

Translating Cultural Items Pertaining to African-American Culture: Three Turkish Translations of Hughes' *Merry-Go-Round*
Afrikan-Amerikan Kültürüne Özgü Ögelerin Çevirisi: Hughes'un *Merry-Go-Round* Şiirinin Üç Türkçe Çevirisi

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Abstract

This study focuses on the translation of cultural items specific to African-American culture through the case of three Turkish translations of Langston Hughes' poem 'Merry-Go-Round' by Necati Cumalı (1961), Özcan Özbilge (1985) and Cevat Çapan (1988). Drawing on Newmark's (1988) and Vlahov and Florin's (1969) categorizations of cultural items and Kansu-Yetkiner et al.'s (2018) classification of translation strategies for cultural items, the study analyzes source text and target text cultural items descriptively and comparatively. By doing so, the study seeks to determine whether the translators opt for domestication or foreignization in translating items specific to African-American culture into Turkish. The findings are examined along with paratextual elements from the books which feature the three translations to establish justifications for translators' tendency towards domestication or foreignization. In conclusion, it is argued that regardless of their tendencies, the translators' strategies cannot be completely placed at one end of an axis of domestication and foreignization but they are somewhere in-between due to different considerations such as stylistic and cultural norms of the source and target cultures.

Keywords: Langston Hughes, *Merry-Go-Round*, poetry translation, cultural items, domestication, foreignization

Öz

Bu çalışma, Langston Hughes tarafından yazılmış 'Merry-Go-Round' isimli şiirin Necati Cumalı (1961), Özcan Özbilge (1985) ve Cevat Çapan (1988) tarafından yapılan üç Türkçe çevirisine odaklanarak Afrikan-Amerikan kültürüne özgü ögelerin çevirisini incelemektedir. Söz konusu çalışma, Newmark (1988) ve Vlahov ve Florin'in kültürel öge kategorilerini ve Kansu-Yetkiner ve diğerlerinin (2018) kültürel öge çevirisi için kullanılan strateji sınıflandırmasını kullanarak, kaynak ve erek metinlerdeki kültürel ögeleri betimleyici ve karşılaştırmalı olarak irdelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, çalışma Afrikan-Amerikan kültürüne özgü ögelerin Türkçe'ye çevirisinde çevirmenlerin yerleştirme ve yabancılaştırma stratejilerinden hangilerini daha çok tercih ettiklerini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bulgular, şiirlerin dâhil olduğu üç kitaptaki yanmetin ögelerine de başvurarak çevirmenlerin yerleştirme veya yabancılaştırma eğilimlerine bir açıklama getirmek üzere tartışılmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, çevirmenlerin genel eğilimleri fark etmeksizin, kullandıkları stratejilerin tümünün bir yerleştirme ve yabancılaştırma

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eksenin karşıt uçlarında değil, kaynak ve erek kültürlerin biçimsel ve kültürel normları doğrultusunda ortada bir yerlerde olduğu kanısına varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelime: Langston Hughes, *Merry-Go-Round*, şiir çevirisi, kültürel öğeler, yerlileştirme, yabancılaştırma

Introduction

Cultural items are at the forefront in translation studies, especially those focusing on literary works, as “for any case and for any moment, translation mixes two or more cultures” (Aixela. 1996, p. 52). In the case of translation of literary works pertaining to a specific culture with its own specific “series of habits, value judgements, classification systems” which may differ from those of the target culture, translators tend to pay special attention to cultural items such as those mentioned above (Aixela, 1996, p. 53). Being one of the most significant units of analysis in translation studies, cultural items are treated in a considerable number of studies (see for example: Kansu-Yetkiner et al., 2018; Korkmaz, 2016; Narváez & Zambrana, 2014; Pralas 2012; Tekalp, 2017; Ünsal, 2020). In line with these studies, the present article focuses on the translation of cultural items pertaining to African-American culture, which, to the best of researcher’s knowledge, is under-researched particularly in terms of the language pair English-Turkish. This language pair is deemed especially interesting in that Turkish audience does not possess a similar race consciousness based on skin color as is the case with American audience. This begs the question whether the translators opt for domesticating or foreignizing strategies –in other words, whether they “conserve” or “substitute” (Aixela 1996) the items pertaining to the source culture–in introducing African-American culture to the Turkish audience.

In answering this question, the present article focuses on the case of the three Turkish translations of Langston Hughes’ poem ‘Merry-Go-Round’ by Necati Cumalı (1961), Özcan Özbilge (1985) and Cevat Çapan (1988). This poem is chosen as there are no translation (or for that matter, literary) critiques on it to the best of the author’s knowledge. Furthermore, despite being a short piece, the poem does include many cultural items and has three different Turkish translations available. The poem in question revolves around the theme ‘segregation’. Based on the premise that in dealing with this theme, which is a foreign concept for Turkish audience to start with, Hughes uses a range of items specific to African-American culture, the present study seeks to address the following research question: What are the strategies used in translating cultural items pertaining to the African-American culture and in particular, to the theme segregation into Turkish? In so doing, first, the cultural items that Hughes uses are categorized, using Newmark (1988) and Vlahov and Florin’s (1969) categorizations of cultural items and second, all cultural items and their Turkish translations are analyzed descriptively and comparatively, using Kansu-Yetkiner et al.’s (2018) classification of translation

strategies–based on Newmark’s (1988) and Aixela’s (1996) sets of strategies–for cultural items. The following section explains the theoretical and methodological framework of this study, concentrating particularly on the above-mentioned tools for categorization and classification of translation strategies. This is followed by sections providing contextual information such as a discussion of Hughes’ poetry and a note on segregation. Then, the translation of cultural items is analyzed and the findings are discussed along with findings from paratextual elements from the three books which feature the three translations in question.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Translation studies that focus on the translation of cultural items are enabled by the categorizations of cultural items by various scholars. For the purposes of this study, Newmark (1988) and Vlahov and Florin’s (1969) categorizations are listed here since items specific to African-American (or American) culture used by Hughes in “Merry-Go-Round” overlap with some of the categories pertaining to them. To begin with, Newmark (1998, p. 95) lists five titles under which cultural items can be categorized: (1) ecology (i.e., flora, fauna, winds, plains, hills); (2) material culture (i.e., food, clothes, houses and towns, transportation); (3) social culture (work and leisure); (4) organizations, customs, activities, procedures and concepts (i.e., those which are political and administrative, religious, artistic); (5) gestures and habits. For Vlahov and Florin (1969, as cited in Kansu-Yetkiner et al., 2018), there are also five categories of cultural items: (1) geography; (2) ethnography (i.e., food, beverages, clothing, places, furniture, transportation, vehicles, occupations, equipment); (3) arts and culture (i.e., music, dance, instruments, holidays, festivals, games, rituals); (4) ethnicity (i.e., individual’s names, nicknames, labels, epithets, pseudonyms); (5) socio-politics (administrative/regional units, offices, representation offices, military units, ranks and titles).

In identifying the cultural items that Hughes uses in the poem in question, both of the above-given categorizations proved useful. For example, ‘Down South’ is clearly a cultural item that can be categorized under Vlahov and Florin’s geography in that it signifies the location which was the womb of segregation. Furthermore, ‘colored’ and ‘Jim Crow car’ can be categorized under Vlahov and Florin’s ethnicity and ethnography, respectively: A term used as a racial label by African-Americans, the former can be taken as an item pertaining to ethnicity of the Black people. The latter refers to the cars that African-Americans could board on trains and therefore, is an example of a cultural item relevant to transportation means offered to African-Americans at the time. In addition to these, Newmark’s social culture category is deemed important as Hughes uses a couple of cultural items which fit into this category, i.e., the address word ‘mister’ used by Blacks in referring to whites and an instance of regional diction (‘ain’t’). Although Newmark deals with culture-specific concepts, rather than language-related elements, under this category, Hughes’ use

of the aforementioned linguistic elements can be examined under the very category in that language constitutes an important part of social cultures of societies.

In their study analyzing the translation of environment-based cultural items in children's literature, Kansu-Yetkiner et al. (2018) argue that translation studies generally revolve around the strategies of domestication and foreignization, especially in the case of cultural items. Along similar lines, Aixela (1996) claims that translation strategies used in treating cultural items range from conversation to naturalization, which change in line with target culture's tolerance to items pertaining to a new and foreign culture. On the other hand, Kansu-Yetkiner et al.'s (2018) analysis is not limited to these two polar opposites but rather is based on three strategies, which are (1) word-for-word translation of the cultural items entailing no interference by the translator, (2) domestication of the cultural items entailing adjustment to target culture's norms and values, and (3) foreignization of the cultural items entailing loyalty to source culture's norms and values.

Creating a domesticating or foreignizing effect can be enabled through the use of various strategies. Kansu-Yetkiner et al. (2018) list various sub-strategies under the overall strategies of domestication and foreignization by adapting Newmark's (1988) and Aixela's (1996) strategies. This study employs this set of strategies, with the addition of one of Aixela's strategies that is not included in Kansu-Yetkiner et al.'s strategies, in analyzing the three Turkish translations of 'Merry-Go-Round':

- Domestication
 - Synonym: Using different words which convey the same concept or entity.
 - Limited Universalization: Using a word which exists in the source language but is also familiar to the target language reader.
 - Absolute Universalization: Using a generic term for a more specific term.
 - Paraphrase: Translating a term foreign to the target reader by explaining it (however, without letting the reader know that it is a foreign term).
 - Adaptation: Translating the cultural item in the source language through its cultural equivalent in the target language.
 - Omission: Deleting the source language cultural item in the target text.
 - Explicitation: Adding words that do not exist in the source text to the target text to enable better comprehension for the target reader.
 - Componential analysis: Using a similar word in meaning instead of its word-for-word equivalent.
- Foreignization
 - Extratextual gloss: Using explanatory material such as translator's notes, footnotes, etc.
 - Intratextual gloss: Explaining a term within the target text but by underlining that the term is foreign to the target reader.
 - Ortographic adaptation/Transcription: Transcribing the term in the target language without translating it.

- Repetition: Using the source language word as it is without changing anything.
- Calque: Word-for-word translation of the source language term by retaining the structure.
- Couplets, triplets: Using more than one strategy to overcome a translation challenge.
- Loan Words: Using words of foreign origin in the target text.
- Linguistic translation: Using a denotatively very close reference to the original while increasing the comprehensibility by employing a target language term that can be regarded as pertaining to source culture.

Hughes, Harlem Renaissance and “Merry-Go-Round”

Langston Hughes (1902-1967) is a poet, writer, playwright, essayist, journalist, translator and historian, and a key name in the Harlem Renaissance (Brown, 2006; Howes, 2001). His literary debut was his well-known poem “The Negro Speaks of Rivers” which was published in *The Crisis* in 1921, establishing him as an important poet of the Black literature (Brown, 2006; de Santis, 20005; Howes, 2001). His works were highly influenced by the racial prejudice and discrimination that people of color faced in the USA (Brown 2006). He also wrote about Harlem and African-American arts and culture, especially about jazz and blues as can be seen in his famous, highly musical poem “The Weary Blues.” As a matter of fact, he can be considered one of the founders of a certain type of lyric poetry which includes elements of Black vernacular and blues (Brown, 2006; de Santis, 2005; Smethurst, 2007).

As mentioned, Hughes’ body of works includes texts and poems that are products of Hughes’ social awareness. In fact, in his renowned essay “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain” (1926) and statement entitled “To Negro Writers” (1935), Hughes urges Black artists to produce socially-aware works. In the former, stating that the bulk of his poetry is “racial in theme and treatment”, he unsparingly criticizes artists who seek to hide their Black identity through the following lines:

So I am ashamed for the black poet who says, “I want to be a poet, not a Negro poet,” as though his own racial world were not as interesting as any other world. I am ashamed, too, for the colored artist who runs from the painting of Negro faces to the painting of sunsets after the manner of the academicians because he fears the strange un-whiteness of his own features. An artist must be free to choose what he does, certainly, but he must also never be afraid to do what he might choose. (Hughes, 1926)

Additionally, in the above-mentioned statement, he argues that “inequalities of the past” need to be eradicated and this can be done through “exposure” of these in the Black writing. He further argues that this is the duty of “American Negro writers”, who need to do their part in bringing about change (Hughes & Berry, 1973, p. 125). In line with his beliefs, Hughes’ works also focus on such themes/issues as the Black

experience, slavery, segregation, Jim Crow laws and so on (de Santis, 2005). This, of course, is a result of Hughes' own life experiences. Smethurst (2007, p. 113) discusses that Hughes is "part of the first generation of black artists and intellectuals to grow up after the final triumph of Jim Crow in the South". Moreover, he "matured during the second wave of Jim Crow that saw the establishment of often extraordinarily rigid patterns of residential segregation in the cities of the North and South" (ibid).

As it is the case with Hughes' works, political propaganda was indeed among the aims of Harlem Renaissance, which had "advancement of the Black race" among its themes (Howes, 2001, 35). While for some artists of the time this meant showing African-Americans at their best, some—like Hughes—believed in depicting:

the whole spectrum of African American people, situations, and communities, just as they really were. In their fiction and poetry they used the latest Harlem slang as well as rural dialect and (in Hughes's case) rhythms taken from jazz and blues music. They created a portrait of Harlem that included prostitutes, homosexuals, rent parties, and poverty—in other words, the real world they saw around them. (ibid, 36)

As a poet who reflected the Black experience through the means of realism, Hughes was criticized for having "reinforced white stereotypes about African American life" (ibid, 59). However, this did not impel him to shy away from using realism. As a matter of fact, in the 1930s, his poetry became so realistic that it explicitly showed persecution of African-Americans and thus, assumed a "more militant" position (ibid, 60). His poetry collections entitled *Shakespeare in Harlem* (1942), which includes 'Merry-Go-Round', and *One Way Ticket* (1949) reflect this stance in that they show how "bitterness and despair" befell over Harlem due to the Great Depression, which affected the African-Americans much more than other Americans due to unfair conditions under which they had to live (ibid, 60).

Although unrelated to the Great Depression, bitterness indeed prevails in 'Merry-Go-Round'. The poem is written from the perspective of a little African-American boy who wants to ride a merry-go-round at the carnival. Being used to segregation that he apparently regularly faces in the South, where he comes from, the little child is perplexed as he cannot find a Jim Crow horse, i.e., one that Black children can ride, and thus, cannot go on the merry-go-round. Bitterness and anguish are particularly apparent in lines 4-9, in which the child talks about how the Black and white people cannot sit side by side in the South, especially on public transportation, i.e., busses and trains. As mentioned earlier, Hughes did experience Jim Crow laws throughout his life and therefore, it would be safe to assume that the poem in question is inspired by his own life. Additionally, 'Merry-Go-Round' is cited among Hughes' poems which "document ... racial segregation and inequality during the first half of the twentieth century" and are "powerful in their protest of racial segregation" (McCall, 2004, pp. 172-173). Although the poem is rather short, it is rich in cultural items: firstly, it revolves around the theme 'segregation', which,

albeit unwelcome by the Blacks, was a part of American culture at the time. Secondly, it includes such linguistic elements as “mister” and “ain’t no,” which reflect vocabulary and regional diction used by African-Americans. Thirdly, it includes a couple of racial labels such as “colored” and “black” used by not only the Black people themselves but also the whites in referring to African-Americans.

Historical Background: A Note on Segregation

At this point, it is important to pay some attention to segregation as it is the main theme of ‘Merry-Go-Round’ which includes cultural items relevant to the very theme. Segregation is “the physical separation of people according to their skin color” (Rasmussen, 1997, p. 2). Although conceptually, it seems that segregation does not target a specific ethnic/racial group, it is African-Americans who experienced segregation for longer than any other group in America. Segregation started as early as the colonial era in America, peaking after the Civil War and Reconstruction to the extent that “it became a way of life in the South” (ibid).

In the beginning of the 20th century, the phrase ‘Jim Crow’ came to be a regularly used term for segregated areas. The earliest use of the phrase was in 1841 for a railway car demarcated for African-Americans in Massachusetts (Rasmussen, 1997). Jim Crow rules pervaded in many public areas ranging from public transportation to schools; from hospitals to recreational/social areas and amusements like swimming pools, parks, playgrounds, dance halls, bowling alleys, theaters, restaurants and so on; from churches to shops (Rasmussen, 1997; Fremon, 2000).

Segregation became legally sanctioned through the Supreme Court decision *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). The case came about when Homer Plessy was arrested for refusing to get off a whites only car on a Louisiana train. The result of the case was the ‘separate but equal’ rule, according to which: “Blacks could be kept away from whites, as long as both races had comparable facilities. Southern governments strictly enforced the “separate.” They all but ignored the “equal”” (Fremon, 2000, 42; Rasmussen, 1997).

As mentioned, segregation applied not only to public transportation but also to many other public spheres. Among them was sites of recreation, including public parks. In fact, Hughes’ poem merely reflects the reality that African-Americans were also excluded from whites only amusement parks (McQueeney, 2015; Wolcott, 2006). Even in cases in which Blacks were able to enter certain parks, they were prevented from using facilities and rides. The author Walter Isaacson, for example, gives his witness account of a memory from his childhood in which his cousin’s family’s African-American housekeeper’s son could not ride the merry-go-round in Audubon Park in 1958 because it was a ‘whites only’ ride (Isaacson, 2009). As a matter of fact, the segregation in amusement parks was so striking that such parks as Gwynn Oak Park and Glen Echo Park became targets of major civil rights campaigns (Wolcott, 2019). Nathan (2011, pp. 3-4) writes that the merry-go-round

of Gwynn Oak Park (which is currently located in the National Mall in Washington, D.C.) witnessed a relevant piece of history: in 1963, Sharon Langley and her family managed to enter the Gwynn Oak Park without any harassment and Sharon, a little Black girl then, rode the merry-go-round as the Park had just changed its 'whites only' policy. All these show that it is very likely for a little Black boy, i.e., the speaker in 'Merry-Go-Round', to experience segregation in a public area like a carnival, which urges him to question his right to ride a horse on a merry-go-round as a Black child.

Analysis of Source Text and Target Texts

Translation of Cultural Items pertaining to Vlahov and Florin's Ethnicity Category

As mentioned previously, Hughes uses some racial labels referring to Black people in this poem. In particular, he uses the term 'colored', once in the introductory line ('colored child') and once in line 5, ('white and colored'). Considering the period in which the poem was written and the fact that the speaker is an African-American child, 'colored' cannot be regarded as an offensive term. In fact, 'colored' was a racial label preferred by African-Americans during the 19th century, which then was replaced by 'Negro' in the early 20th (Smith, 1992). In translating this term, the translators adopt various strategies, which can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Translation of the term 'colored'¹

Source Text (Hughes, 1942)	Target Text 1 (Cumalı, 1961)	Target Text 2 (Özbilge, 1985)	Target Text 3 (Çapan, 1988)
Title and introductory line	Title and introductory line	Title	Title and introductory line
Merry-Go-Round COLORED CHILD AT CARNIVAL	ATLI KARINCA Rengi bozuk bir çocuk bayram yerinde	ATLIKARINCA	ATLI KARINCA Kara derili çocuk bayram yerinde:
Lines 4-6	Lines 4-6	Lines 4-6	Lines 4-6
Down South where I come from White and colored Can't sit side by side	Güneyde bizim orda Beyazlarla rengi bozuklar Oturamazlar yanyana	Aşağıda güneyde, benim geldiğim yerde Beyazlar renkliler ve Oturamazlar yanyana	Bizim güney illerinde Yanyana oturmaz Beyazlarla zenciler .

¹ Source Text, Target Text 1, Target Text 2 and Target Texts 3 shall henceforth be referred to as ST, TT1, TT2 and TT3, respectively.

To start with Cumalı, his use of the term 'renği bozuk' (literally translates as 'discolored') can be taken as an example of adaptation as 'renkli/renkliler', the exact equivalent of 'colored', would be, firstly, a more unnatural and so, alien term than 'renği bozuk', which albeit is an offensive term, unlike 'colored'. Secondly, 'renkli' is a term that is used in Turkish in talking about people with an interesting, fun and unique personality. Therefore, it can be argued that Cumalı does not opt for the exact equivalent of the term potentially because it is rather foreign to the target reader and it can be misconstrued as a personality trait rather than skin color. In this sense, we can argue that by choosing an offensive but simple-to-understand term instead of the exact equivalence, Cumalı creates a speaker who seems to have internalized racism that he faces to the extent that he casually uses an offensive term in talking about his own race, and thus, highlights the severity of the emotional damage that segregation causes on the innocent child.

Özbilge's choice of strategies is somehow more inconsistent. While he uses omission in translating the first use of 'colored' by deleting the whole introductory line, he opts for linguistic translation through the term 'renkliler' in the second use. Although 'renkli' can be considered as the exact equivalent of the term 'colored', it is not necessarily a term used to denote to African-American people in the target culture but, depending on the context it is used, can be understood as such by the target readers knowledgeable about the race issues in the US. By using omission and linguistic translation for the same term, Özbilge employs both domestication and foreignization, respectively. However, whether Özbilge uses omission as he finds the culture specific item ideologically objectionable, as suggested by Aixela (1996), is debatable in that he does not consistently omit (or censor/euphemize) all uses of the term 'colored' as can be seen in the second instance. On the other hand, omitting the introductory line can be stylistic decision, which is the other justification that Aixela (1996) offers for the strategy of omission.

In translating the first use of 'colored' in the introductory line, Çapan uses 'kara derili' (literally translates as 'black/dark skinned'), which can be read as an example of synonym. As mentioned, the exact equivalent for 'colored' in Turkish is 'renkli/renkliler'. It was also mentioned that the term 'colored' was used by African-Americans themselves as a racial label. Therefore, it can be suggested that 'siyah' ('black') could also be taken as an exact equivalent for 'colored' used within the context of this particular poem. Instead of using one of these, Çapan opts for a synonym by using 'kara derili'. For the second use of 'colored', Çapan chooses to use 'zenci', which is a term used in Turkish specifically in referring to Black people. Although, whether the term 'zenci' is connotatively negative (or racist) is open to debate (see Öztin, 2021 for a comprehensive discussion of the term 'zenci'), it can be argued that the term is rather familiar to Turkish audience (Demirtürk, 1997, as cited in Öztin, 2021). Considering these, Çapan's choice can be discussed both from the perspective of limited universalization and adaptation strategies depending on whether we consider 'zenci' as a term that pertains to source culture but is also

familiar to the target reader in that it is a natural term or as the cultural equivalent of the term 'colored'. The former can be argued based on the premise that in the Turkish culture there is no race consciousness based on skin color like in the US and therefore, the term is merely familiar to the Turkish reader and does not connote to anything further than a Black person within the target culture. On the other hand, the latter can be contended if we accept that racial inequality that has existed in the US is currently widely known in the Turkish culture and thus, the reader can understand and has internalized the connotations that come with the term 'zenci' (i.e., that the ethnic group in question is not recognized simply because of their skin color but also because of the unequitable persecution they faced).

In addition to the term "colored," Hughes uses the word 'black' in the very last line of the poem. As mentioned, the term 'colored' was once a term preferred by African-Americans as an identity label. However, in the early 20th century, the word 'Negro' gained upper hand in African-American circles. Then, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, 'Negro' was condemned as it was forced on Blacks by whites. Then, there was a move towards 'Black', which initially received some backlash especially by college students (Smith, 1992). The use of 'black' as a racial label—albeit originally a somewhat negative and unfavorable one—is translated into Turkish by the three translators through various words/phrases, which can be seen in the table below:

Table 2: Translation of the term "black"

ST	TT1	TT2	TT3
Lines 12-13	Lines 12-13	Lines 13-14	Lines 12-13
Where's the horse For a kid that's black?	At hani Kara oğlana?	Siyah bir çocuğun Binebileceği at hangisi?	Nerede bineceği at Kara derili çocuğun?

As can be seen, both Cumalı and Özbilge employ linguistic translation through their respective use of the words 'kara' ('black/dark') and 'siyah' ('black'). On the other hand, Çapan uses the phrase "kara derili" ("black/dark skinned") and thus, explicitates that the word 'black' refers to the speaker's skin color. In this instance, it can be argued that Cumalı and Özbilge opt for a less interventionist and slightly more foreignizing strategy by choosing various exact equivalents for the word 'black' in Turkish, while Çapan domesticates his translation by clarifying that the word 'black' is used in reference to the child's skin color.

Translation of Cultural Items pertaining to Vlahov and Florin's Ethnography Category

As mentioned previously, the poem deals with the theme 'segregation' from the perspective of a Black child. As part of this theme, the speaker mentions 'Jim Crow', once in asking about the whereabouts of the "Jim Crow section" of the merry-go-round and once in talking about the 'Jim Crow cars' that exist on the trains in the

South in lines 1 and 8, respectively. Taking these as examples of cultural items specific to places and transportation sub-categories under Vlahov and Florin's ethnography category, the following table presents translators' choices for these two items:

Table 3: Translation of the term "Jim Crow"

ST1	TT1	TT2	TT3
Lines 1-2	Lines 1-2	Lines 1-2	Lines 1-2
Where is the Jim Crow section On this merry-go-round,	Zencilerin bölümü hani Bu atlı karıncada	Bu atlıkarıncanın, bayım, Jim Crow kısmı nerede?	Amca, bu atlı karıncanın Jim Crow bölümü nerde?
Lines 7-8	Lines 7-8	Lines 7-8	Lines 7-8
Down South on the train There's a Jim Crow car.	Güneyde bizim orda trende Ayrıdır zencilerin bindiği araba	Aşağıda güneyde, trenlerde Hep bir Jim Crow vagonu vardır	Bizim güneydeki trenlerde Bir Jim Crow vagonu takarlar.

It can be seen that both Özbilge and Çapan resort to same strategies in handling the term 'Jim Crow', which is rather foreign to Turkish audience. They both retain 'Jim Crow' as it is and translate the words 'section' and 'car' as 'kısmı/bölüm' and 'vagon', respectively. In this sense, we can argue that they use the foreignization-oriented strategies repetition and linguistic translation together. On the contrary, Cumalı opts for a more domestication-oriented strategy, i.e., paraphrasing: for 'Jim Crow section', he uses 'Zencilerin bölümü' ('Section for the black people') and for 'Jim Crow car', 'zencilerin bindiği araba' ('the car that black people board'). Hence, he formulates a completely different phrase explaining what 'Jim Crow' stands for. Also, as mentioned, the word 'zenci' can be considered as a term familiar to the Turkish reader, which means that in paraphrasing the phrases 'Jim Crow section' and 'Jim Crow car', Cumalı further naturalizes his translation through the use of 'zenci'.

Translation of Cultural Items pertaining to Vlahov and Florin's Geography Category

In the section on segregation, we discussed that the period that followed the Civil War and Reconstruction witnessed a peak in segregation in South, where segregation was a part of people's lifestyles. As it is clear in line 4 ('Down South where I come from'), the speaker of the poem is from a Southern state, where he seems to have witnessed segregation, especially on public transport. Considering

that in South, segregation pervaded to the extent that it was in a way internalized by the speaker of the poem, the phrase ‘Down South’ can be taken as a geographical cultural item pertaining to the segregation theme. As can be seen below, the phrase is used twice in the poem:

Table 4: Translation of the term ‘Down South’

ST	TT1	TT2	TT3
Line 4	Line 4	Line 4	Line 4
Down South where I come from	Güneyde bizim orda	Aşağıda güneyde, benim geldiğim yerde	Bizim güney illerinde
Line 7	Line 7	Line 7	Line 7
Down South on the train	Güneyde bizim orda trende	Aşağıda güneyde, trenlerde	Bizim güneydeki trenlerde

In the above table, we can see that Cumalı and Çapan employ similar strategies of domestication, while Özbilge chooses a more foreignization-oriented strategy, i.e., linguistic translation. In both instances, Özbilge uses the phrase ‘Aşağıda güneyde’, which is a literal translation of ‘Down South’. On the other hand, both Cumalı and Çapan explicitate their translations by adding the phrase/word ‘bizim orda’ and ‘bizim’ (‘our’), respectively. The phrase ‘bizim orda’ is a colloquial but highly natural way of denoting ‘where we are from/where we live’ in Turkish. Similarly, ‘Bizim güney’ (‘our South’) suggests that the South is where the speaker is from in a way that it connotes belonging. Keeping in mind that the first occurrence of ‘Down South’ is used along with the phrase ‘where I come from’ in the source text, the target text phrase/word mentioned might not appear to be a form of addition creating an explicating effect. However, in the translation of the second use of ‘Down South’, in which the speaker does not specify that it is the geographical place where he is from, the phrase/word ‘bizim orda’ and ‘bizim’ are repeated in both translations. These repeated uses not only add to the musicality of the translated poem but also their second repetitions explain that the speaker is talking about where he is from when he mentions South the second time. All in all, considering the use of explicitation strategy, and that the phrase and word in question are very familiar to the Turkish reader, Cumalı and Çapan seem to have opted for a domesticating effect. Additionally, they further this domesticating effect through the use of colloquialism and adaptation. As can be seen in table 4, instead of the proper spelling of the word ‘orada’, Cumalı uses the spoken Turkish version of the word, i.e., ‘orda’. In the translation of the first instance of ‘Down South’, in handling the phrase ‘where I come from’ that follows, Çapan uses the word ‘il’, which is a word specific to administrative division system in Türkiye, and thus, adapts and explicitates the implied reference to American states for the Turkish audience.

Translation of Cultural Items pertaining to Newmark’s Social Culture Category

Lastly, items pertaining to social culture will be analyzed. We can see in the table given below, the speaker uses the word ‘Mister’ in addressing an unknown person—potentially a white person who works for the carnival, operating the merry-go-round as can be understood by the child’s question for him about the Jim Crow section on the merry-go-round. According to Fremon (2000, p. 27), the word ‘mister’ is one of the words that denoted submission and that Black people used in addressing white people:

Black and white children often played together in the South. But by the teenage years, their carefree friendships ended. From then on, the white person would be dominant, the black submissive. Blacks were expected to address whites as “mister,” “missus,” or “miss.” Whites addressed blacks as “boy” or “girl.” Older blacks were called “uncle” or “auntie.”

Table 5: Translation of the term ‘mister’

ST	TT1	TT2	TT3
Line 3	Line 3	Line 1	Line 1
... Mister, cause I want to ride?	... Ben de binebilir miyim amca ?	Bu atlıkarıncanın, bayım , ...	Amca , bu atlı karıncanın ...

As can be seen above, Cumalı and Çapan once again opt for similar strategies, while Özbilge goes in a different direction. Both Cumalı and Çapan use the word ‘amca’, which literally means ‘uncle’ but can also be used, especially by children, in Turkish in addressing older men in a respectful manner. This means that the translators use a target culture-specific equivalent of a source culture-specific word and hence, the strategy of adaptation. On the other hand, Özbilge uses the word ‘bayım’ (literally translates as ‘sir/mister’) and thus, goes for the foreignization-oriented strategy of linguistic translation.

In addition to ‘mister’, Hughes uses an instance of regional diction in line 10 (‘ain’t no’) as can be seen in the table below, potentially to highlight further the child’s Black identity:

Table 6: Translation of the phrase ‘ain’t no’ as an example of regional diction

ST	TT	TT2	TT3
Lines 10-11	Lines 10-11	Lines 12-13	Lines 10-11
But there ain’t no back To a merry-go-round	Hani arka sıra Atlı karıncada.	Fakat bir atlıkarıncanın Arkası olmaz; ...	Ama atlı karıncanın da Önü arkası olmaz ki!

In this instance, all translators choose to omit the regional diction. This might be because, as Aixela (1996) argues, the culture specific item is unacceptable on stylistic grounds in that it is impossible to render into Turkish. However, as mentioned earlier, in translating 'Down South', Cumalı uses 'orda' twice. Being an example of spoken Turkish, 'orda' can be interpreted as a form of compensation for 'ain't no' as both uses are colloquial.

Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

A closer look at the analysis of three translators' choices in translating cultural items reveals that while Cumalı and Çapan are more domestication-oriented, Özbilge is foreignization-oriented. Both Cumalı and Çapan used strategies of domestication in handling cultural items with the exception of one instance in which they use foreignization. In translating the term 'black' Cumalı opts for linguistic translation through the use of 'siyah' and Çapan uses repetition for 'Jim Crow'. Although the use of 'siyah' for 'black' can be regarded an example of foreignization based on Aixela's (1996) definition of linguistic translation, it can be suggested that it is not a completely foreign term and it is likely that the Turkish reader can understand that it is used in reference to the skin color of African-American people within the context of the poem. On the other hand, 'Jim Crow' would highly likely be a completely foreign term for the Turkish readers who are not particularly interested in American history. Being one of the key cultural items that has strong connotations about the segregation theme, 'Jim Crow' translated through repetition creates a strong foreignizing effect in Çapan's translation despite his tendency to use domestication in general.

Unlike Cumalı and Çapan, Özbilge mostly uses foreignization and his use of domestication is limited to only two instances: once when he omits the first use of the term 'colored' and once when he omits 'ain't no'. However, neither of these can be considered an intentional attempt at domestication. This is, firstly because in translating the second use of the term 'colored', Özbilge employs the foreignization-oriented strategy linguistic translation. This means that he does not omit the other use of the term 'colored' for the sake of domesticating items specific to African-American culture. He might have, however, omitted the introductory line which specifies the speaker and sets the scene in poem due to stylistic concerns as he may have found the particular use of an introductory line objectionable in terms of Turkish poetics. Secondly, in translating the phrase 'ain't no', Özbilge might have chosen omission since, as mentioned, it is a phrase which is impossible to render into Turkish. Then again, the omission of the phrase can be compensated through the use of another colloquial term as it is the case in Cumalı's translation in which he uses an instance of spoken Turkish, i.e., 'orda'.

At this point, an examination of the paratexts provides valuable insights into the translators' individual tendencies to domesticate or foreignize. In the case of

Memleket Özlemi, which encompasses Hughes' poems translated by Cumalı, two sections by an unknown author on Hughes' life and poetry are featured. In these sections, Hughes' Black identity is underlined through the use of words "zenci", "siyahi" ("black"), "rengi bozuk", "kara kardeş" ("dark brother") and so on.² These sections further highlight that Hughes' poetry is fueled by his identity and inspired by Harlem. Furthermore, his poetry is regarded as a tool to eliminate prejudices and solve the race problem in America. Although whether Cumalı wrote these sections is unclear, the sections themselves suggest that poems in *Memleket Özlemi* were indeed compiled and published with an awareness about racial inequality in the US. Therefore, we can argue that the collection might have targeted an audience with a similar awareness and capable of understanding fully the connotational intricacies of the cultural items even if they are domesticated. In addition, the back cover of the book suggests that in Hughes' poetry all societies can find themselves regardless of their skin color. The back cover also features a quote by Cumalı which indicates that Hughes is a poet of the unfamiliar. This means that Cumalı might have opted for domestication to render Hughes' poetry more familiar for the Turkish society so that it is easier for them to find themselves in his poetry.

Çağdaş Amerikan Şiiri Antolojisi ('Contemporary American Poetry Anthology'), a collection edited and translated by Çapan that includes poetry by various American poets including Hughes, features brief pieces of information on the poets. Similar to the above-mentioned collection, the piece on Hughes in Çapan's collection highlights his black identity by stating that he is one of the first 'zenci' poets who became famous in America and that he created a type of unique folk poetry which synthesizes jazz music with the white American poetries. Furthermore, Çapan puts forward in his foreword to the collection that he brought together the main movements and prominent masters of 20th century American poetry in his anthology. Therefore, we can argue that Çapan considered Hughes as an important figure in American poetry who should be introduced to the Turkish readers interested in familiarizing themselves with American poets. Since Çapan's aim seems to be to introduce American poetry to the Turkish readers, we can infer that he might have sought to facilitate this by using domesticating translation strategies. In addition, he says that his selection of poems was based on translatability. This means that he observed comprehensibility in choosing poems to translate and for this reason, he also might have opted for domestication to enable further comprehensibility.

² As mentioned earlier, whether 'zenci' is an offensive term is a matter of debate. It seems that all three translators use the word 'zenci' in their discussion of Black poetry. However, we believe they do not use it as an offensive word but rather as a word to highlight the black identity. Then again, 'zenci' stems from the Persian word 'zangi' meaning 'rusty, dark skinned, African', which, naturally, can be regarded as an offensive word in that the skin color of Black people is compared to the quality of being rusty. Nevertheless, this study is not concerned with the discussion of the level of offensiveness of the term 'zenci' and so, we avoid making a final judgement. Yet, we prefer using the words 'siyah, siyahi' in talking about Black people in Turkish, and consider them neutral.

Similarly, *Özgürlük Gibi Sözcükler* provides striking information pointing to Özbilge's tendency to foreignize his translations. The book features a 12 page-long foreword entitled 'Langston Hughes ve Zenci Şiiri' ('Langston Hughes and the Black Poetry') written by Özbilge himself. This foreword is a highly detailed text which clearly shows that Özbilge is very informed about Hughes, the development of the Black poetry and the Black poets' zeal for establishing original Black identity in their poetry which is to be distinct from Western poetry. Furthermore, it appears that Özbilge have examined thoroughly Hughes' life and poetry and is aware of the fact that Hughes actively sought to establish distinct Black poetry. Özbilge underlines that Hughes' poetry is inspired by jazz and the stories of the ghetto, and seems to be conscious of the concerns that Hughes had voiced in 'To the Negro Writer': he argues that Hughes sought to lead a type of literature which drew on the Black folk poetry, Black satire and Black music and which would pave the way for the Blacks' political and economic freedom. Furthermore, Özbilge is aware of the fact that Hughes poetry reflected the Black lives as they were and explicitly told the stories of maids, waiters, the Blacks living in the ghetto and so on without euphemizing anything. Considering all these, it would be fair to suggest that Özbilge chose foreignization to retain elements specific to African-American culture as much as possible and be realistic like Hughes is in telling the stories of African-Americans as he was aware that elements pertaining to African-American culture and realistic portrayals of Black lives were important to Hughes. In fact, Özbilge seems to be rather invested in Black poetry: he selected and translated a series of poems by Black poets writing in English and compiled them in a book entitled *Kara Tenli Şiirler* ('Dark Skinned Poems'), which received Yazko³ award for translated poetry in 1983 (Demiralp, 2020). This being the case, it can be argued that Özbilge naturally adopts a source text-oriented translation approach and therefore, chooses foreignizing translation strategies in order to introduce Black poetry as it is to the Turkish audience. As a matter of fact, Özbilge himself confirms his tendency to foreignize in his afterword to *Özgürlük Gibi Sözcükler* entitled 'Çeviriler Üstüne' ('On the Translations'). He says:

The black vernacular seen in various parts of the poems is mostly left as it is or translated literally with a translator's note at the bottom of the same page. It was going to be a futile endeavor to find equivalents for the black vernacular items, which developed in and were fueled by a societal conflict based on racial discrimination, in the language of our society, which did not witness a similar conflict in its past. Moreover, as our aim is not to make Turkish but to translate into Turkish, we did not want to harm the unique colors of the poems through such an endeavor. Nevertheless [...] we did not shy away from using domestic spoken language in the cases in which, we thought, the two languages corresponded sufficiently, albeit not fully. (Özbilge, 1985, p. 93; author's translation).

³ A cooperative for writers.

As can be seen here, Özbilge explicitly says that he used foreignizing translation strategies which can be construed as extratextual gloss, transcription, repetition, calque and linguistic translation. A quick examination of the book in question reveals that Özbilge indeed uses extratextual gloss, i.e., he explains what 'Jim Crow' refers to through a translator's note in another poem (see Hughes, 1985, p. 90). Nevertheless, regardless of the translators' personal tendencies to use domestication or foreignization and the justification behind these tendencies, it is clear that none of the translators consistently employ strategies pertaining to either one of these approaches but rather they resort to strategies of the opposite approach when need be. For instance, even though Özbilge is inclined to use foreignization, he uses domestication as can be seen in the case of the translation of 'ain't no'. Similarly, Çapan's inclination towards domestication cannot be observed in the case of the proper noun 'Jim Crow'. Therefore, we can indeed conclude by arguing that translators' choices cannot be positioned at one end of an axis of domestication and foreignization but they are generally somewhere in-between depending on different variables such as stylistic and cultural norms of the source and target cultures and translators' levels of loyalty to these (Kansu-Yetkiner et al., 2018).

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