

Exploring the Strategies of Translating Cultural References in Kurdish Subtitling: A Case Study

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Abstract—The current study investigates the strategies of translating cultural references applied in the Kurdish subtitles of the American movie entitled “Scent of a Woman.” This research also determines the parameters that affect the application of translation strategies in the Kurdish subtitles on the movie. In doing so, the English audio scripts (i.e., source text) and their Kurdish subtitles (i.e., target text), were compared and interpreted in accordance with Pedersen’s taxonomy of subtitling strategies and parameters (2011). The results revealed that all the translation strategies proposed by Pedersen (2011) were used in the Kurdish subtitles. However, due to the consideration of the “monocultural parameter,” the subtitler most frequently used the strategy of retention in the Kurdish subtitles. On the other hand, he used the strategies of omission and official equivalence least frequently. It is also shown that the parameters affecting the application of subtitling strategies were monocultural, transcultural, infracultural, and polysemiotics. In sum, the cultural differences between SL and TL made the subtitler adopt justifiable strategies depending on availability of specific parameters.

Keywords—Audio-visual translation, Cultural references, Kurdish subtitling, Subtitling, Translation strategies, Translation studies.

I. INTRODUCTION

We live in an audiovisual and screen-dominated era. A wide range of videos, movies, courses, and even conferences are easily available for someone who wants to know something new or to have a joyful time in front of a TV, Laptop, or smartphone screen. Many cultural events and activities have also shifted to the digital world, and audiovisual products have never been more desired and appreciated among people of all ages than ever.

Over the last few decades, audio-visual translation (AVT) has become one of the most significant and rapid developments in translation studies. Subtitling, as one of the audiovisual modes, is regarded as an important way of facilitating communication between audio-visual products and the audience of other languages and cultures. Nowadays, showing foreign movies and TV shows with subtitles is common in non-English speaking countries. In other words, subtitling audio-visual films from English language into other vernacular languages is very frequent.

Since almost every subtitled film contains cultural references (CRs), translators should prevent misrepresentation

of those cultural elements in their translation which leads to miscommunication of the original film message to the TL audience. The translators’ task of proper representation of cultural elements becomes more challenging if the source and target cultures have controversial differences and the subtitlers face some cultural gaps in subtitling cultural elements. This causes subtitlers fail to find appropriate equivalents of sociocultural terms, or the audience do not understand the sense of subtitles due to the lack of cultural awareness. As a result, they may not get the value and core message of the story. It is also worth noting that the majority of translation issues arise from cultural variations between source and target languages. Besides, because of the time and space limits, translating CRs becomes a difficult task in the subtitling process.

In the current study, the Kurdish subtitles on the English movie entitled “Scent of a Woman” are investigated to find out how cultural differences between English (SL) and Kurdish (TL) affected the application of subtitling strategies, and the way the subtitler handled the existing cultural gaps in translation. This research will also determine the parameters that affect the application of strategies of translating cultural

elements in Kurdish subtitles of the mentioned movie. Therefore, in this research, the following questions are answered: (1) Which strategies are frequently used in the translation of CRs in Kurdish subtitles on the English movie? and (2) what are those parameters that affect the application of strategies of translating cultural elements in Kurdish subtitles on the English movie?

To answer the research questions, Pedersen's taxonomy of translation strategies and parameters (2011) is applied as the theoretical framework of the study. It provides the research with the classification of translation strategies and related parameter, according to which the English scripts and their Kurdish translations are analyzed. Moreover, the present paper is part of product-oriented descriptive translation studies (Toury, 1995), describing an existing AVT product (i.e., the case study) based on a specific theoretical framework (i.e., Pedersen, 2011) to discover the current norms of subtitling in the Kurdistan Region in terms of translation strategies and parameters applications.

II. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: SUBTITLING

In the last couple of decades, translation has been found not only on paper but also on screens. This type of translation is referred to as AVT. According to González, "AVT is a branch of translation studies concerned with the transfer of multimodal and multimedial texts into another language" (2011, p. 13). In a rapidly growing market, one of the most widely used types of translation is audiovisual translation. Translation implemented in the audiovisual industry now considers a growing share of all translation activity. This is due to two factors: First, the audio-visual products can reach many people because of easy receiving, primarily through television; second, a vast amount of translated materials (such as documentaries, interviews, movies, news, discussion programs, show series, and cartoons) are delivered to various cultures. This is particularly noticeable in nations where English is not the official language (Cintas, 2003, p. 192).

According to (Pedersen 2011, p. 3; Cintas 2008, p.4), subtitling, dubbing, and voice over are three main modes of AVT. Cintas (2009) defines dubbing as the process of substituting the original soundtrack with a target language recording that accurately reproduces the original message while guaranteeing that the target language sounds and the actors' lip movements are in sync. According to Gottlieb, voice-over involves "lowering down the original voice and allowing one narrator to interpret what is being said by the speakers in the film or program" (2001, p. 244). Subtitling is the fastest, most cost-effective, and most appropriate way to convey any form of AV program out of the three basic AVT modes, which are subtitling, dubbing, and voice-over (Cintas, 2005).

Different scholars have got various points of view about subtitling. According to Pedersen (2011), the original soundtrack is preserved in subtitling and the translation is superimposed on the visual image of the film or television program. According to Luyken and others, subtitling is

condensed written translations of original dialogue which appear as lines of text, usually positioned towards the foot of the screen. Subtitles appear and disappear to coincide in time with the corresponding portion of the original dialogue and are almost always added to the screen image at a later date as a post-production activity. (1991, p. 31; See also Cintas and Anderman, 2009, p. 21).

Furthermore, Gottlieb refers to subtitling as (1) a written, (2) additive (i.e. new verbal material is added in the form of subtitles), (3) immediate, (4) synchronous, and (5) poly-medial (i.e., at least two channels are employed) form of translation (1992, p. 162). In the Dictionary of Translation Studies, subtitling is "the process of providing synchronized captions for film and television dialogue (and more recently for live opera)" (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997, p. 161). For Cintas, subtitling means presenting a written text, usually along the bottom of the screen, which gives an account of the original dialogue exchanges of the speakers as well as other linguistic elements which form part of the visual image (inserts, letters, graffiti, banners, and the like) or of the soundtrack (songs, voices off). (2009, p. 5).

According to the aforementioned definitions, subtitling is a process that displays a visible transcript of a film's speech mostly at the bottom of the screen, either in SL to assist the clarity of the audio in the film, or in TL to help a foreign audience to comprehend the dialogue.

Gottlieb classified subtitling from linguistic and technical point of view (2001, p. 247). From linguistic perspective, there are two types of subtitling, namely intralingual and interlingual subtitling. Intralingual subtitling or "same-language subtitling" (Cintas and Remael, 2021) occurs when the spoken language is rendered into the written language within the same language. In other words, changing in mode happens rather than in the language (Gottlieb, 2001). On the other hand, interlingual subtitling is the most widespread sort of subtitling, and it is the main focus of this paper. Gottlieb (2001) calls this type "diagonal" in which the mode and language change since it is rendering the speech from one language into the written target language.

According to Gottlieb (2001, p. 247), subtitling is technically divided into open and closed subtitling. Open subtitling is not optional, which means that there is no particular software to playback because they are blended into the image. On the other hand, closed subtitling refers to optional subtitles that can be turned off and on and demonstrated on the screen when they are activated by the viewer by using a decoder.

A. Requirements of Subtitling

Karamitroglou presents four primary requirements of subtitling which include "special parameter/layout, temporal parameter/duration, punctuation, and target text editing" (1998, pp. 2-12). The first category is concerned with the placement of the subtitles as well as the number of lines and color of the subtitling text. It is generally agreed that subtitling should be placed at the bottom of the screen to

avoid taking up too much space or blocking a large portion of the view, and a maximum two lines of subtitles to be displayed on the screen at the 1 time (Karamitroglou 1998; Gottlieb, 2001; Cintas and Remael, 2014).

The number of characters per line, in the category of each parameter/layout, has to be taken into account although there is no consensus among researchers on this issue. The recommended number per line ranges from 32 to 40 characters. Gottlieb (2001) recommends 30 to 35 characters per line, and Karamitroglou (1998) states that a line can be up to 40 characters. However, Pedersen (2011) believes that subtitles are often confined to a single line to prevent obstructing (or no more than two lines) at the bottom of the screen, and they require a limited number of characters ranging from 28 to 35 characters and up to 72 characters included in two lines of subtitles.

Furthermore, the color of the characters in subtitling should be pale white since a very bright color would be exhausting to the eye of the viewer (Karamitroglou 1998). The yellow color in some films indicates that the voice is off-screen, such as when translating songs. Moreover, Cintas (2005) states that color should be carefully chosen because they can detract from the visual while giving no additional clues to the audience.

The second requirement is time factor and the duration the subtitles to be shown on the screen. The time range of subtitles is determined by the viewers' reading speed. According to Luyken and others (1991), average reading speeds are between 150 and 180 words per minute. Gottlieb (2001) recommends 5 to 6 s to show two lines of subtitles. He also added that displaying rates of more than 12 characters per second is not acceptable. Similarly, Karamitroglou (1998) believes that a single-word subtitle requires one second and a half, regardless of how easy it is to read. This is also supported by Cintas and Remael (2014) who argue that in most cases a 3-s intervention is shown in a single line.

Synchronization is another crucial aspect. According to Cintas and Remael (2007), subtitles must be added at the beginning of an utterance and removed as soon as it is finished. However, Karamitroglou (1998) claims that subtitles do not have to appear concurrently with the commencement of the speech, but should begin one-fourth of a second afterward and should not be on the screen for more than 2 s after the last word has been spoken.

The third requirement of subtitling is punctuation. According to Cintas and Remael (2014), subtitles prefer to follow the punctuation norm of the written text.

The fourth requirement is related to the editing of the target text. Long single-line subtitles should be broken into two lines. The lengths of the upper and lower subtitles should be as close as possible. This is because spectators are more familiar with reading a rectangular style than a triangle-shaped text. (Karamitroglou, 1998).

B. Studies on Subtitling

In the last two decades, some local television channels have been launched in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. They

displayed dubbed movies and films being translated from the languages of the neighboring countries (e.g., Persian, Turkish, and Arabic). This is partially because these countries are lingua-culturally close to the Kurdish language and culture. Concerning the practice of subtitling in the region, in the recent years, subtitling movies from English and European languages increased. According to SatExpat (2019), Iraq's Kurdistan region has 118 television channels, six of which solely broadcast movies, while others broadcast movies along with other programs. There are also movie websites some of which exclusively feature Kurdish-subtitled movies (Majeed and Saleh, 2019).

There are relatively few studies conducted on the representation of cultural elements in subtitling. For example, Pedersen (2011) conducted a study entitled "Subtitling Norms for Television," casting light on the extra-linguistic CRs (ECRs). In another study, Altahri (2013) explored the challenges and strategies of subtitling CRs in the Harry Potter movies in Arabic.

On researching Kurdish subtitling, Muhammad (2017) investigated the semantic loss in the Kurdish subtitles on the English movie "Witch Hunter" produced in 2013, while he was focusing on the under-translation, cover-translation and mistranslation occurred in the Kurdish subtitles. Majeed and Saleh (2019) aimed to find out what methods of subtitling Kurdish translators usually use in subtitling and whether there is an established norm to be followed by Kurdish subtitlers. In another study investigating the Kurdish translation of directive speech acts in subtitling the English movie "Pumpkinhead: Blood Feud" broadcasted in 2007, Abdulwahab and others investigate the translation of commissive speech acts from English to Kurdish (2020).

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Materials

The present research is a descriptive study of the application of subtitling strategies and parameters in translating CRs in the Kurdish subtitles on the American movie "Scent of a Woman." The movie was screened and directed by Martin Brest in 1992. It was subtitled into Kurdish by Ahmad Abdullah in, and it was broadcasted on Beemar movies website. The story is about a man (Frank Slade) who is a former US Army lieutenant colonel. He is visually impaired and difficult to get along with. A senior student named Charlie is studying at high school and looking forward to study in college. To earn extra money and to afford his return back home for Christmas, he accepts to take care of Frank on the Thanksgiving Day. Frank's niece thinks that this will be easy money, but she didn't expect Frank to be in New York for Thanksgiving. The movie stars are Al Pacino, Chris O'Donnell and Gabrielle Anwar and others.

The movie was selected because it contains many Western cultural elements whose equivalents may not exist in the Kurdish language and culture. Relying on Newmark's categories of cultural elements (1988), due to its clear classification of cultural element, simple to put into practice.

Furthermore, he is a milestone in the field of ECRs, and many other studies and classifications are derived from his ideas. The following groups of CRs were detected in English movie script and its translation: Ecology (i.e., flora, fauna, winds, plains, and hills), material culture (i.e., food, clothes, houses, towns and transport), and social culture (i.e., work and leisure), organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts, gestures, and habits.

B. Theoretical Framework

Pedersen (2005) classified CRs into ECRs and intralinguistic CRs (ICRs). According to him, ICRs refer to idiomatic expressions, slangs, and anything intralinguistic. However, extralinguistic CRs are those entities outside the language system. The main focus of the study is on the ECRs. Examining how these CRs are treated in the mentioned movie subtitles in Kurdish and exploring the applied translation strategies and parameters, the current study followed Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy. According to him, the strategies of subtitling are classified as follows:

Official equivalent (A "ready-made official TL equivalent")

SL-oriented strategies

1. Retention: CRs are rendered into the TL without any change (Complete) or slightly changing may occur in spelling or removing an article to meet the TL requirements (TL-adjusted)
2. Specification: SL CRs retained with adding information in the TL:
 - Completion: Information is added to the CRs, which is latent in the SL. For instance, giving someone's first name or completing an official name to avoid ambiguity for the TL viewer;
 - Addition: Semantic material is added to the CRs, for example, person's occupation or an evaluative adjective.
3. Direct Translation: This strategy involves translation only, without adding or removing any material
 - Shift translation
 - Calque

TL-oriented strategies

1. Generalization:
 - Subordinate: Either hyponymy or meronymy is used to express the reference meaning
 - Paraphrase: SL CRs are omitted; instead, paraphrasing is utilized to fit the context
2. Substitution:
 - Cultural: In that, it entirely replaces a foreign element with a domestic one
 - Situational: In this strategy, the meaning of the SL CR is deleted and replaced with something more appropriate for the situation
3. Omission: ST cultural reference is not rendered into the TT, it is completely omitted.

Moreover, according to Pedersen (2011), there are some parameters due to which specific translation strategy are adopted by subtitlers to deal with CRs in subtitling. Thus, this study follows Pedersen's (2011) parameters that influence the subtitler's decision to render CRs:

1. Transculturality: There are three levels of transculturality:
 - Transcultural CR: It is a CR that is not specific to the SC, but it is also known by the TC audience
 - Monocultural CR: The ST audience is familiar with CRs, but the TT viewer is not
 - Infracultural CR: It is often connected to the SC, but it cannot be considered to be within the encyclopaedic knowledge of the ST or TT viewer, because it is too specialized or too local to be known even by most of the ST audience.
2. Extratextuality:
 - Text internal: It refers to material made specifically for this TV show
 - Text external: It is a CR that has a life of its own outside of the series, even while it may still be fictional
3. Centrality: Refers to how significant CR is to the text available.
4. Polysemiotics: There is an interaction between the speech and the image, which affects the rendering of CR
5. Co-text: In the polysemiotic text, there may be overlapping information in the other semiotic channels, and there may be overlapping information elsewhere in the co-text (the dialogue). The subtitler should not do the task at any time if an ECR has been clarified earlier in the co-text
6. Media-specific constraints. Suffice it to say this indicates that in a rapid dialogue, the conversation will be shortened
7. The effects of the Subtitling Situation: The above-mentioned parameters are analyzed either from the text alone or from the interaction between the text and reality. This final parameter is about the text rather than in the text. In addition, according to Pedersen, "the parameters all apply to operational norms: the first six apply to textual-linguistic norms, whereas the last one applies to matricial norms" (2011, p. 106).

C. Data Collection

The data were taken from the 15 min of the beginning, middle, and ending of the movie. Each sample has two parts: An English audio script and its Kurdish subtitle. The research passed through few steps to analyze the collected data and to achieve results. These steps include watching the English movie and detecting the culture-based items, transcribing the English utterances which include cultural elements, comparing the selected English scripts and their Kurdish subtitles, and identifying the applied strategies of translating CRs and the parameters according to which those strategies were applied for each single case.

IV. RESULTS

The analysis of the collected data in the present study reveals that the subtitler of the American movie "Scent of a Woman" has applied different strategies to render CRs of the movie in the subtitles. Here, 50 CRs were identified and sorted out according to Pederson's taxonomy (2011). These 50 cases (ST) and their Kurdish translation (TT) are presented in a table that clearly shows the distribution of the applied translation strategies and parameters (Appendix).

In samples (2, 6, 7, 9,10,12,13, 14, 18, 19, 27, 32, 34, 36, 37, 41, and 45), the complete retention strategy has been used. However, in samples (22, 31, 38, and 39) TL-Adjusted Retention has been used to render the CRs. The influencing parameters in adopting these strategies were all monocultural except for samples (6, 7) the influencing parameters behind using these strategies were infraculture. For instance, in the sample (10), the CR *Christmas* was rendered as *کریسمس*. The subtitler applied a complete retention strategy in which the CR remains unchanged in TL. However, in a sample (38), *Schlitz* was conveyed by the subtitler as *شیلتز* that he used the TL-adjusted strategy. Here, minor changes in the spelling occurred to adapt to Kurdish phonological requirements. The influencing parameters of using retention strategy for both examples are monocultural.

In samples (8, 35, 42, 46), completion specification strategies were used to render CRs. For example, the sample (8) *thanksgiving* was rendered as *رێو رهسمی سوپاس گوزاری* in the TL that the subtitler applied completion specification strategy. The influencing parameter behind this strategy is that the item is monocultural. The samples of (8, 35) are monocultural however, in the sample (42), two parameters influenced the used strategy which are polysemiotic and monocultural; however, in the sample (46) the influencing parameter is infracultural.

In the samples (24, 33, 44, 50) shift direct translation was used. For example, in sample (33), in translating *mother's day*, the subtitler used a shift direct translation strategy to convey as *به‌ڕۆژی دایکان*. In sample (20), the word *weekend* was rendered as *به‌کوتایی ههفته*, in this translation calque direct translation strategy was used. The influencing parameters for using direct translation are monocultural.

Paraphrase generalization strategy was used in samples (15, 17, 21, 25, 26, 30, 40, and 49). In sample (17), the concept *Easter* was translated as *جەژنی پاک بونهوه* using the generalization paraphrase strategy, and the influencing parameter behind using this strategy is that the CR Easter is monocultural. It is worth noting that, only in the sample (25) the influencing parameter is infracultural the others are monocultural. Furthermore, in samples (47, 48) subordinate generalization strategy was used, and the word *brook* in (47) was translated as *به‌رووبار*, the applied strategy in translating this concept is generalization subordinate strategy. The influencing parameter for applying this strategy is that *brook* is transcultural.

The subtitler employed the cultural substitution strategy in translating samples (3, 4, 5, 29, 43, and 11), and the influencing parameter behind this strategy's usage is transcultural. However, monocultural was the influencing strategy in the sample (11). Situational substitution strategies were used in the samples (16, 23), and the influential parameter in utilizing this strategy is monocultural. For example, in the sample (23), *Christ's sake* is the monocultural word that influences the usage of situational strategy to render it as *به‌بخاڤی خوا*. The substitution cultural strategy was used in sample (43) to render the CR *cradle* as *لانه*. Because the term *cradle* is a transcultural concept, a cultural strategy was used to translate it into Kurdish.

In sample (1), *oh Jesus* was completely omitted. In TT, the applied strategy was an omission. The influencing parameter of applying this strategy is that the CR is the monoculture. Moreover, sample (28) *Hallelujah* is the religious term was conveyed as *به‌سوپاس به‌خوا*, according to Pedersen the most used strategy to translate religious words is official equivalence. The influencing parameter of using this strategy is the transculturality of the word *Hallelujah*.

V. DISCUSSION

In this part, the above-mentioned results are presented statistically in order to find the frequency of application of translation strategies in rendering the CRs of the English Movie into Kurdish, and to explore the parameters that affected the subtitler's decision making. To this purpose, a bar chart (Fig. 1) is prepared.

According to the above figure, among the mentioned strategies of translating CRs; the most widely used strategy was retention with 21 items (42%) subdivided into complete retention with 17 items, and TL adjusted retention with 4 items. Besides, as Pedersen explained this strategy is commonly employed in translating nouns (2011, p. 78). In the selected movie, the subtitler used this strategy to render proper nouns. It sounds to be a sort of exoticism. The names of all movie stars and characters have been exoticized into Kurdish. For example the proper name of the movie star, *Frank*, was conveyed as *فرانک*. This type of strategy is like a transliteration or exoticism. Hence, many instances of such use of strategy have been found in the movie. For that reason the strategy used in rendering the characters of the selected movie were excluded in the study. The next frequently used strategy was generalization with 10 (20%) classified into paraphrase with 8 (16%) and subordinate with 2 (4%). followed by substitution with 8 (16%) subdivided into cultural with 6 (12%) and situational with 2 (4%), direct translation strategy with 5 (10%) divided into shift with 4 (8%) and calque with 1 item (2%), specification in the sub-strategy completion with 4 (8%). and the least frequently applied strategies were omission 1 (2%) and official equivalence 1 (2%).

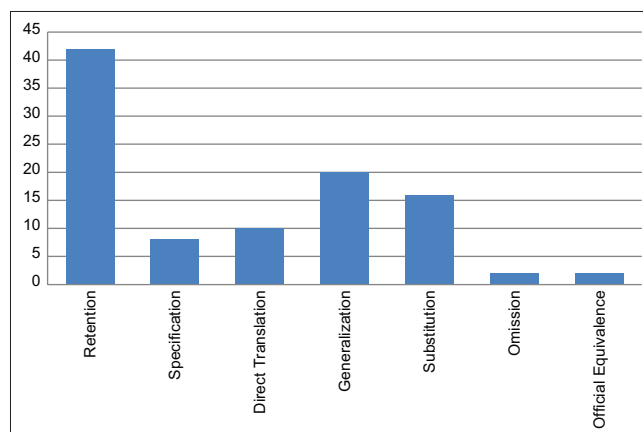


Fig. 1: Subtitling strategies frequency.

Furthermore, the influencing parameters in applying the strategies in the study were monocultural, transcultural, infracultural, and polyesemiotics. The study revealed that most of the cultural words are monocultural. According to the data acquired in this study (Appendix), one cultural word can be translated utilizing a specific strategy based on multiple influencing factors. It also demonstrates that each parameter did not lead to a single type of translation strategy.

According to the results, the majority of the CRs have been morphologically “transliterated” to conform to TL orthography and phonetic standards. This demonstrates the subtitler’s tendency to employ the SL-oriented strategies as there were not correspondent cultural equivalent in the Kurdish and he desired to represent the original cultural items to TL audience although there may have been other ways to overcome the cited cultural gaps. It is needless to insert that the ways of coping with the cultural differences in AVT-and especially in subtitling-needs to be elaborated by further studies. However, it is strongly recommended that solely attaching to the SL culture, because of a plethora of monocultural elements in the ST, does not exempt the subtitler from the responsibility of communicating acceptable and adequate translation to TL receivers.

VI. CONCLUSION

In the present study, relying on Pedersen’s model (2011), the translation of CRs in the Kurdish subtitles on the American movie “Scent of a Woman” was investigated to explore the frequency of applied translation strategies and parameters. According to the study results, all of the Pedersen’s strategies were used in translating CRs. However, the most frequently applied strategy is retention. Other strategies’ frequencies of application (i.e., generalization, substitution, direct translation, specification, omission, and official equivalence) were placed 2nd to 6th. It is also worth mentioning that 60% of the total used strategies is SL oriented strategies, 38% is the TL oriented strategies, and 2% is the official equivalence strategy.

There are several parameters that affected the translators’ decision to exploit appropriate strategies, including monocultural, transcultural, infracultural, polyesemiotics, co-text, media-specific constraints, and the effects of the subtitling situation. However, monoculture is the most frequent parameter which influenced the translation of 36 culture-based times out of 50 ones.

It is suggested that further studies to be conducted on English-Kurdish AVT, even with larger corpora, to explore the common norms of AVT in the Kurdish society and to introduce acceptable and reliable models and strategies in this domain to the interested people.

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APPENDIX

CULTURAL REFERENCES IN THE MOVIE "SCENT OF A WOMAN" AND ITS KURDISH SUBTITLES

No.	ST	Time	TT	Strategies	Parameters
1	Oh Jesus.	00:03:09		Omission	Monocultural
2	Now he is a loser with a Jaguar.	00:03:27	تەنەتەت لە جاگواریش بە ختی نەبوو.	Retention/complete	Polysemiotics Monocultural
3	Good morning Sir.	00:03:34	بەبەینی باش قوربان.	Substitution/cultural	Transcultural
4	Mr. Willis	00:03:35	کاک ویلس	Substitution/cultural	Transcultural
5	Morning, Mrs. Hunsaker.	00:03:41	بەبەینی باش، خاتوو هاینسیکەبەر.	Substitution/cultural	Transcultural
6	Sugarbush	00:04:37	شوگبوش	Retention/complete	Infracultural
7	I thought we were going to Stowe.	00:04:42	پێم وابوو دەچین بۆ ستوو.	Retention/complete	Infracultural
8	Thanksgiving in Vermont.	00:04:45	رێبوو رەسمی سوپاس گوزاری لە ڤیرمەنت.	Specification/completion	Monocultural
9	Thanksgiving in Vermont.	00:04:45	رێبوو رەسمی سوپاس گوزاری لە ڤیرمەنت.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
10	Christmas in Switzerland.	00:04:46	کریسمس لە سوئیسرا.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
11	Christmas in Switzerland.	00:04:46	کریسمس لە سوئیسرا.	Substitution/cultural	Monocultural
12	Christmas in Gstaad.	00:04:49	کریسمس لە جی شتاد.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
13	You going home to fuckin' Idaho for Thanksgiving?	00:05:16	بۆجەژنی سوپاس گوزاری بۆ ئەوێ دەچیتە ئەو ئایدۆهۆیە حیزە؟	Retention/complete	Monocultural
14	I'm from Oregon?	00:05:17	مەن خەڵکی ئاریگۆنم.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
15	Charlie, how do you feel about skiing?	00:05:24	چارلی، رات چیبە سەبارەت بە خلیسکێنەرە سەر بەفر؟	Generalization/Paraphrase	Monocultural
16	You in the mood for white-bosomed slopes of Vermont?	00:05:26	دەرۆیتە سەر کۆیەمکانی ڤیرمۆنت یاری خلیسکێنەرە دەکەیت، پێت چۆنە؟	Substitution/situational	Infracultural
17	Easter in Bermuda.	00:05:42	جەژنی پاک بۆنەو لە بەرمۆدە.	Generalization/paraphrase	Monocultural
18	Easter in Bermuda.	00:05:42	جەژنی پاک بۆنەو لە بەرمۆدە.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
19	Then, Kentucky Derby weekend.	00:05:42	دواتر کۆتایی هەفتەش دەچین بۆ کنتاکی دێری.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
20	Then, Kentucky Derby weekend.	00:05:42	دواتر کۆتایی هەفتەش دەچین بۆ کنتاکی دێری.	Direct translation/calque	Monocultural
21	They put him in a veteran's home.	00:07:23	ئەویان خستبوو ناو خانەی سەربازە کۆنەکانەو.	Generalization/paraphrase	Monocultural
22	Colonel	00:09:11	کۆلنێل	Retention/TL-adjusted	Monocultural
23	Oh, for Christ's sake.	00:09:43	بۆخاتری خوا بە سیکە.	Substitution/situational	Monocultural
24	You are on student aid.	00:10:02	تۆ یەکێکیت لە خۆبەندکارە یارمەتیدارەکان.	Direct translation/shift	Monocultural
25	For student aid read crook.	00:10:05	بۆئەوێ بێی بە خۆبەندکاری یارمەتیدار دەبێت کتێبی کلاو بازەکان بخوێنیتەو.	Generalization/paraphrase	Infracultural
26	My stepfather and my mom run a convenience store.	00:11:18	زەرباوەکەمو دایکەم کۆمەڵگەیەکێ کات بە سەر بردن بەرپۆڕ دەبین.	Generalization/paraphrase	Monocultural
27	I attend Bird	00:11:42	مەن لە بێرد دەخوێنم.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
28	Hallelujah	00:12:08	سوپاس بۆ خوا	Official equivalence	Transcultural
29	Who is there? That little piece of tail?	00:12:21	کێی لە وێنە؟ مەرمێلکە بچووک؟	Substitution/cultural	Transcultural
30	I can't believe they are my blood. IQ of sloths and the manners of banshees.	00:12:47	باوەر بەمەن نەوان لە خوێنی من بن. گەمژەییەکیان بێسنۆرە و ناکارو رەفتاریشیان بە مەرفان ناچنیت.	Generalization/paraphrase	Monocultural
31	Andover	00:13:43	ئاند هۆڤەر	Retention/TL-adjusted	Monocultural
32	I can get around a city like New York.	01:12:28	دەتوانم لە شارێکی وەک نیویۆرک گەڕانێک بکەم.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
33	Call you mother on Mother's Day.	01:15:42	تەنخە لە رۆژی دایکان تەلەڤۆن بۆ دایکت بکە.	Direct Translation/Shift	Monocultural
34	Playing golf with your friends from the Bird School.	01:16:45	لە گەڵ هاپۆلەکانەت لە قوتابخانەی بێرد یاری گۆلف دەکەیت.	Retention/Complete	Monocultural
35	He promised me to get me in Harvard.	01:17:49	بە لێنی پێدام بەمنیزینێ زانکۆی هارفارد.	Specification/Completion	Monocultural
36	Double Jack Daniels on the rocks.	01:18:52	جاک دانیاڵزێکی دەبێ بە سەهۆلەو.	Retention/Complete	Monocultural
37	Bring my young friend here a Shirley temple.	01:18:53	بۆ هاورێ لاوەکەشم شیرلی تەمپل بەینن.	Retention/Complete	Monocultural
38	Schlitz	01:19:20	شیلتز	Retention/TL-adjusted	Monocultural
39	Blatz	01:19:24	بۆلتز	Retention/TL-adjusted	Monocultural
40	Chestnut hair?	01:20:12	رەنگی پێچی زەر دیاو؟	Generalization/paraphrase	Infracultural
41	Ogilvie Sister soap.	01:21:58	سابۆنی ئوگیڤ سەتەرز.	Retention/complete	Infracultural
42	Do you tango?	01:22:48	سەمای تانگۆ دەکەیت؟	Specification/completion	Polysemiotic Monocultural
43	Cradle of leadership.	02:24:07	لانکەیی سەرکرەدایەتی.	Substitution/cultural	Transcultural
44	Went to artillery school at Fort Sill with a Mickey Downes.	02:29:14	مەن لە فۆرتسێل لەگەڵ کەسێک بەناوی میکی دوانز، رۆبێشتم بۆ قوتابخانەی سەربازی.	Direct translation/shift	Monocultural
45	Went to artillery school at Fort Sill with a Mickey Downes.	02:29:14	مەن لە فۆرتسێل لەگەڵ کەسێک بەناوی میکی دوانز، رۆبێشتم بۆ قوتابخانەی سەربازی.	Retention/complete	Monocultural
46	Fleurs de Rocaille	02:29:37	عەترتی فلورس دی رۆکال	Specification/completion	Infracultural
47	Flowers from a brook.	02:29:43	گۆلەکانی رۆوبار	Generalization/subordinate	Transcultural
48	Sometimes she cooks a pot roast.	02:31:25	هەندێکجار کەبابی خۆش دروست دەکات.	Generalization/subordinate	Monocultural

CULTURAL REFERENCES IN THE MOVIE "SCENT OF A WOMAN" AND ITS KURDISH SUBTITLES

49	I hear a chipmunk.	02:32:26	گوێم له دهنگی سمۆر ههیکه بچوک بوو.	Generalization/paraphrase	Monocultural
50	Is it a walrus?	02:32:28	ئهوه قهیلی دهر یاییه؟	Direct translation/shift	Monocultural