, 1971: 48-49; cited in Aixelá, 1996: 60). In this study, Venuti’s two translation strategies are not adopted as the unique strategy that governs the whole translation, but rather as a compass to see which translation strategy belongs to domesticating and which strategy belongs to foreignizing strategies, in a way accepting the applicability of both major strategies in the same text. For all such criticisms, it could be argued that all specific translation strategies can be categorized based on Venuti’s terms of “foreignizing” and “domesticating” strategies, with a prior acceptance that both can be used in the same text as stated by Baker (2010). The strategies proposed by Aixelá (1996) and used in this study can be categorized as “foreignizing” and “domesticating” strategies with a synthesis of Aixelá’s strategies and Venuti’s strategies. Figure 1 presents a spectrum of strategies in which Aixelá’s strategies are categorized according to Venuti’s major strategies in this study.

**Figure 1.** Synthesis of Aixelá’s strategies with Venuti’s strategies



As can be seen in Figure 1, “absolute universalization” is taken as the near-zero point of cultural items translation. As absolute universalization strategy requires deletion of all connotations belonging to the source culture item and translating that item into the target culture with a neutral reference between the two cultures favoring neither, that strategy could be considered the near-zero point in relation to Venuti’s (2001) foreignization and domestication strategies. In absolute universalization, a translator neither leaves a cultural item in its foreignness nor uses a home cultural item for the target culture reader. As its very name implies, a translator literally “universalizes” a culturally loaded item. While this strategy could also be considered among the domestication strategies since the target culture does not encounter a novel item, domestication strategies do more than polishing and stripping an alien cultural item off its connotations with a neutral reference. Domestication strategies might require the employment of a target culture specific item for a source culture specific item or deletion of that item totally. Nevertheless, this cannot and should not be taken as the absolute zero point. While it is taken as the zero point of foreignization-domestication spectrum in this study, it must also be acknowledged that this strategy is slightly more proximate to “domesticating strategies” than “foreignizing strategies” though this “proximity” is not significant considering the nature of that strategy. Therefore, it is labeled as the near-zero point for this study.

Since “repetition” involves the absolute conservation of a source culture item, it can be considered a foreignization strategy. While “orthographic adaptation” requires the use of target phonotactics, it still maintains the foreignness of the source culture item, manifesting the clear foreignness of that item. In “linguistic translation”, a translator might come up with a target culture denotative equivalent of a source culture item, but this strategy still retains the connotative foreignness of the cultural item in relation to a particular context or the meaning universe in the text, requiring retroactive reading on the part of the target culture reader. “Extratextual gloss” and “intratextual gloss” strategies only expand on the signification of the source culture items, sustaining the foreign item for the target culture. As can be seen so far, all “conservation strategies” as proposed by Aixelá (1996) could be considered on the foreignizing side of the spectrum in Figure 1. As regards the “synonymy” strategy, while it was grouped under “substitution strategies” by Aixelá (1996), that strategy was still considered on the foreignizing side of the spectrum in this study. This could be attributed to the fact that this strategy involves the use of a synonymous item or substitution of the item with a pronoun in the target culture for a reference in the source culture, but this operation is still initiated and governed by the source culture item. Therefore, the foreignness of the source culture item still exerts its influence upon the target culture reader. “Limited universalization” is also considered a foreignization strategy in this study since a translator comes up with a more general item belonging to the source culture for a source culture specific item. Therefore, the source culture still manifests itself in the target culture with a more general item belonging to the former one. Consequently, what is common in all the strategies on the foreignizing strategies side of the spectrum is that they still maintain the alien and foreign nature of a source culture specific item on varying degrees (the degree of foreignization is in descending order beginning with “repetition” and minimizing in “limited universalization”) no matter what “manipulations” a translator employs.

As of “absolute universalization”, the near-zero point in this study, the three “substitution strategies” by Aixelá (1996), namely “naturalization, deletion, autonomous creation” strategies, could be placed on the domestication side of the spectrum in ascending order of domesticating tendency. “Naturalization” involves the translation of a source culture specific item through a target culture specific item, as a result of which target culture readers are confronted with domestic cultural items in their own culture. In “deletion” strategy, a translator totally omits and leaves out a source culture specific item for various reasons, and target culture readers do not feel any foreignness in the text. “Autonomous creation” could be considered the highest level of domestication since a translator integrates a target culture specific item into the text while that item does not even exist even in the source text.

In this study, translation of culture specific items in the source text is discussed with reference to the synthesis of Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies and Venuti’s (2001) concepts of “foreignization” and “domestication”. The significance and originality of this study lie in this synthesis of two different categorization systems of translation strategies.

## 5. Findings

In this part, the culture specific items determined in the original novel titled *Baba Evi* by Orhan Kemal (2020<sup>[1949]</sup>) are divided into seven different categories. Newmark’s (2010) “culture specific items” with six categories is adopted as the data collection procedure for determination and categorization of those culture specific items in the source text. Besides Newmark’s (2010) culture specific items, Aixelá’s (1996) proposition to analyze proper nouns as cultural elements in a literary text is also adopted. In

addition to the categorization of culture specific items in the source text with the synthesis of Newmark and Aixelá’s propositions, English translations of these items are also discussed as a result of an analysis of the translated text titled *My Father’s House* and published in 2016. Determination of translation strategies is based on the synthesis of Aixelá and Venuti’s translation strategies presented and illustrated in the preceding part of this study.

### 5.1. Proper nouns as culture specific items and their translations

The proper nouns belonging uniquely to the Turkish culture (source culture in this study) in the novel were determined as culture-specific items (CSI) based on Aixelá’s (1996) proposition to consider proper nouns as CSIs. Table 4 shows the proper nouns as CSIs in the source culture (Turkish) together with their translations in the target culture (English).

**Table 4.** Proper nouns as CSIs in the novel

Haso (Kemal, 2020: 20)	Haso (Kemal, 2016: 14)
Gülizar (Kemal, 2020: 21)	Gülizar (Kemal, 2016: 15)
Tekin (Kemal, 2020: 31)	Tekin (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Naciye (Kemal, 2020: 33)	Naciye (Kemal, 2016: 27)
Baba Dimitri (Kemal, 2020: 58)	Barba Dimitri (Kemal, 2016: 55)
Kegam (Kemal, 2020: 77)	Kegam (Kemal, 2016: 75)
Mendiye (Kemal, 2020: 88)	Mendiye (Kemal, 2020: 87)
Yorgi (Kemal, 2020: 89)	Yorgi (Kemal, 2016: 88)
Hasan Hüseyin (Kemal, 2020: 91)	Hasan Hüseyin (Kemal, 2016: 90)
Kuruköprü (Kemal, 2020: 92)	Kuruköprü (Kemal, 2016: 91)
Kürt Ado (Kemal, 2020: 31)	Kurd Ado (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Doç Ali (Kemal, 2020: 90)	Dodge Ali (Kemal, 2016: 89)
İbrahim Efendi (Kemal, 2020: 49)	Ibrahim effendi (Kemal, 2016: 45)
Ayşe (Kemal, 2020: 55)	Ayshe (Kemal, 2016: 52)
Hayrinnisa (Kemal, 2020: 55)	Hayrinnisa (Kemal, 2016: 52)
Virjin (Kemal, 2020: 76)	Virginie (Kemal, 2016: 74)
Şironik (Kemal, 2020: 77)	Shironic (Kemal, 2016: 75)
Gülseren (Kemal, 2020: 99)	Gulseren (Kemal, 2016: 98)
Giritli Hüseyin (Kemal, 2020: 89)	Cretan Hussein (Kemal, 2016: 88)
Kertiş Süreyya (Kemal, 2020: 31)	Lizard Sureyya (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Fırıncı Boğos (Kemal, 2020: 74)	Bogos the baker (Kemal, 2016: 71)
Cin Memet (Kemal, 2020: 30)	Little Memet (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Ermeni Çarşısı (Kemal, 2020: 74)	the Armenians’ market (Kemal, 2016: 71)
Karabaşla, Sarı it (Kemal, 2020: 20)	dogs (Kemal, 2016: 14)
Siptilli Pazarı (Kemal, 2020: 30)	the market (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Tekir (Kemal, 2020: 79)	Ginger (Kemal, 2016: 77)
Arap Hasan (Kemal, 2020: 103)	Black Hasan (Kemal, 2016: 102)

Alasonyalı Ahmet Efendi (Kemal, 2020: 87)	Ahmet effendi (Kemal, 2016: 86)
Parlak Saim (Kemal, 2020: 89)	Saim (Kemal, 2016: 88)
Kambur Recep (Kemal, 2020: 100; 104)	Recep (Kemal, 2016: 100)
Kasafan Cemal (Kemal, 2020: 100)	Cemal (Kemal, 2016: 100)

As can be seen in Table 4, 31 proper nouns in the source text were determined as CSIs since all the proper nouns in this table are specific to the source text culture and non-existent in the target culture. The proper nouns in Table 4 are person names, nicknames, animal names, and important place names. The proper nouns “*Baba Dimitri, Yorgi, Kürt Ado, Doç Ali, Giritli Hüseyin, Kertiş Süreyya, Fırıncı Boğos, Cin Memet, Karabaş, Sarı it, Tekir, Arap Hasan, Alasonyalı Ahmet Efendi, Parlak Saim, Kambur Recep, Kasafan Cemal*” can be considered loaded proper names by Aixelá’s (1996) categorization since they are expressive not only in terms of the physical and personal characteristics of people but also in terms of the general cultural associations deliberately used by the author. *Baba Dimitri* refers to the respect shown to that character since the nickname “baba” [father] is used for honest, influential, and respected individuals in society in the source culture. *Yorgi* is generally used for those with foreigner citizenship and bears a mythological and iconographic reference to a Christian soldier. *Kürt Ado* is also considered a loaded proper name since the sign *Kürt* refers to people with Kurdish ethnicity. *Doç Ali* is a striking example for loaded proper names since the sign *Doç* is an orthographic adaptation of a popular car and truck brand in the source culture. The owners of this brand of vehicle used to be given the nickname of that brand in Turkish culture. The initial nicknames in *Giritli Hüseyin* and *Alasonyalı Ahmet Efendi* refer to their origin or birthplace. Those people coming from other countries but familiar towns tend to be called with a nickname preceding their names in the source culture. *Kertiş Süreyya* is another loaded proper name since the sign “kertiş” is another name for the animal “kertenkele” [lizard] in colloquial language in the source culture. This animal is popularly known for its habit of fast head movements up and down. In *Fırıncı Boğos*, the nickname “fırıncı” [baker] refers to one’s job while the name “Boğos” implies the foreigner identity of the person. The sign “cin” in *Cin Memet* is generally given to clever people for their quick-wit or people with feeble posture in the source culture. The initial sign in *Kasafan Cemal* refers to the dishonest and insincere personality of a person as a nickname. The initial signs in *Parlak Saim* and *Kambur Recep* refer to those characters’ physical appearances as nicknames, with the former one implying lack of beard on that person’s face and the latter one implying that person’s humpback. The sign “Arap” is also a nickname preceding the character Hasan’s name. People with dark skin are seldom called by this nickname in the source culture while it might also refer to that person’s Arabian origin. However, the former possibility is generally more common for people with that nickname. As can be seen, person names with preceding nicknames could be categorized under loaded proper names according to Aixelá’s (1996) CSI categorization since those nicknames imply important associations to characters’ origin, personality, physical appearance or jobs. On the other hand, *Karabaş, Sarı it, and Tekir* are popular animal names in the source culture. The dogs with black hair are commonly called “Karabaş” while the dogs with light-brown or blond hair are widely called “Sarı” in Turkish culture to refer to their colors, making those names loaded proper names. As the last loaded proper name, *Tekir* is also one of the most popular names given to cats with stripes on their fur in the source culture. The cats with that appearance are also known as “tekir” by their breed and genus. Apart from those 16 loaded proper names, the rest of them in Table 4 can be considered conventional proper names according to Aixelá’s (1996) categorization as they do not have meanings or cultural associations by themselves.

When it comes to the translation strategies used in translation of those proper nouns as CSIs, the first ten names in Table 4 (*Haso, Gülizar, Tekin, Naciye, Baba Dimitri, Kegam, Mendiye, Kegam, Hasan Hüseyin, Kuruköprü*) were directly left the same and repeated in the target text. Therefore, this could be considered “repetition” strategy by Aixelá’s (1996) CSI translation strategies, and therefore the translator can be said to have used “foreignization” strategy by Venuti’s (2001) terms. The next eight proper names were translated into the target culture with “orthographic adaptation” strategy, which is also considered a “foreignization” strategy in this study. To illustrate, the “ü” sound in *Kürt Ado* and *Gülseren* was translated with “u” sound while it was translated with “i” sound in *Hayrünissa* [Hayrinnisa] as the “ü” sound is non-existent in the target culture alphabet. “Doç” was translated as “Dodge”, adapting the non-existent “ç” sound in the alphabet. The capital “İ” in *İbrahim* does not exist in English, therefore it was translated as “I”. The “ş” sound, another non-existent character in the target culture alphabet, was also orthographically adapted, and *Ayşe* was translated as *Ayshe*. The Turkish adaptation of the French-origin proper name “Virginie” was used in the target text while it is *Virjin* in the source text. Another foreign name *Şironik* was translated as “Shironic”, adapting the non-existent “ş” sound as “sh” and the final “k” sound as “c” by target culture phonotactics. Despite this orthographic adaptation, the proper names might still sound foreign to the target culture. More than one translation strategy was used in the translation of *Giritli Hüseyin, Kertiş Süreyya, and Fırınacı Boğos*. *Giritli* was translated as “Cretan”; *Kertiş* was translated as “Lizard”; and *Fırınacı* was translated as “the baker”. Denotatively close meanings of the nicknames were used in the target culture. Therefore, this can be considered “linguistic translation” by Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies. Target culture readers can understand the origin of Hüseyin, the personality of Süreyya, and the profession of Boğos though this is only in non-cultural aspect. On the other hand, *Hüseyin* was translated as “Hussein” and *Süreyya* as “Sureyya”, adapting the non-existent “ü” sound into “u” sound. *Boğos* was translated as “Bogos”, once more adapting the non-existent “ğ” sound into “g” sound in the target culture alphabet. Therefore, a literary translator might employ more than one translation strategy in the translation of CSIs. It is also important to note that the proper name *Hüseyin* was directly repeated on page 90 in the translated text while “orthographic adaptation” was used in its translation on page 88 as can be seen in Table 4. Therefore, a translator might employ different translation strategies for the translation of the same CSI. Aixelá (1996: 60) also supports this decision of translators. The proper names *Cin Memet* and *Ermeni Çarşısı* were translated as “Little Memet” and “Armenians’ market” respectively. While the foreignness of those two signs can still be felt in the target culture, the translator came up with denotatively close signs in the target culture, which can be considered “linguistic translation”. In this study, linguistic translation is also considered among foreignization strategies. 23 (74.19%) of 31 proper names as CSIs in the novel were translated through foreignization strategies; therefore, literary translators could benefit from foreignization strategies like repetition, orthographic adaptation, and linguistic translation in translation of loaded or conventional proper names. In contrast, the proper names *Karabaşla Sarı* it commonly given to dogs in the source culture were translated as “dogs” in the target culture. Moreover, a particular market called *Siptilli Pazarı* in the source text was translated as “market” in the target text. In this way, the translator stripped the proper names off their connotations and used neutral, universal signs in the target text, thereby eliminating the foreignness of CSIs for the target culture. This can be considered absolute universalization strategy by Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies. In this study, absolute universalization strategy is considered the near-zero point of foreignization-domestication spectrum though that strategy is also acknowledged to be closer to domestication strategies by Venuti’s (2001) translation strategies categorization. These two CSIs are rendered to the target text through neutral signs favoring neither the source culture nor the target culture. The popular cat name in the source

culture, *Tekir* was translated as “Ginger” both referring to the breed and genus of the cat and its popularity in the target culture. In this way, a CSI in the source culture was translated with a CSI unique to the target culture. The same holds true for the translation of *Arap Hasan*. This proper name was translated as “Black Hasan”. Just as the nickname *Arap* in the source culture refers to the dark skin color of an individual, so does the sign “Black” in the target culture, and the translator seems to have used a target culture specific item for a source culture specific item. Therefore, this strategy could be considered naturalization strategy by Aixelá’s (1996) strategies. In this study, the naturalization strategy is regarded as a “domestication” strategy by Venuti’s (2001) terms since the target culture readers encounter a cultural item specific to their own culture. In translation of the last four CSIs in Table 4, the loaded proper names (indeed nicknames) *Alasonryah*, *Parlak*, *Kambur*, and *Kasafan* were not translated at all and wiped out from the target text. By Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies, this could be considered “deletion” strategy, which is also considered a domestication strategy since the target culture readers do not encounter any CSI, and the translator serves for the comfort of the target culture reader through this strategy. As a result, taking absolute universalization as the near-zero point belonging to neither foreignization nor domestication strategies in this study, six (19.35%) out of 31 proper names as CSIs were translated through domestication strategies in the novel. Therefore, besides foreignization strategies, literary translators might also adopt domestication strategies in the translation of CSIs based on their translator decisions.

## 5.2. CSIs in ecology category and their translations

Newmark (2010) groups geological and geographical environment as CSIs belonging to “ecology” category. Ecological items could also be considered CSIs as long as they are unique to the source culture. Table 5 demonstrates the CSIs under ecology category in the source culture together with their translations in the target text.

**Table 5.** CSIs under ecology category in the novel

Çanakkale (Kemal, 2020: 9)	Çanakkale (Kemal, 2016: 1)
Dardanos (Kemal, 2020: 9)	Dardanos (Kemal, 2016: 1)
Ankara (Kemal, 2020: 17)	Ankara (Kemal, 2016: 11)
Konya (Kemal, 2020: 18)	Konya (Kemal, 2016: 11)
Alaettin Tepesi (Kemal, 2020: 18)	Alaettin Hill (Kemal, 2016: 11)
Seyhan Irmağı (Kemal, 2020: 75)	Seyhan river (Kemal, 2016: 73)
Dilberler Sekisi (Kemal, 2020: 75)	monuments (Kemal, 2016: 72)

The CSIs in Table 5 could also be considered proper nouns; however, since they are ecological items unique to the source culture in the novel, they were categorized as CSIs belonging to “ecology” in this study. *Çanakkale* is a historically significant city in the source due to the role of victories in that front during World War I. *Dardanos* is also significant as an ancient city while it is a coastal residence a few kilometers from the city of *Çanakkale* today. This place is recounted as a war zone in the novel. The sign *Ankara* is the capital city of Turkish Republic and bears political significance. In the novel, the protagonist’s father goes to Ankara for political reasons, and it is recounted with its political and military associations in the novel. When it comes to *Konya*, it is also a city in Turkey, and its importance comes from extensive farming as an economic activity besides serving as one of the holiest cities of Turkey as the hometown of the prominent poet and theological thinker Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî’s tomb. *Alaettin Tepesi*, a protohistoric hill in Konya, *Seyhan Nehri*, a river flowing into the



Mediterranean Sea, and *Dilberler Sekisi*, a picturesque area near Seyhan River are the geographical formations unique to the source culture in the novel. Therefore, these seven signs were determined as CSIs under the ecology category.

As for their translations, *Çanakkale*, *Dardanos*, *Ankara*, and *Konya* were directly repeated in the target culture. Therefore, the translator can be said to have used repetition strategy in the translation of those ecological CSIs. On the other hand, *Alaettin Tepesi* and *Seyhan Irmağı* were translated as “Alaettin Hill” and “Seyhan river” respectively. While the names of those geographical formations were repeated, the choice of “hill” and “river” for *tepe* and *ırmak* respectively could be considered linguistic translation strategy since a denotatively close sign was used in the target text to make the target culture reader understand those geographical formations. In contrast, the ecological CSI *Dilberler Sekisi* was translated as “monuments”, a neutral and universal sign that eliminates all specific connotations. Therefore, this strategy could be categorized as absolute universalization strategy. As the absolute universalization strategy is taken as the near-zero point of foreignization-domestication spectrum in this study, six (85.71%) out of seven ecological CSIs were translated through foreignization strategies based on the synthesis of strategies in this study. As a result, ecological CSIs could be ideal items for foreignization strategies in literary translation.

### 5.3. CSIs in public life category and their translations

According to Newmark (2010), the items related to politics, law, and governmental patterns specific to a culture can be considered culture specific items, and they could be grouped under public life category. Table 6 shows the CSIs grouped under public life category in the novel together with their translations in the target culture.

**Table 6.** CSIs under public life category in the novel

gavur hükümet (Kemal, 2020: 18)	foreign government (Kemal, 2016: 12)
şeriat fedailerini (Kemal, 2020: 18)	martyrs for the Shariah (Kemal, 2016: 12)
Vahdettin (Kemal, 2020: 33)	Sultan Vahdettin (Kemal, 2016: 27)
şeriat (Kemal, 2020: 18)	Shariah (Kemal, 2016: 12)
Hüviyet (Kemal, 2020: 73)	identity papers (Kemal, 2016: 71)
Milli Mücadele günlerimizde (Kemal, 2020: 13)	In the days of our war of liberation following the Great War (Kemal, 2016: 6)
“İstemezük, biz bu hükümeti istemezük!” (Kemal, 2020: 18)	‘Don’t want them! Don’t want this government!’ (Kemal, 2016: 11)
Mübadele (Kemal, 2020: 59)	the Exchange (Kemal, 2016: 57)
<i>Hakimiyeti Milliye</i> gazetesi (Kemal, 2020: 17-18)	nationalist newspapers (Kemal, 2016: 11)
“Kuvayi Milliye” (Kemal, 2020: 18)	National Independence Army (Kemal, 2016: 12)
Harbi Umumi (Kemal, 2020: 38)	war (Kemal, 2016: 33)

All CSIs in Table 6 are concerned with the political and governmental phenomena in the source culture, particularly related to the issues with the onset of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The item *gavur hükümet* was one of the mottos of the rebellion groups with religious motives during the final years of Ottoman Empire. Those groups were against the reforms like the abolition of the caliphate and other secular

movements. This item is well-received by source culture readers familiar with the history of Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. It was translated as “foreign government”, which could be considered a linguistic translation strategy as denotatively close signs were used with a view to increasing its comprehensibility in the target culture even though the target sign may still sound odd to the target culture readers since the item “foreign government” is not a familiar political concept in the target culture. Another CSI, *şeriat fedailer* is also a politically familiar and specific item for the source culture since this term is used to define the members of rebellious groups with religious motives in the final days of Ottoman Empire. Those groups aim at reviving the Shariah system as the governmental pattern of the Empire. This CSI was translated as “martyrs for the Shariah”, which could also be considered a linguistic translation strategy as denotatively close signs were chosen by the translator; however, the foreignness of the item to the target culture is still evident. Therefore, the translator can be said to have used foreignization strategies in translation of those two CSIs according to the synthesis of translation strategies in this study. The last sultan of the Ottoman Empire, *Vahdettin*, is also a CSI unique to the source culture. This sultan is significant in the source culture due to the controversy dominant for the governance in that sultan’s era. However, this CSI can be quite foreign to the target culture. It was translated as “Sultan Vahdettin”, with an expansion on the meaning of the CSI. While a source culture reader can easily comprehend what this CSI refers to, a target culture reader would be compelled to do retroactive reading to find out the meaning of that sign. In order to decrease the difficulty in comprehending that CSI, the translator used over-interpretation embedded in the text, which would allow the target culture reader to understand that Vahdettin was a sultan in the source culture. Therefore, this translation strategy could be considered an intratextual gloss strategy by Aixelá’s (1996) terms for translation strategies of CSIs. In this study, intratextual gloss is also considered a foreignization strategy by Venuti’s (2001) categorization of translation strategies since the CSI still sounds foreign to the target culture despite an expansion on the meaning of the sign. The item *şeriat*, a governmental system and pattern, was translated as “Shariah” while the item *hüviyet*, meaning citizenship identity in Arabic but also a common word used in the source culture, was translated as “identity papers”. The translation strategy for these two CSIs can be considered synonymy as the CSI was translated with its close synonymy in the target text rather than a mere repetition. Synonymy strategy is also acknowledged as a foreignization strategy in this study because these two terms are still alien to the target culture and it is evident that these two items belong to a foreign culture. The item *Milli Mücadele günleri* refers to the times when Ottoman Empire was regarded on the side of the defeated countries after World War I and a nation-wide movement was commenced to regain independence from the victorious countries of the war. This is also a CSI since it is specific to the source culture. It was translated as “in the days of our war of liberation following the Great War”, with two different translation strategies. First, this CSI was translated with a less specific item “in the days of our war of liberation” but still unique to the source culture. This could be considered limited universalization strategy. To make this CSI more comprehensible to the target culture, intratextual gloss strategy was also used with the addition of “the Great War”. This item is also less specific for the target culture, but the main strategy here is intratextual gloss due to the over-interpretation of the sign. In either situation, this can be considered a foreignization strategy according to the analysis method in the study. Moreover, the sign *biz bu hükümeti istemezük* is another motto of the rebellious groups within the Ottoman Empire with religious motives. Though the verb “*istemezük*” is no longer an existent inflectional aspect in the source culture language today, it is quite familiar to the readers of the source culture. It was translated as “Don’t want this government”. The subject of the target sentence was omitted in translation to show the syntactical oddness of the sentence as in the source culture. This specific political motto in the source culture was translated with a less specific

item in the target culture; however, the foreignness of the item is still evident for target culture readers, which could be considered limited universalization strategy. The item *Mübadele* is also a political CSI for the source culture. It refers to the exchange between the Ottoman Empire’s citizens and foreign citizens. It is quite a familiar item to source culture readers. It was translated as “Exchange”. Though the sign “exchange” could be considered a synonym to the source sign “mübadele”, it was translated with a capital initial “E” in the target text, which could make the target culture reader feel the foreignness of this item to their culture. While “Exchange” is a less specific cultural item, it still bears evident traces from the source culture. Therefore, this strategy can also be considered limited universalization strategy. Accordingly, the translator seems to have used foreignization strategy in the translation of the CSIs “*Milli Mücadele günleri, biz bu hükümeti istemeyiz*, and *Mübadele*”. A nationalist newspaper released by reformists in the final days of Ottoman empire, *Hakimiyeti Milliye gazetesi* is also a political item for the source culture. It was translated as “nationalist newspapers”, with the omission of all connotations of the source sign and employment of a neutral and universal sign in the target culture. This strategy can be considered absolute universalization strategy. This near-zero point strategy for this study was also used in translation of the last two CSIs. *Kuvayi Milliye* was an organized army established to defend the empire following the harsh conditions imposed on Ottoman Empire following the Mondros Armistice Agreement after World War I. This CSI is familiar to all citizens of the source culture. It was translated as “National Independence Army”, a neutral and universal item for the target culture. Finally, the item *Harbi Umumi* refers to World War I in the source culture. It was translated as “war”, a very general and universal sign, doing away with any connotations or association with the source culture. Therefore, absolute universalization strategy was employed in the translation of the last three CSIs in Table 6.

Consequently, taking absolute universalization as the near-zero point of foreignization-domestication continuum in this study, eight (72.73%) CSIs out of eleven were translated through foreignization strategies while three (27.27%) of them were translated through near-zero point of this continuum. This suggests that the political and governmental phenomena unique to a source culture can be translated in their foreignness for the target culture, compelling the target culture readers to do retroactive reading.

#### 5.4. CSIs in social life category and their translations

In Newmark’s (2010) classification of CSIs, phenomena related to economy, occupations, social welfare, health or education systems unique to a culture are categorized as CSIs belonging “social life”. Table 7 shows the social life CSIs together with their translations in the novel.

**Table 7.** CSIs under social life category in the novel

ders kitabı (Kemal, 2020: 10)	primer (Kemal, 2016: 2)
kunduracı (Kemal, 2020: 12)	cobbler (Kemal, 2016: 4)
evdeci (Kemal, 2020: 20)	handyman (Kemal, 2016: 13)
“gavurca” kitaplar (Kemal, 2020: 24)	foreign volumes (Kemal, 2016: 18)
on altın lira (Kemal, 2020: 31)	ten gold liras (Kemal, 2016: 26)
emanetçi (Kemal, 2020: 84)	depository (Kemal, 2016: 82)
cüzlerimiz (Kemal, 2020: 13)	a bound section of the Koran (Kemal, 2016: 5)
çiftçi (Kemal, 2020: 12)	farmer (Kemal, 2016: 4)

çöpçü (Kemal, 2020: 12)	dustmen (Kemal, 2016: 4)
makinist (Kemal, 2020: 16)	engine driver (Kemal, 2016: 9)
Ermeni Okulu (Kemal, 2020: 18)	Armenian School (Kemal, 2016: 11)
işportacılık (Kemal, 2020: 37)	peddler (Kemal, 2016: 32)
kahveci (Kemal, 2020: 38; 94)	café owner (Kemal, 2016: 93)
patron (Kemal, 2020: 52)	boss (Kemal, 2016: 49)
Dördüncü haftalığımı alırken, (Kemal, 2020: 67)	As I collected my fourth week’s wages (Kemal, 2016: 65)
talebeler (Kemal, 2020: 86)	students (Kemal, 2016: 84)
İlk verildiğim okul bir “Aralık Mektebi”ydi, yahut da medrese... (Kemal, 2020: 13)	I was first placed in what was an old-fashioned religious school. (Kemal, 2016: 5)
yaylılar (Kemal, 2020: 16)	horse carriages (Kemal, 2016: 9)
kozhelvacı (Kemal, 2020: 47)	halva seller (Kemal, 2016: 43)
topçu teğmeni (Kemal, 2020: 9)	lieutenant in the artillery corps (Kemal, 2016: 1)
el kızı (Kemal, 2020: 12)	young lady (Kemal, 2016: 4)
hocamız (Kemal, 2020: 13)	our teacher (Kemal, 2016: 5)
subay (Kemal, 2020: 15)	officer (Kemal, 2016: 8)
bakkal (Kemal, 2020: 12)	grocers (Kemal, 2016: 4)
muallime (Kemal, 2020: 22)	a teacher (Kemal, 2016: 15)
paşa (Kemal, 2020: 33; 73)	military commander; general (Kemal, 2016: 27; 71)
sarraı (Kemal, 2020: 44)	money-changer (Kemal, 2016: 40)
aktarlar (Kemal, 2020: 51)	little shops (Kemal, 2016: 47)
mürettipler (Kemal, 2020: 51)	print-shop workers (Kemal, 2016: 48)
okul tasdiknamem (Kemal, 2020: 72)	my school certificate (Kemal, 2016: 70)
çini mürekkep (Kemal, 2020: 91)	ink (Kemal, 2016: 90)
tirlin (Kemal, 2020: 91)	pen (Kemal, 2016: 90)
kopya kalemi (Kemal, 2020: 10)	pencil (Kemal, 2016: 2)
yedi sekiz kuruş suri (Kemal, 2020: 37)	few pennies (Kemal, 2016: 32)
on param yok (Kemal, 2020: 98)	I haven’t a penny. (Kemal, 2016: 97)
kahveci (Kemal, 2020: 88)	-----
patoz (Kemal, 2020: 101)	-----

All items in Table 7 are phenomena related to professions, schooling gadgets, economic matters or social welfare unique to the source culture. Therefore, they were categorized as culture specific items belonging to Newmark’s (2010) social life category. The CSIs “*kunduracı, evdeci, emanetçi, çiftçi, çöpçü, makinist, işportacı, kahveci, patron, kozhelvacı, topçu teğmeni, hoca, subay, bakkal, muallime, paşa, sarraf, aktar, mürettip*” are professions; the CSIs “*ders kitabı, gavurca kitaplar, cüzlerimiz, Ermeni Okulu, talebeler, Aralık Mektebi ... medrese, okul tasdiknamem, çini mürekkep, kopya kalemi, tirlin*” are phenomena related to schooling; the CSIs “*on altın lira, haftalık, yedi sekiz kuruş suri, on param yok*” are the terms related to economic matters; the CSIs “*yaylılar, el kızı, patoz*” can be considered social welfare items. A great majority of those CSIs, if not all of them, are unique to

the modern Turkish or Ottoman culture. The target culture readers might not be able to comprehend most of those CSIs, and they might sound foreign even in the target text.

The translations of social life CSIs in Table 7 show that the first six CSIs were translated through target signs close to the denotative meanings of source CSIs, but it is still evident in the target culture that those items belong to the source culture. *Ders kitabı* was translated as “primer”, while the target sign refers to a small book containing subject knowledge as an introductory book to a subject. Therefore, the target sign “primer” is only denotatively close to the source CSI *ders kitabı*, which could include subject knowledge from introduction to advanced levels and exercises to learn a subject well. While the source CSI *kunduracı* is one of the endangered professions with deep sentiments in the source culture, “cobbler” is a person who repairs shoes in the target culture. While these two items seem close enough, the associations of the source CSI *kunduracı* with small shops and dirty hands, generally located in the less popular streets of the downtown area are not possible in the target sign “cobbler”. Another source CSI, *evdeci* refers to a cook who prepares meal in suburban parts of a city in the source culture while the target sign *handyman* refers to any man who is skilled at making things in or out of a house. Therefore, the source CSI and the target sign are only denotatively close to each other. The source CSI *gavurca kitaplar* refers to books written in a language other than the official language of the country, and it has a pejorative connotation while the target sign “foreign volumes” is the denotatively close item to the source CSI without any pejorative associations. For *on altın lira*, a real unit of currency in the source culture, “ten gold liras” is only a denotative equivalent in the target text since such a currency does not exist in the target culture. The other CSI, *emanetçi* in the source text, is a person who keeps things to be collected later in return for money. On the other hand, it was translated as “depository” in the target text. “Depository” is a place rather than a person for keeping things safe to be collected later; therefore these two signs are denotatively close to each other yet do not bear similar connotations culturally. Hence, the first six CSIs in Table 7 were translated through linguistic translation strategy, which is considered a foreignization strategy in this study since it is clear to the target culture readers that those items do not belong to their own culture but rather come from another culture.

The source CSI *cüz* refers to a small book for learning Arabic alphabets in the school in the source culture. It also refers to one of the thirty parts of the holy book Quran; however, it was used in the former meaning in the novel. It was translated as “a bound section of the Koran” in the target text, with expansion and over-interpretation of the source CSI for a clear reading in the target culture. This translation strategy can be considered intratextual gloss since an explanation over the source CSI was embedded within the text. In this study, intratextual gloss strategy is also considered a foreignization strategy since the over-interpretation still makes the target culture reader feel an odd item foreign to their own culture. The next nine CSIs were translated through synonymy strategy since the synonyms of the source CSIs were used in the target text as in the following: *çiftçi* – farmer; *çöpçü* – dustmen; *makinist* – engine driver; *Ermeni Okulu* -Armenian School; *işportacılık* – peddler; *kahveci* – café owner; *patron* – boss; *haftalık* – wage; *talebeler* – students. The target signs for those nine CSIs go beyond denotatively close meanings. Rather, they are near-synonyms for the source CSIs. Synonymy, as a translation strategy, was taken under foreignization strategies in this study since the target signs do not serve as CSIs in the target culture, but only as synonyms to source CSIs.

The source CSI, *medrese*, was translated as “an old-fashioned religious school”, which is a less specific item for the target culture. As another source CSI, *yaşlılar*, a specific carriage covered on all sides and with four wheels besides arcs underneath drawn by horses, was translated as “horse carriages”, which

is a more general item for the target culture reader yet still evident that it belongs to another culture. This is also the case for the source CSI *kozhelvacı*. This CSI refers to a person who sells a particular type of halva. It was translated as “halva seller”, which is more comprehensible for the target culture reader due to its less specific nature compared to the source CSI. The translation strategy used in translation of those three source CSIs can be considered limited universalization since specific cultural items were translated with more general items still belonging to the source culture. The translator seems to have used foreignization strategy in translation of those three CSIs as the more general target signs are still foreign to the target culture, and the source culture reader can easily feel this foreignness. Of the 37 CSIs in Table 7, 19 of them (51.35%) were translated through foreignization strategies, the most common of them being synonymy strategy. Therefore, translators could choose to conserve the foreignness of CSIs under social life category for the target culture through various translation strategies.

The next 14 source CSIs in Table 7 were translated through absolute universalization strategy, accepted as a near-zero point in the foreignization-domestication spectrum in this study. To illustrate, a profession specific to the source culture, *topçu teğmeni*, was translated as “lieutenant in the artillery corps”, which is a universal and neutral sign that does not seem to favor any specific culture in the world, but existent across cultures. Another source CSI, *el kızı*, generally used for the son’s wife in a family to refer to her foreignness to the family in a pejorative way, was translated as “young lady”, an utterly neutral sign free from any connotations or cultural associations. The source CSI, *hocamız*, used to address the teacher in religious schools in the past but still popular among students in high schools or higher education context today, was translated as “our teacher”, stripping the CSI off its cultural associations with a universal sign. *Subay*, one of the higher ranks in the military system in the source culture, was translated as “officer” in the target culture, which is also a culturally neutral sign. While the source CSI *bakkal* bears traces from Turkish culture, “grocers” goes beyond synonymy as the latter one is a universal sign that exists in all cultures, making it a neutral sign for target culture readers. The source CSI, *muallime*, referring to a female teacher in schools in the past, was translated as “a teacher”, eliminating the gender-specific and cultural nature of the CSI with a universal sign as was the case in translation of *hocamız*. *Paşa*, referring to a high-ranking military commander in the source culture, was translated as “military commander” and “general”. While the orthographic adaptation of the word, “pasha”, could also have been chosen by the translator, the decision here can be acknowledged to eliminate the foreignness of the item with universal and culture-neutral signs. Another occupation as a source CSI, *sarraf*, who sells or buys jewelry in a shop, was translated as “money-changer”. While money-changing is only a small job of a *sarraf* in the source culture and does not match the associations of that job, a universal sign was chosen in the target text, freeing the CSI from its cultural associations and allowing people from other cultures consuming the target text to comprehend the sign easily. As another specific job in the source culture, *aktarlar*, referring to shops or people who sell spice or nice scents, was stripped off its source culture associations and it was translated as “little shops”, without any reference to what they sell or any hint of which culture this sign might belong to. Even if the sign “little shops” might sound too broad for the source CSI, it was neutralized for target culture readers. When it comes to an old source CSI, *mürettipler*, referring to typesetters for books or magazines, might sound odd even to modern readers of the source culture as this word is in Arabic and is not in common use today. This specific profession was translated as “print-shop workers”, a general and universally accepted profession without any hint of cultural associations. *Okul tasdiknamem*, a document given to students by the school principals if they do not or cannot graduate from a school to certify their current condition of schooling experience, is generally associated with a document given to students expelled from the school in the source culture. This

source CSI was translated as “my school certificate”, a neutral and general sign that eliminates any cultural connotation or association and well-received by readers from target culture or other cultures. As another schooling CSI, *çini mürekkep*, a black and fine ink type that does not easily fade and popularly known in the source culture, was translated as “ink”, a universal item known in almost all cultures of the world. Moreover, the source CSI *tirlin*, used to write in ink in schools, was translated as “pen”. The sign “pen” is a universally accepted and known school item that does not belong to any culture. Similarly, while the source CSI *kopya kalemi* is a solid and hard pencil generally with purple color used for copying handwriting or certain images in the following pages when accompanied by carbon paper, it was translated as “pencil”, a general and neutral sign in the target text that has no cultural associations. As can be seen in the translation of those 14 CSIs, the translator neither foreignized nor domesticated the source CSIs, but rather used universally known signs in the target culture, eliminating any cultural association to the source or target cultures.

The next two source CSIs in Table 7 are concerned with currency units. *Yedi sekiz kuruş suri*, even foreign to modern readers of the source culture, was translated as “few pennies”, a currency unit specific to the target culture. Moreover, the other source CSI, *on param yok*, another currency unit used in the source culture in old times, was translated as “I haven’t a penny”. Therefore, both *suri* and *para*, two different currency units for source culture readers, were translated with a target culture specific currency unit. This can be considered naturalization strategy. In explaining the naturalization strategy, Aixelá (1996: 63) also gives the example of currencies, which implies that currencies as CSIs can be translated through target CSIs. In this study, naturalization strategy is grouped under domestication strategies. Hence, the translator domesticated the currency units as CSIs.

The last two source CSIs, *kahveci* and *patoz* were not translated at all. While the former one was translated as “café-owner” through synonymy strategy in one of the preceding contexts as can be seen in Table 7, it was directly wiped out in another context. The wiping-out of these two source CSIs can be considered deletion strategy. Aixelá’s (1996) deletion strategy is also categorized under domestication strategies in this study. Consequently, taking absolute universalization as the near-zero point in foreignization – domestication spectrum in this study, four (10.81%) out of 37 CSIs in social life category were domesticated for the target culture readers. This shows that CSIs related to professions, social welfare and education are generally foreignized for target culture readers in translation.

### 5.5. CSIs in personal life category and their translations

Newmark (2010) categorizes food, clothing, and housing items under personal life category and considers them culture specific items. Table 8 shows the CSIs under personal life category together with their translations in the novel.

**Table 8.** CSIs under personal life category in the novel

Sivas kilimi (Kemal, 2020: 76)	Sivas kilim (Kemal, 2016: 74)
hasırlı kırmızı fes (Kemal, 2020: 11)	red fez (Kemal, 2016: 3)
çarşafli kadınlar (Kemal, 2020: 15)	veiled women (Kemal, 2019: 7)
keçe külahlı (Kemal, 2020: 18)	in coarse caps (Kemal, 2016: 11)
günlük kokuyordu (Kemal, 2020: 26)	the smell of resin (Kemal, 2016: 20)
lüks lambası (Kemal, 2020: 41)	gas lamp (Kemal, 2016: 36)
Adana çiğköftesi (Kemal, 2020: 44)	Adana-style raw <i>köfte</i> (Kemal, 2016: 39)

başörtüsü (Kemal, 2020: 44)	head-scarf (Kemal, 2016: 40)
Adana tarzında içliköfteler (Kemal, 2020: 74)	Adana-style stuffed <i>köfte</i> (Kemal, 2016: 72)
bohça (Kemal, 2020: 80)	bundle (Kemal, 2016: 78)
fildekos fanila (Kemal, 2020: 81)	string vest (Kemal, 2016: 79)
cumbalı pencere (Kemal, 2020: 84)	bay window (Kemal, 2016: 82)
gazoz (Kemal, 2020: 88)	lemonade (Kemal, 2016: 87)
kehribar tespih (Kemal, 2020: 92)	amber-beaded rosary (Kemal, 2016: 91)
top ayakkabısı (Kemal, 2020: 95)	football boots (Kemal, 2016: 94)
tulumbanın altında (Kemal, 2020: 96)	under the pump (Kemal, 2016: 95)
kuru fasulyeyle pilav (Kemal, 2020: 97)	beans with rice (Kemal, 2016: 96)
türlü (Kemal, 2020: 97)	ratatouille (Kemal, 2016: 96)
kaymaklı kayısı kompostosu (Kemal, 2020: 101)	cream on apricot compote (Kemal, 2016: 100)
tül perde (Kemal, 2020: 10)	delicate lace curtains (Kemal, 2016: 2)
kalpaklı (Kemal, 2020: 15)	in a fur cap (Kemal, 2016: 8)
takunya (Kemal, 2020: 44)	wooden shoes (Kemal, 2016: 40)
karnıyarık (Kemal, 2020: 97)	aubergine stuffed with lamb (Kemal, 2016: 96)
revani (Kemal, 2020: 101)	baked semolina pudding (Kemal, 2016: 100)
kundak (Kemal, 2020: 9)	crib (Kemal, 2016: 1)
kolalı yaka (Kemal, 2020: 10)	starched collar (Kemal, 2016: 2)
fırketeler (Kemal, 2020: 14)	hairpins (Kemal, 2016: 6)
mercimek çorbası (Kemal, 2020: 14)	lentil soup (Kemal, 2016: 7)
nakışlı, işlemeli (Kemal, 2020: 16)	engravings, embroidery (Kemal, 2016: 9)
Yere çullar serilir, sofraya bezleri yayılır (Kemal, 2020: 22)	They'd lay out mats on the floor, cover them with tablecloths (Kemal, 2016: 15)
işkembe ayıklamak (Kemal, 2020: 36)	cleaning tripe (Kemal, 2016: 31)
huğ (Kemal, 2020: 91; 93)	hovel; hut (Kemal, 2016: 90; 92)
Kocaman sarıklı bir hocamız vardı. (Kemal, 2020: 13)	... our teacher wore a huge turban on his head. (Kemal, 2016: 5)
Annem, babaannem, halalarım çarşaflarına bürünmüşlerdi. (Kemal, 2020: 16)	My mother, grandmother and my aunts were all in purdah. (Kemal, 2016: 9)
batırık (Kemal, 2020: 21)	fingers of bulgur (Kemal, 2016: 15)
bulgur pilavları (Kemal, 2020: 22)	dishes of bulgur (Kemal, 2016: 15)
agel, kefiye (Kemal, 2020: 83)	Arab headdresses (Kemal, 2016: 81)
yemeniler (Kemal, 2020: 92)	kerchiefs (Kemal, 2016: 91)
biber dolması (Kemal, 2020: 95)	stuffed peppers (Kemal, 2016: 94)
tahin helvası (Kemal, 2020: 102)	halva (Kemal, 2016: 102)
yeşil ibrişim (Kemal, 2020: 10)	green silk (Kemal, 2016: 2)
kerevet takımları (Kemal, 2020: 10)	bed covers (Kemal, 2016: 2)



beyaz gecelik entarim (Kemal, 2020: 11)	my long white nightdress (Kemal, 2016: 3)
biber turřuları (Kemal, 2020: 22)	pickles (Kemal, 2016: 15)
karpuzlu lambalar (Kemal, 2020: 24)	colourful lampshades (Kemal, 2016: 18)
kahverengi fötrü (Kemal, 2020: 29)	his [...] brown hat (Kemal, 2016: 23)
řekerkaşıçıları (Kemal, 2020: 30)	sweet shops (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Git, dört iřkembe al gel! (Kemal, 2020: 32)	Four soups! (Kemal, 2016: 26)
tatar böređi (Kemal, 2020: 50)	nice food (Kemal, 2016: 46)
telkadayfı (Kemal, 2020: 50)	a dessert (Kemal, 2016: 46)
postal (Kemal, 2020: 52)	boots (Kemal, 2016: 48)
kasket (Kemal, 2020: 62)	cap (Kemal, 2016: 59)
kahvaltı çıkınım (Kemal, 2020: 65)	my breakfast bag (Kemal, 2016: 62)
cezve (Kemal, 2020: 76)	coffee-pot (Kemal, 2016: 74)
cicik kutusu (Kemal, 2020: 76)	toy-box (Kemal, 2016: 74)
frenk gömleđi (Kemal, 2020: 81)	shirts (Kemal, 2016: 79)
atlet fanilası (Kemal, 2020: 81)	undershirt (Kemal, 2016: 79)
gazoz (Kemal, 2020: 99)	fizzy drinks (Kemal, 2016: 98)
hayvan mayısı (Kemal, 2020: 91)	animals (Kemal, 2016: 90)
bir baş kuru sođan (Kemal, 2020: 92)	an onion (Kemal, 2016: 91)
taskebabı (Kemal, 2020: 97)	lamb stew (Kemal, 2016: 96)
kır kahvesi (Kemal, 2020: 38)	café (Kemal, 2016: 33)
enveriyeli (Kemal, 2020: 9)	-----
poturlu (Kemal, 2020: 18)	-----

As can be seen in Table 8, a total of 64 items related to food, clothing, and housing specific to the source culture were determined in the novel. The first item, *Sivas kilimi* is a housing item. It was translated as “Sivas kilim”. This translation could be shown as an example of repetition strategy, which is included in foreignization strategies in this study. Even though this item does not sound familiar to the target culture at all, the translator incorporated it to the target culture with all its foreignness.

The next 18 CSIs were translated through their denotatively close meanings. Even though the denotatively close meanings do not sound totally odd to the target culture readers, it is still evident both in isolation and in their contexts that those items belong to a different culture rather than the target culture in this study. As the housing, food and clothing items from “red fez” to “cream on apricot compote” do not exist as familiar cultural items in the target text, the translation strategy in translation of those 18 source CSIs could be considered linguistic translation. Even in the target language, readers do not consider the clothing items “red fez, veil for women, coarse caps, head-scarf, string vest, football boots” something of their own culture. On the contrary, the foreignness of such items to their culture is quite clear. When it comes to the food and drinks, “Adana-style raw *köfte*, Adana-style stuffed *köfte*, lemonade, beans with rice, ratatouille, cream on apricot compote” are not familiar items to the target culture, either. They might provide denotatively close meanings to the source CSIs, however the “non-cultural” translation is evident in those items. As for housing items, “the smell of resin, gas lamp, bundle, bay window, amber-beaded rosary, the pump (as a water

obtaining item in houses)” clearly manifest their foreignness to the target culture. Target culture readers can easily recognize the oriental origin of those CSIs. Hence, the linguistic translation strategy, taken as a foreignization strategy in this study, served to present linguistically familiar, but culturally foreign items to the target culture.

In translation of the next five items, an expanded meaning was embedded within the text by the translator. To illustrate, *tül perde*, as a housing item, was translated as “delicate lace curtains”. The item was made more comprehensible to the target culture reader through over-interpretation of the material “*tül*” as “delicate lace” from which the curtain was made. A clothing item, *kalpak* is unique to the source culture and certain other oriental cultures, but it does not exist in the target culture. Therefore, its meaning was also expanded within the text as “a fur cap”, providing the material this particular type of cap is made from. Another clothing item, *takunya*, a foot-wear made of wooden material and worn on wet floor like a Turkish bath or ablution areas, was translated as “wooden shoes”, providing the material in its manufacture. In this way, the target culture reader was provided with an over-interpretation of the CSI for clear comprehension. A food item, *karnıyarık*, a popular food in Turkish cuisine, was translated as “aubergine stuffed with lamb”, not only presenting the material in the food but also describing its preparation. A popular dessert in Turkish cuisine, *revani*, was translated as “baked semolina pudding”, presenting the preparation technique, ingredients and the texture of that food item. Therefore, these five source CSIs were translated through intratextual gloss translation strategy. The explanation for the CSIs were provided within the text by the translator. Even if those CSIs were rendered less incomprehensible for target culture readers, the foreignness of those items is still clear as the target culture does not possess those clothing and food items explained in the contexts. Therefore, the translator can be said to have employed foreignization strategy in translation of those five CSIs.

For the next eight items, synonymy as a translation strategy is evident. The following source CSIs and the signs used for their translation are near-synonyms: *kundak* – crib; *kolah yaka* – starched collar; *firketeler* – hairpins; *mercimek çorbası* – lentil soup; *nakışlı, işlemeli* - engravings, embroidery; *sofra bezleri* – tablecloths; *işkembe ayıklamak* – cleaning tripe; *huş-* hovel; hut. It is beyond doubt that the source CSIs were translated through their near-synonyms; however, the associative power of the source CSIs cannot be conserved in translation. Even if those signs in the target text might be somehow familiar to the target culture readers, “crib, starched collar, hairpins, cleaning tripe, lentil soup, engravings and embroidery, tablecloths, hovel, and hut” could sound oriental culture items. Therefore, even synonymy translation strategy can be considered a foreignization strategy since an alien cultural item; however, close its synonym might be in the target culture, is introduced to the target text.

As for the next eight items, *çarşaf*, a clothing item worn by women from head to feet and not showing any skin, was translated as “purdah”. The target culture sign “purdah” includes more than the source CSI *çarşaf*. The target culture sign is a less specific item for the target culture; however, it is still a foreign clothing item for the target culture. This less specific item was still chosen from the source text culture. The same holds for *sarık*, a head cover particularly used in oriental cultures. It was translated as “turban”, a kind of similar head cover and less specific for the target culture; however, the foreignness and oriental feeling of that clothing item is still evident. *Batırık*, a local food in the source culture was translated as “fingers of bulgur”. This cannot be considered an intratextual gloss since any food item beginning with “fingers of...” sounds familiar to the target culture. What makes it alien is the item “bulgur”, directly repeated from the source text. The same holds for *bulgur pilavı*, translated as

“dishes of bulgur”. However, this cannot be taken as a mere repetition, either. The translator used a less specific item through a familiar food type (fingers of..., dishes of ...) but still imposed the foreignness of that food using a source text item. *Agel* and *kefiye*, worn by Arabian men on their heads, were translated as “Arab headdresses”. The culture specific items in the source text were translated with a more general sign “headdresses”. However, the conservation of “Arab”, the origin of those headdresses, still shows the foreignness of those clothing items to the target culture reader. While the clothing item *yemeniler* (plural form) is a kind of shoes in the source text besides a cloth worn on the head (but the former meaning is the case in the context in the source text), “kerchief”, a less specific clothing item, is worn around the neck as an accessory in the target culture. The use of a “kerchief”, a less specific item for the target culture, could serve to make it more comprehensible to the target culture readers; however, a potential yet non-existent meaning of the source item in the source text still manifests the foreignness of that item. *Biber dolması*, another popular food item in Turkish culture, was translated as “stuffed peppers”. The target culture equivalent of the source item is less specific and more comprehensible to the target culture reader; however, the non-existence of such a food item in the target culture still shows the foreignness of that item. While *tahin helvası* is a particular type of dessert (halva) in the source culture, it was translated as “halva”, omitting the specific nature of that type of “halva”, yet this item is also alien to the target culture as a food item. Therefore, limited universalization strategy was used in translation of these eight CSIs. Even if their target culture signs for those CSIs are less specific, those target signs were still chosen from the source culture. Therefore, this could also be considered a foreignization strategy by Venuti’s (2001) translation strategies.

The most common translation strategy in Table 8 is absolute universalization. Target culture items from “green silk” to “lamb stew” are neutral and universal signs that do not seem to belong to any particular culture. All those 21 items in the source text are source culture specific items related to housing, food or clothing items. To name a few purely randomly; *kahverengi fötr* was translated as “brown hat”. While *fötr* is a historically and socially significant specific kind of hat in the source culture, “a hat” is a neutral sign that exists in almost any modern culture in the world. As another example, the item *cicik kutusu*, a culturally significant toy-box generally little girls put their dolls and other toys in, was translated as “toy-box”, a general sign that exists in almost all cultures. *Hayvan mayısı* refers to the waste of animals. It was used as a bad-smell item in the source text; however, it was translated only as the smell of “animals”, a more general item known in all cultures. While the food *taskebabı* is a popular meat food unique to the source culture, it was translated as a universal food “lamb stew”, stripping the cultural connotations off. Therefore, the neutrality and universality of the 21 target language items “green silk, bed covers, long white nightdress, pickles, colorful lampshades, brown hat, sweet shops, soups, nice food, dessert, boots, cap, breakfast bag, coffee-pot, toy-box, shirts, undershirt, fizzy drinks, animals, onion, lamb stew” in Table 8 are clear to any reader from any culture. This implies that the 21 source CSIs they stand for were neutralized for target text readers. That is the reason why absolute universalization strategy is considered the near-zero point of foreignization-domestication spectrum. Absolute universalization neither foreignizes nor domesticates a source CSI but neutralizes it for people from all cultures.

The item *kır kahvesi* is a source CSI. It refers to a small café that serves hot or cold drinks in the countryside in the source culture. However, it was translated as “café”. “Café” refers to a small restaurant that generally offers simple and inexpensive meals or drinks in the target culture. Moreover, this sign is specific to the target culture, which means that a source CSI was translated with a target CSI. This strategy can be considered naturalization by Aixelá’s (1996) CSI translation

strategies. Naturalization strategy is considered a domestication strategy in this study since the translator literally brings a source CSI to the service of the target culture readers through a CSI from their own culture.

For the last two source CSIs, *enveriyeli*, a kind of head cover worn by soldiers in old times, and *potur*, a kind of pants, no target sign was used in the target culture. Therefore, these two source CSIs were omitted from the target text, which refers to deletion strategy by Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies. Deletion is also taken as a domestication strategy in this study since the translator eliminates a source CSI for the service of target text readers.

Consequently, taking absolute universalization strategy as the near-zero point, 40 CSIs (62.5%) out of 64 under personal life category were translated through foreignization strategies while three (4.69%) of them were translated with domestication strategies. This implies that foreignization strategies can be effective in rendering a culture specific item in Newmark’s (2010) personal life category even though domestication strategies could be needed infrequently. However, these findings also point to an important implication that it is also possible to translate CSIs under personal life category without favoring either foreignization or domestication strategies as is the case in translation of 21 (32.81%) CSIs.

### 5.6. CSIs in customs and pursuits category and their translations

Newmark (2010) categorizes body language, hobbies, sports, and the related national idioms as CSIs under customs and pursuits category. Table 9 shows the CSIs under customs and pursuits category together with their translations in the novel.

**Table 9.** CSIs under customs and pursuits category in the novel

Cıss (Kemal, 2020: 9)	burning sound: Tsss. (Kemal, 2016: 1)
çikolata çekişmek (Kemal, 2020: 29)	the possibility of getting hold of chocolate (Kemal, 2016: 23)
Yedi başlı müthiş devler, cadılar, cinler, [...] Araplar Zümrüdüanka kuşları, padişahlar, padişah kızları, sihirbazlar ve sehzadelerle dolu masallardı. (Kemal, 2020: 22)	Tales full of amazing giants with seven heads, witches, genies and imps or a marvelous phoenix, together with sultans, sultans’ daughters, sheikhs and wizards. (Kemal, 2016: 16)
futbol topunun parçalanmış meşini (Kemal, 2020: 79)	the torn leather of my football (Kemal, 2016: 77)
spor mecmuaları (Kemal, 2020: 81)	sports magazines (Kemal, 2016: 79)
Elini alıp öpüyorum (Kemal, 2020: 82)	I kissed her hand (Kemal, 2016: 80)
kamış vurmak (Kemal, 2020: 29)	swordplay with sticks (Kemal, 2016: 23)
- ... çalıştın mı? - Çalıştım... - Su gibi mi? (Kemal, 2020: 11)	- Have you done your homework? - I have. - Properly? (Kemal, 2016: 3)
Sonra çift kaleye başlarız. (Kemal, 2020: 69)	Then we play a proper game of football. (Kemal, 2016: 66)
Estağfurullah (Kemal, 2020: 75)	I didn’t mean anything like that! (Kemal, 2016: 73)
Küçük aptestimiz gelince de uzağa gitmeye hacet yoktu. (Kemal, 2020: 86)	We never had to go far to relieve ourselves. (Kemal, 2016: 85)
maç (Kemal, 2020: 101)	game (Kemal, 2016: 101)

şakaklarımızı kolonya veya sirkeyle ovar, arkamıza kuru bez yatırır (Kemal, 2020: 19)	cool our foreheads and place dry towels beneath our backs. (Kemal, 2016: 13)
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As can be seen in Table 9, 13 items related to body language, hobbies, sports, and related national idioms were found in the novel. The CSI *Cıss*, an exclamation sound produced to warn little kids of the risk of burn, can be considered an item related to body language. It was translated as “burning sound: Tıss” in the source culture. The expansion of meaning through “burning sound” can be considered over-interpretation of the meaning. As this over-interpretation is embedded within the text by the translator, this can be categorized as intratextual gloss strategy. Another CSI, *çikolata çekişmek*, a hobby among young children to decide on who should eat chocolate by drawing sticks, was translated as “the possibility of getting hold of chocolate”. Over-interpretation of that hobby with the addition of “the possibility of” implies the chance factor in that game, which could be considered intratextual gloss strategy, as well. As these two items are still alien to the target culture in the translated text, the translator can be said to have used foreignization strategy.

The third CSI is related to the content of source culture tales. *Yedi başlı müthiş devler* – “amazing giants with seven heads”, *cinler* – “genies”, *padişahlar* – “sultans”, *cadılar* – “witches” are the main characters in Turkish tales. Those items were translated through their near-synonyms in the target culture. Hence, this can be considered synonymy strategy. *Futbol topumun parçalanmış meşini*, another CSI related to sports, was translated as “the torn leather of my football”, which is the near-synonym of the source culture specific item. Therefore, this translation strategy could be considered synonymy, as well. *Spor mecmuaları*, another sports and hobby item in the source text, was translated as “sports magazines”, which can also be regarded as synonymy strategy. *Elini alıp öpüyorum*, one of the customs in Turkish culture, is a sign of respect from younger people to the elderly. It was translated as “I kissed her hand”, which is the synonym of the source culture item. Therefore, the translation strategy here is synonymy strategy. As can be seen in the examples here, even the synonyms in the target text still sound alien to the target culture as the popular characters in tales, the torn leather of a football, and kissing hand are not part of the target culture. Accordingly, synonymy strategy can be considered a foreignization strategy.

*Kamış vurmak*, a hobby and sports in the source culture, was translated as “swordplay with sticks”. The item unique to Turkish culture was translated through a less specific item but still part of the source culture. This can be considered limited universalization strategy, which is grouped under foreignization strategies in this study.

The next six culture specific items were translated through absolute universalization strategy. To illustrate, *su gibi çalışmak*, an idiomatic expression to refer to hard and proper study, was translated as “do homework properly”. The target culture item is a neutral and universal one that is free from all cultural associations. Another source culture item, *çift kale maç*, referring to a street football match between two teams, was translated as “proper game of football”. Here, “proper game” implies an ordinary football match between two teams, rendering the source CSI with a neutral sign free from all cultural associations. *Estağfurullah*, an Arabic-origin exclamation produced in the source culture when people feel they were misunderstood and resented by the other party, was translated as “I didn’t mean anything like that!”. The target sign is not specific to any culture; therefore a neutral item was used for the source CSI. Another source CSI, *küçük aptest*, referring to the need for peeing, was translated through another universal item, “relieve ourselves”. This target culture item is internationally understood the same no matter which culture readers might belong to. The CSI *maç*,

Turkish equivalent of the English word “match”, primarily refers to football matches in Turkish culture while this word can be used in all sports. In the target culture, it was translated as “game”, a universal and neutral item that can be interpreted the same across cultures. Finally, a home remedy for sick kids with high fever in the source culture, *şakaklarımızı kolonya ve sirkeyle ovar* was translated as “cool our foreheads”, using a uniform sign in all cultures for a specific source CSI. As can be understood from those six examples, source CSIs were rendered through uniformly accepted universal items, which do not belong to any specific culture. This absolute universalization strategy is taken as the near-zero point in foreignization-domestication spectrum. Therefore, the translator neither foreignized nor domesticated those six source CSIs in the target culture.

Consequently, seven (53.85%) of the 13 source CSIs under customs and pursuits category were translated through foreignization strategies. In this way, the translator introduced the source culture items to the target culture. However, six (46.15%) of the CSIs in that category were translated through near-zero point of translation strategies. This implies that CSIs under customs and pursuits category can be translated without favoring foreignization or domestication strategies. It is important to note that no domestication strategy was used in the translation of CSIs under customs and pursuits category. Therefore, the CSIs in this category can be introduced to the target culture in their foreignness or through neutral signs.

### 5.7. CSIs in private passions category and their translations

According to Newmark (2010), the items related to religion, music, poetry, social organizations, churches, and poetry societies specific to a source culture fall under private passions category. Table 10 shows the CSIs under private passions category together with their translations.

**Table 10.** CSIs under private passions category in the novel

Kuran'ı beş yaşında hatmetmiş! (Kemal, 2020: 13)	...he had already learned the whole Koran off by heart by the time he was five. (Kemal, 2016: 5)
Ulu Cami (Kemal, 2020: 30)	the big mosque (Kemal, 2016: 25)
Arife günü (Kemal, 2020: 44)	eve of the Eid festival (Kemal, 2016: 40)
Bayram (Kemal, 2020: 44)	The end of Ramadan (Kemal, 2016: 40)
ninni (Kemal, 2020: 60)	singing us to sleep. (Kemal, 2016: 57)
Ramazan içindeydik... (Kemal, 2020: 44)	It was Ramadan. (Kemal, 2016: 40)
Bebekli Kilisesi (Kemal, 2020: 75)	Bebekli Church (Kemal, 2016: 72)
Papaz'ın Bahçesi (Kemal, 2020: 75)	priest's garden (Kemal, 2016: 72)
mızıka (Kemal, 2020: 95)	harmonica (Kemal, 2016: 94)
bir mescit (Kemal, 2020: 13)	one small mosque (Kemal, 2016: 5)
ayet ve hadisler (Kemal, 2020: 44)	extracts from the Koran (Kemal, 2016: 39)
bayram namazı (Kemal, 2020: 46)	Eid prayers (Kemal, 2016: 42)
nezleli sesiyle “Turnam”ı tutturmuş (Kemal, 2020: 74)	singing a Turkish song (Kemal, 2016: 72)
Babaannem Allahüla'yı okuyor. (Kemal, 2020: 17)	My grandmother knelt down and prayed. (Kemal, 2016: 10)
Elham, Kulhüvallahü, Allahüla... (Kemal, 2020: 17)	one prayer after another (Kemal, 2016: 10)
Vallahi (Kemal, 2020: 23)	Honestly (Kemal, 2016: 17)

Sevaptır, sana hayır dua ederiz... (Kemal, 2020: 24)	a good deed, and we'll pray for you. (Kemal, 2016: 18)
Eyüp sabrı (Kemal, 2020: 27)	the patience of a saint (Kemal, 2016: 21)
Çukurova türküsü (Kemal, 2020: 38)	a folk tune (Kemal, 2016: 34)
Müminler (Kemal, 2020: 46)	The faithful (Kemal, 2016: 42)
Elham, Kulhüvallahı okur, üflerdim. (Kemal, 2020: 54)	I would pray and praise his name. (Kemal, 2016: 51)
besmeyleyle (Kemal, 2020: 92)	with a prayer (Kemal, 2016: 91)
gazel okuyor (Kemal, 2020: 95)	was singing (Kemal, 2016: 94)
sabah namazından iki saat sonra (Kemal, 2020: 104)	a couple of hours after dawn (Kemal, 2016: 104)
ikindiüstü (Kemal, 2020: 23)	later in the afternoon (Kemal, 2016: 16)
Vallahi (Kemal, 2020: 26)	'As God is my witness' (Kemal, 2016: 20)
Allahaısmarladık (Kemal, 2020: 35)	Goodbye (Kemal, 2016: 30)
davul zurna sesleri (Kemal, 2020: 47)	drumbeats and music (Kemal, 2016: 43)
“oyna yansın cepkenin” (Kemal, 2020: 104)	'Shake it baby, set the night on fire' (Kemal, 2016: 104)
Fesuphanallah (Kemal, 2020: 23)	-----
Küllüye (Kemal, 2020: 48)	-----

31 CSIs in Table 10 are related to religious items, religious institutions, and music. The first religious CSI, *Kuran'ı hatmetmek* was translated as “learn the whole Koran by heart”. *Hatmetmek* refers to learning the whole Koran by heart in the source culture, and this explanation is the linguistic translation of the source CSI in the target culture. However, the source CSI *hatmetmek* has religious associations not existent in the target culture. Though denotatively close to each other, *hatmetmek* and “learning by heart” bear connotatively distinct associations, the former one referring to a religious motive of performing a good deed for the sake of Allah, the source culture holy creator of the universe. Yet, the CSI “Koran” in the context still manifests the foreignness of the item to the target culture. *Ulu Cami*, the name of a historical mosque, was translated as “the big mosque”. The target sign is a linguistic (non-cultural) translation of the source CSI, as well since a denotatively close meaning was produced in the target culture, though its origin to the source culture is still evident. *Arife günü*, the day just before the Eid festival, was translated as “eve of the Eid festival”. While the items *arife* and “eve” could be considered near-synonyms, the sign “Eid festival” is an obvious CSI from the source culture. Therefore, the source and target signs are denotatively close to each other, yet this sign is still alien to the target culture. As the foreignness of target culture equivalents of those CSIs is still conserved, linguistic translation strategy is grouped under foreignization strategies in this study.

*Bayram*, referring to a religious festival in the novel, was translated as “end of Ramadan” since this source CSI does not exist in the target culture. The translator expanded the source CSI in the target culture, explaining the day that religious festival corresponds to. Therefore, this translation could be considered intratextual gloss strategy since the expansion of meaning was embedded within the text. The other item *ninni* could have been translated as “lullaby” in the target culture through synonymy strategy. However, the meaning of that source CSI was over-interpreted by the translator coming up with the sign “singing us to sleep”. In this way, the function of the source CSI was explained for the target culture readers. Intratextual gloss, the translation strategy employed in the translation of those two source CSIs is categorized as a foreignization strategy.

The next four source CSIs, *Ramazan*, *Bebekli Kilisesi*, *Papaz'ın Bahçesi*, and *mızıka* were translated as “Ramadan, Bebekli Church, priest’s garden, harmonica” respectively. The translator employed synonymy strategy in the translation of those source culture private passions, the first three of them being religious items and institutions, and the final one being a musical instrument. Despite this synonymy between the cultures, the foreignness of the items in the source text (Ramadan, Bebekli Church, priest’s garden, and harmonica) is still evident, and the readers of the target culture can easily recognize the oriental origin of those items. Therefore, synonymy strategy is considered a foreignization strategy, as well.

The source CSI *mescit*, a religious building for people to perform their prayers, was translated as “small mosque”. The target sign is a less specific item to the target culture; however, a “mosque” is still foreign to the target culture. This translation was conducted through limited universalization strategy. The next source CSIs, *ayet* refers to every single sentence in the Koran and written in the holy book of Islam whereas *hadis* refers to the oral teachings of Prophet Muhammad not written in the Koran. These two source CSIs were translated as “extracts from the Koran”. While a less specific item was used in the target culture, the sign “Koran” still manifests the foreignness of the sign to the target culture readers. Therefore, the translation of source CSIs *ayet* and *hadis* was conducted through limited universalization. *Bayram namazı*, a specific prayer in the morning of the first day of a religious festival in the source culture, was translated as “Eid prayers”. Though the target sign is less specific to the target culture, the “prayers of Eid”, as a sign, is still foreign to the target culture. This translation can also be considered limited universalization. “*Turnam*”, a folk song in the source culture, was translated as “a Turkish song”, a less specific musical item yet still evident in belonging to the source culture. This can also be considered a limited universalization strategy, which is also grouped under foreignization strategies in this study.

The next 12 source CSIs, two of them related to music and ten of them associated with religious terms, were translated through absolute translation strategy. To illustrate, *Allahüla okumak*, a specific prayer from the Koran, was translated as “knelt down and prayed”. This target sign is a neutral item that does not bear any associations with any specific culture. *Elham*, *Kulhüvallahü*, *Allahüla*, three specific prayers well-known in the source culture, were stripped off their cultural origin through a universal sign “one prayer after another”. The readers of the target text might not recognize any cultural origin in this neutral target sign. *Vallahi*, an oath showing Allah as the guarantee that what the speaker is saying is true, was translated as “Honestly”, a neutral target sign free from any cultural association. *Sevap*, a good deed in Islam, and *hayır dua etmek*, praying for the goodness of a person in Islam and Turkish culture, were translated with the neutral and universal target signs “good deed” and “pray for you”. These two target signs do not bear any cultural associations. The next source CSI, *Eyüp sabrı*, is a popular cultural item in the source culture since Prophet Eyüp is known as the symbol of patience (*sabır* in Turkish). This CSI was translated as “the patience of a saint”, a neutral sign for all cultures since saints are known for their patience in all cultures, moreover, the sign “saint” is a culture-free item, rendering this item through absolute universalization. *Çukurova türküsü*, a specific folk song in the source culture, was translated as “a folk tune”, a general sign in the target text. As in the other source CSIs in this paragraph, this CSI was translated through absolute universalization strategy. The CSI *müminler*, used to refer to faithful people in Islam and Turkish culture, was translated as “The faithful”. This target sign is free from all cultural associations, which can also be considered absolute universalization strategy. *Elham*, *Kulhüvallahü*, specific prayers from Koran as stated above, were also translated as “pray”, a general and culturally neutral sign. Moreover, *besmele*, an Arabic word used to get the support of Allah at the beginning of every activity in the source culture, was also translated as



“a prayer”, a general and neutral sign. A musical item in the source culture, *gazel okumak*, refers to singing a song apart from other connotations. It was translated as “singing” in the target culture, a general and neutral sign for all readers from any culture. The source CSI, *sabah namazından iki saat sonra*, a time interval referring to the time two hours after the morning’s prayer, was translated as “a couple of hours after dawn”, replacing a religious prayer time with a culture-free time interval, “dawn”. While the morning’s prayer might still sound foreign to the target culture readers, the sign “dawn” is a universal sign. Another Islamic prayer-based time interval, *ikindiüstü*, referring to the time following the prayer between the noon and evening prayers, was translated as “later in the afternoon”, another neutral sign in the target culture, favoring neither the source culture nor the target culture, but a near-zero point between foreignization and domestication spectrum.

*Vallahi*, a religious oath made in the source culture to confirm what the speaker is saying is true, was translated as “As God is my witness”. In this way, a source CSI was translated with a target CSI. “As God is my witness” is used in the target culture to confirm what the speaker is saying is true, as well. Target culture readers might feel they are reading a CSI from their own culture. Therefore, this can be considered a naturalization strategy. The next CSI, *Allahaismarladık*, a sign with religious associations used in the source culture when people are leaving, was translated as “Goodbye”. This target sign is also used when people are leaving in the target culture. This can also be considered naturalization strategy. *Davul zurna sesleri*, a CSI related to popular musical instruments in the source culture, was translated as “drumbeats and music”. The sign “drumbeats” belongs to the target culture, which makes this translation naturalization strategy. The song lyrics in the source culture, *oyna yansın cepkenin*, was translated through target culture lyrical tradition. This translation can also be considered naturalization strategy. Since target culture readers do not come up against any foreign cultural items but are confronted with items from their own culture in the translated text, these four items were translated through domestication strategies.

When it comes to the last two source CSIs in Table 10, *Fesuphanallah*, an Arabic-origin exclamation with religious associations produced in surprising or shocking situations, was not translated at all in the target text. Likewise, the other CSI, *Küllüye*, the garden of a mosque together with some other facilities like a hospital or library in the source culture, was eliminated in the target text. Since these two source CSIs were not translated at all in the target culture, this can be considered deletion strategy. Deletion strategy is also categorized under domestication strategies in this study.

Consequently, taking absolute universalization as the near-zero point, 13 (41.94%) of 31 CSIs categorized under private passions by Newmark (2010) were translated through foreignization strategies while six (19.35%) of those CSIs were translated through domestication strategies. This implies that CSIs under private passions category can be both foreignized and domesticated in the target culture. Moreover, it could also be possible to translate CSIs under private passions category without foreignizing or domesticating the CSI through absolute universalization.

## 6. Conclusion

In this study, the novel titled *Baba Evi* by Orhan Kemal (2020<sup>[1949]</sup>) was analyzed to find out the culture specific items in the source culture. As a result of the analysis based on Newmark’s (2010) categorization of culture specific items (CSI), a total of 163 CSIs was found in the source text. Besides Newmark’s CSI categorization, proper nouns specific to the source culture were also determined based on Aixelá’s (1996) categorization of CSIs, as a result of which 31 CSIs under proper nouns (concerning

personal names, animal names and nicknames) were also added to the total number of culture specific items. Of the total 194 culture specific items in the source text, 31 (15.98%) belong to the proper nouns category. Of those 31 proper nouns, 16 were determined as “loaded proper names”, which Aixelá (1996) defines as the motivated proper names referring to a person’s physical traits or characteristics besides those names referring to important figures in the history of the culture. The other 15 proper nouns were determined as “conventional proper names” which Aixelá (1996) defines as unmotivated personal names without any reference to cultural or historical figures. When it comes to Newmark’s categorization, seven (3.61%) items were found related to “ecology” category. These items were concerned with city names and geographical formations in the source culture. For “public life” category, 11 (5.67%) CSIs were determined in the source text. These 11 items are majorly related to governmental patterns or politics in the final years of Ottoman Empire. For “social life” category, related to economics, social welfare, educational signs and occupations, a total of 37 (19.07%) CSIs were found in the source text. While CSIs related to economics were concerned with currencies and payment methods, those CSIs related to social welfare were concerned with family lifestyles. The CSIs related to occupations were mostly those professions popular in the final years of Ottoman Empire yet obsolete by modern standards. Moreover, the items related to educational equipment like pens, pencils or coursebooks were found to be associated with educational patterns. The greatest number of CSIs were found for “personal life” category. 64 (32.99%) CSIs were found in the source text related to housing patterns, clothing, and food. For “customs and pursuits” category, 13 (6.70%) CSIs were determined, all of which were related to body language, hobbies, and sports in the source culture. For Newmark’s (2010) last category, labeled as “private passions” related to religion, music, poetry, and religious institutions, 31 CSIs (15.98%) were determined in the source text. With such a vast array of culture specific items, the source text was found to be interwoven with the cultural signs specific and even unique to the source culture. As culture specific items might pose challenges in translation across cultures, the English translation of the novel titled *My Father’s House* (2016) was analyzed to find out the translation strategies for those CSIs.

It is through translation that other cultures could gain insights into the lifestyles and traditional phenomena of a culture. “Translation plays a crucial role in the circulation of world literature, in the creation and transformation of literary images, and in the maintenance of the dynamic nature of cultural/literary interactions” (Ergil, 2020: 28). However, literary translation does almost always come with the “pitfalls that could present difficulties for translators” (Öztürk Kasar, 2020: 2). These difficulties could be multiplied, particularly when culture specific items are at a play in the signification of a text. Therefore, “acquiring cultural knowledge is as [important] as having a good command of language” for literary translators (Can Rençberler, 2020: 554). Besides the need for acquisition of cultural knowledge, professional and prospective literary translators might also be in need of a categorization system of cultural items and translation strategies to be employed in translating the source culture specific items into a target culture. In this study, CSI translation strategies as proposed and grouped by Aixelá (1996) were used to find out the translation strategies used in the English translation of Orhan Kemal’s *Baba Evi (My Father’s House)*. In translation of 194 CSIs determined in the source text, “repetition” strategy was used 15 times (7.73%). This was particularly the case with the translation of proper nouns. Though “[repetition], even in its graphic component, might be absolutely different in its collective reception” (Aixelá, 1996: 61), it is one of the strategies that can be employed in the translation of proper nouns not existent in the target culture. In this way, a translator introduces the source culture specific items in their complete foreignness to a target culture. 8 CSIs (4.12%) were found to have been translated through “orthographic adaptation” strategy. This was also particularly the case in translation of proper nouns. For sounds and letters not

existent in the target culture alphabet, the translator adapted them orthographically. One of the popular translation strategies turned out to be “linguistic (non-cultural) translation” strategy, employed in translation of 36 CSIs (18.56%) by which the translator rendered the source CSIs into the target culture with denotatively close yet connotatively distinct items still originating from the source culture. Though this increases the comprehensibility of the CSI for the target culture, the foreignness of the item is still evident in this translation strategy. Aixelá’s (1996) “extratextual gloss” strategy was not used at all in the translated work. However, “intratextual gloss” strategy was used in translation of 11 CSIs (5.67%). This points to the fact that the translator over-interpreted and somehow explained the meaning of 11 source CSIs in the target text, yet this was conducted through the expansion of meaning embedded within the text rather than through footnotes, endnotes or italics, which could deviate the target text reader from the text for some time. Therefore, all expansion of the meaning was used in the natural flow of the text. Therefore, 70 CSIs (36.08%) were translated through “conservation” strategies as grouped by Aixelá (1996). Aixelá (1996: 61) considers “conservation” strategies as the type of translation closer to the source culture. On the other hand, “synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization, naturalization, deletion [and] autonomous creation” strategies are considered “substitution” strategies by Aixelá (1996: 61-64), regarding those strategies as the type of translation “closer to the receiving pole”. Therefore, 124 CSIs (63.92%) were translated through substitution strategies. “Synonymy” strategy was used in 27 (13.92%) CSIs; “limited universalization” strategy was used in 19 CSIs (9.79%); “absolute universalization” strategy was used in 59 (30.41%) CSIs; “naturalization” strategy was used in 9 (4.64%) CSIs; “deletion” strategy was used in 10 (5.16%) CSIs. No example was found for “autonomous creation” strategy, which means that the translator did not come up with a context specific to the target culture yet non-existent in the source text, the furthest substitution strategy in Aixelá’s (1996) categorization.

Besides all those findings, the significance of this study lies in the synthesis of Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies with Venuti’s (2001<sup>[1995: 1998]</sup>) “foreignization” and “domestication” strategies. Aixelá’s (1996) translation strategies were grouped under Venuti’s (2001) translation strategies based on the nature of the former. As a result of this synthesis, it was proposed in this study that “repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic translation, extratextual gloss, intratextual gloss, synonymy, limited universalization” strategies were categorized as “foreignization strategies” since the foreignness of the CSIs is still recognized and felt by target culture readers despite all the “manipulation” (Aixelá’s term for translation strategies) of those items by the translator with a view to bringing the source CSIs closer to the comprehension of target culture readers. On the other hand, “naturalization, deletion, autonomous creation” strategies were categorized as “domestication strategies” since these three strategies allow the translator to render source CSIs through target CSIs or to delete that item for overcoming any imperfection in the comprehension of the text. The critical strategy turned out to be the “absolute universalization” strategy in this synthesis since it was taken as the near-zero point of foreignization-domestication spectrum, leaving it out from either pole. The reason for the term “near-zero” is that “absolute universalization” strategy brings the source CSIs slightly closer to the target culture readers, slightly favoring the “domestication strategies”; however, it should not be considered a domestication strategy since the new sign in the target text is free from all cultural associations, eliminating the CSI value of that sign in the target text. As a result of this synthesis, it was found that 116 CSIs (59.79%) were translated through foreignization strategies, whereas 19 CSIs (9.80%) were translated through domestication strategies. On the other hand, 59 CSIs (30.41%) were translated through the near-zero point of foreignization-domestication spectrum, eliminating the cultural load of the source CSI in the target culture, favoring neither the source culture nor the target culture.

Venuti (1998) favors foreignization strategies opposing to the ethnocentric approach taken in domestication strategies. Foreignization strategies introduce a foreign culture to another culture, arousing the feeling that other cultures are different from the receiving culture. However, it is not that a literary translator is compelled to use either foreignization strategies or domestication strategies in the translation of a literary text. Rather, it is possible to use both foreignization and domestication strategies, depending on the translator’s decisions. All in all, literary translators should be prepared for the pitfalls created by culture specific items in literary texts, and they should be well aware of translation strategies for culture specific items, which could guide them through the whole act of translation.

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