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**Investigating the Intricacies of Cultural
Translation: A Descriptive and Comparative Study
The Case of the English Subtitles of the Algerian Films
'Mostefa Ben Boulaid' and
*'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'***

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Dedications

To my dear mother, the person without whom this work would have never seen light

To my late father, the person who we really wish was there to see this work

To my only brother, for his heartfelt care and valuable assistance

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Abstract

The research at hand attempts to look into the way cultural specificity is rendered in Algerian film subtitles and tries to uncover the underlying reasons behind the choice of translation strategy, both at the local and global levels. With regard to issues of power imbalance and cultural domination, the work also aims to explore whether the translation behaviour is norm-governed and whether domesticating strategies are applied as a norm when translating into English. Time change is another influencing factor that this study sets out to examine. Therefore, it was hypothesised that regular patterns in the translation behaviour would prove the existence of norms and justify the translator's decision-making, that the latter is influenced by the socio-historical context in which it took place and that the use of foreignisation would invalidate the claim that domestication is the norm when translating into English. To test these hypotheses, a comparative study of the English subtitles of a selection of two Algerian films, namely *Mostefa Ben Boulaid*' and *'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'*, is conducted, based on Pedersen's (2011) model of analysis. In addition, a questionnaire is administered to teachers of subtitling at European universities, in order to gain better insight into the previous concerns and reinforce the findings of the main empirical investigation. The results obtained support all the hypotheses presented. The product and the process-oriented analyses reveal that both translations conform to normative behaviour, as regular patterns in the rendering of cultural specificity are observed. They are also influenced by socio-historical variables because they are approached using opposite general methods; and the use of foreignisation in one of them invalidates the claim that translation into English favours domestication as a norm. In the light of these findings, a tendency to foreignise Algerian films that belong to the historical genre in their translation from Algerian Arabic into English is assumed. However, further research built on a more extensive and varied corpus is recommended to make any certain generalisations.

List of Abbreviations

AVT: Audiovisual Translation

CA: Classical Arabic

Cf.: confer/conferatur (*Latin for: compare*)

CNCA: Centre National de la Cinématographie et de l'Audiovisuel

CSI: Culture-Specific Items

DVD: Digital Versatile Disc

ECR: Extralinguistic Cultural Reference

ESIST: European Association for Studies in Screen Translation

FIGS: France, Italy, Germany and Spain

GPS: Global Positioning System

ICC: Intercultural Communication

LSP: Language for Specific Purposes

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

O.N.C.I.C. : Office National Pour le Commerce et l'Industrie Cinématographique

SA: Standard Arabic

SC: Source Culture

SDHH: Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing

ST: Source Text

TC: Target Culture

TT: Target Text

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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Arabic Transliteration Alphabet

The following Arabic alphabet transliteration system (Arabic Division, 2007) is used to transliterate into Latin script Arabic words and expressions present throughout this work.

Romanisation	Arabic Character	Romanisation	Arabic Character
	همزة ء	GH	غ
Ā	ا	F	ف
B	ب	Q	ق
T	ت	K	ك
TH	ث	L	ل
J	ج	M	م
<u>H</u>	ح	N	ن
KH	خ	H	هـ و التاء المربوطة في نهاية الكلمة
D	د	W, Ū	و
DH	ذ	Y, Ī	ي
R	ر	a	Short Opener
Z	ز	ā	Long Opener
S	س	ā	Maddah
SH	ش	a'	Alif Maqsourah
<u>S</u>	ص	u	Short Closer
<u>D</u>	ض	ū	Long Closer
<u>T</u>	ط	i	Short Breaker
<u>DH</u>	ظ	ī	Long Breaker
‘	ع	Doubling the letter	شدة

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Appendix 1: Teachers' Questionnaire

INTRODUCTION

1. Statement of the Problem

The process of globalisation and the development of information technology added a whole new dimension to worldwide communication and facilitated knowledge exchange and interaction between international community members, resulting in what is termed a ‘global village’. Films, as typical audiovisual products, possess significant communicative powers and respond to insatiable demand, due to their entertaining and informative qualities. Through television, Internet and the advent of the DVD, films can now circulate easily and quickly to reach audiences of different tongues and cultures. Thus, the strong need to translate this type of text brought into existence a recent branch in the field of Translation Studies, that is, Audiovisual Translation.

Finding the right balance between languages and cultures is one of the major issues that sparked a fair amount of researches in this field and affected the professional practice of translation. In fact, the film industry is governed by certain countries that exert cultural domination over others and encourage many aspects of their culture to cross national borders and introduce new ideas and ways of life. Robinson (2007) reports that “Only 1—2 percent of works translated into Western/Northern languages are from Eastern/Southern cultures; 98—99 percent of works translated into Eastern/Southern languages are from Western/ Northern cultures” (p. 197).

In connection with the ‘foreignisation/ domestication’ duality, when a hegemonic culture does actually translate works made by the dominated culture, they are going to be generally interpreted as difficult and obscure; while, on the other hand, the hegemonic culture's works are conveniently translated by the dominated culture (Robinson, 2007).

Moreover, some hegemonic cultures are more commonly imposing technical regulations that promote their culture and limit the translator's freedom and creativity (Cintas, 2003).

The massive exposure to imported foreign cultural elements extends the target culture's basic knowledge about the main constituents of the source culture and favours its reception and acceptability. These elements are slowly anchored in the target recipients' unconscious to the point that they are no longer perceived as distant and strange, which is why different aspects of cultural contagion are increasingly observed, and various effects of digital globalisation are causing cultural borders to dissolve, making an ever more homogenous world. Cultural shock is seemingly increasingly invisible and the universal phenomenon of cultural asymmetry appears to pose a real cross-cultural dilemma, as cultural variation and social identity are put in serious jeopardy.

Algerian culture and cinema are a good case in point, as all such phenomena have been observed. Algerian films as prime vectors of the Algerian culture represent a minor population that has been peripheralised and silenced by long occupation. Their number is reduced as compared to Western/Northern productions and they are spoken in a demographically small and lower-status language, which is Algerian Arabic.

As these films struggle to find a voice, all those obstacles seem to be in the way. In the meantime, the manipulative powers of films as cultural artifacts characterised by centralisation and depersonalisation of subjected cultures is starting to face serious criticism and a call for change that mainly stems from the conviction that globalisation is a myth and that cultural borders do truly exist. That social difference, world view and common misunderstanding are real evidence that cannot be simply concealed by certain powers to divest less privileged populations of their mere otherness.

2. Aim of the Study

Considering that subtitling is the most popular mode used to translate Algerian films into other languages, the main objective of the study at hand is to look into the way cultural specificity is dealt with when Algerian films that are spoken in Algerian Arabic are subtitled into English. It attempts to unravel the basic reasons that motivate the translator's choice of strategy when important decisions about preserving the cultural authenticity of the original or making it accessible in the target culture have to be made. It also aims to explore whether the translation behaviour conforms to a certain set of socio-cultural norms; and whether temporal changes might influence the transfer of culture when imported from Algerian Arabic, as a minority language, to the universally dominant English language. In addition, the empirical findings of the study are expected to offer solid ground for recommendations as to what is required to make positive improvements and develop more interest in the field to conduct further and more extensive research.

3. Research Questions

Based on the above statements, the following research questions are formulated:

- What are the cultural references that exist in the films under investigation?
- What strategies did the translators follow to render them in the films?
- What can possibly explain their choice of strategy?
- Is the choice of strategy governed by norms?
- Does translating into English impede the passage of source cultural references?
- Is translation behaviour subject to change over time?

4. Hypotheses

This research will consider three main hypotheses:

1. If regular patterns of translation behaviour are observed in the rendering of cultural specificity in the films, the existence of norms would justify the choice of strategy.
2. If a clear difference is observed in the translators' choice of strategy as occurring in different points in time, the translation behaviour would be influenced by the historical context in which it took place.
3. If foreignisation is adopted as a global strategy in translating the films under investigation, the claim that 'domestication is the norm when translating into English' would be invalidated.

4. Research Tools

Two research tools have been used to test these hypotheses. The first involves a questionnaire directed to teachers of Audiovisual Translation, essentially subtitling, at the level of European universities. It mainly aims to fulfill an exploratory purpose into the recent developments in the field and the place of culture in the formal and the professional world of subtitling. Through teachers' responses, a set of clarifications and recommendations could be elicited in connection with the main objectives of the research.

The second tool consists of a comparative study between the English subtitles of two Algerian films spoken in Algerian Arabic, namely *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'* and *'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'*, based on Pedersen's (2011) model of analysis. The ECRs in both texts are extracted according to specific criteria, as outlined in the model. A qualitative and a quantitative analysis of the end-products and the processes of translation provide an account of both the local and global strategies employed in the translations, and help understand the

motivational reasons behind the translators' choice of strategy and whether this activity conforms to certain norms.

5. Structure of the Thesis

In addition to an introductory and a concluding section, the research work is divided into five chapters. Chapter one gives a general overview of the concept of culture, its historical background and interdisciplinary definitions. It also throws light on culture's complex relationship with language. In a second section, the chapter provides a more specific review about Algeria's cultural heritage and characteristic features, together with special focus on language and cinema.

Chapter two highlights the relevance of culture in translation studies and gathers the related literature as regards the main theories in the field. In addition, it provides special attention to the vocabulary of culture and its different classifications. Further issues of cultural gaps and cross-cultural awareness in linguistic transfer are also tackled under major headings.

Chapter three comprehends all the basic information about audiovisual translation, its different modes and theoretical approaches. It lays special emphasis, in the subsequent sections, to subtitling because it is the main form of translation being investigated in this research. Thus, the chapter addresses various topics ranging from its different types, history, professional practice, constraints and advantages, to the role of culture in the processes of communication and interlingual subtitling.

Chapter four presents the first part of the practical investigation, which consists of a questionnaire administered to university teachers of subtitling in Europe. A general description of the questionnaire and its main objectives is provided, as well as an analysis and interpretation of the ensuing results.

Chapter five includes the main empirical study. It starts by introducing the sample film selection, the methodology and the model of analysis, followed by major sections that conduct systematic analyses from both product and process-oriented perspectives. All the results are contrasted and examined from different angles to be, finally, summarised and discussed in latter sections.

The closing section presents general conclusions to the research, along with a description of the limitations encountered while conducting this study. It also offers a brief outline of possible recommendations for future investigations.

CHAPTER ONE

Culture: Conceptions and Specificities of the Algerian Culture and Cinema

Introduction

Culture is a key concept that directly relates to the main concern of this study. This is why it is sought throughout this initial chapter to make a comprehensive reference to all the basic aspects regarding this relation by trying, in a first step, to present a general definition of the term from various angles. Additionally, anthropological, ethno-linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives of the complex relation between culture and language are also provided. The following section of the chapter devotes a more focused review about the general historical and cultural features that characterise the Algerian country, together with particular references to its linguistic and cinematic background.

1.1. The Concept of Culture

One distinctive characteristic for the concept of ‘culture’ is that it has more than one plausible definition and facet. Through the years, the term has been consecutively defined by different scholars from different disciplines; not for lack of insight into its meaning, but for being so rich and variable in its usage.

1.1.1. A Historical Background

The elaborate historical development that the term has gone through is an important explanation for the numerous definitions that has been changed and reshaped over time. According to Barker (2004), in *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies*, the Latin words *cultura* and *colere* constitute the first origins for the word ‘culture’; presenting a series of

meanings like: 'cultivate' and 'honour with worship'. The latter meanings got separated later and developed through *cultus* to *cult* for 'honour with worship', and through the French words *couture* to *culture* which has initially been associated with the tilling of the land and the rearing of the crops. In the 16th century, the term shifted to a metaphorical sense to encompass the 'process of human development' as a more general and abstract meaning, which formed the early foundations of the term in modern history. Moreover, the German word *kultur* (borrowed from French) was synonymous to *civilisation* back in the 18th century, it referred to human development from an agricultural to an intellectual level.

In an early effort to elucidate the meaning of culture, Raymond Williams (1998), a distinguished cultural theorist, discerned three categories to the definition of the term. First, 'ideal', which describes culture as "a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values" (p. 48). With a constant reference to the human condition, its values in lives and works are seen to make up "a timeless order" within culture. Williams later suggested that the concept of 'human perfection' could refer to 'human development' instead.

Second, 'documentary' which portrays culture as "the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded" (p. 48) and, as a result, keenly "described and valued". This definition takes a historical trend because it reflects and relates to the society in which a particular culture appeared. Williams goes on to highlight the third definition termed 'social', since it describes culture as "a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour" (p. 48). Thus, this definition observes meaning and values, 'implicit and explicit', as pertaining to a certain culture, or a certain way of life.

Prior to Williams, Matthew Arnold, a prominent British cultural critic, has delineated culture in a way that is more or less overlapping with Williams' characterisation of the term;

having to do mainly with individual human refinement; which represented, in Arnold's words, "the best that has been thought and said in the world" (as cited in Storey, 2009, p. 8) and all what symbolised ideal forms of civilisation. Storey (2009) resumes Arnold's view of culture as, "(i) the ability to know what is best; (ii) what is best; (iii) the mental and spiritual application of what is best, and (iv) the pursuit of what is best" (p.18-19).

This view represents an early contribution to the clear-cut distinction between popular culture and high culture. The latter is exclusively characterised as a complex and a highly esteemed act of creation, principally intellectual and artistic, like the works of William Shakespeare and Charles Dickens; while the former, is described as a set of texts and practices that are not judged to comply with the demanding standards of high culture, and which is consequently lowly looked upon (Storey, 2009, p. 6).

Moreover, during that period of time (in the eighteenth century), class divisions within European societies were sustained by this particular kind of distinction; allowing the elites to enjoy their intellectual, social and economic superiority. In this respect, the words 'culture' and 'civilisation' were interchangeably used to mean "an area, group, or period distinguished ... by striking continuities in ways of life and thought and feeling" (Fernandez-Armesto, 2001, p. 12). Contrasted with 'nature', 'culture' (or 'civilisation') marked a type of society in which values such as politeness, manners, taste, rationality and refinement featured progress as well as a demarcation from a "barbaric", "savage" or "primitive" world (p. 13).

Besides, descriptions of such behavioural patterns gave rise to specific theories like the theory of social Darwinism and the theory of cultural evolution (Knight, Dunbar & Power, 1999). In Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, a different contrast is drawn, this time, between "culture" and "anarchy"; and culture is presented as only existent when anarchy is absent; believing that "order" is a central component of culture and societal stability (Weir, 1997, p. 43).

1.1.2. Big ‘C’ Vs Little ‘c’ Culture

In a different attempt to approach the notion of ‘culture’, cross-culturalists and scholars of cultural studies use analogues for reasons of easiness and simplification. They compared it to an ‘iceberg’ to draw a distinction between what they call ‘invisible culture’ (the bottom of the iceberg) and ‘visible culture’ (the tip of the iceberg). In their turn, the elements which constitute both parts of the iceberg are ordered according to their level of importance into big ‘C’ and little ‘c’ culture themes (Peterson, 2004). As shown in the following table (Peterson, 2004, p. 25):

Table 1

Examples of Big ‘C’ and Little ‘c’ Culture Themes

	Big ‘C’ Culture <i>Classic or grand themes</i>	Little ‘c’ Culture <i>Minor or common themes</i>
Invisible Culture <i>“Bottom of the iceberg”</i>	Examples: Core values, attitudes or beliefs, society’s norms, legal foundations, assumptions, history, cognitive processes	Examples: Popular issues, opinions, viewpoints, preferences or tastes, certain knowledge (trivia, facts)
Visible Culture <i>“Tip of the iceberg”</i>	Examples: Architecture, geography, classic literature, presidents or political figures, classical music	Examples: Gestures, body posture, use of space, clothing style, food, hobbies, music, artwork

In the same way, Hofstede (1991) presents an “onion model”. Consisting of multiple layers, the model’s outer layers correspond to what is visible of human behaviours and practices; while internal layers as central and hidden represent people’s ideas and values. The focal concern of sociologists is to explore actions (visible culture), whereas cultural studies is more engaged in investigations on ideas (invisible culture) (Chesterman, 2006, p. 11).

Such wide-range cultural features have often direct inferences on people's habitual practices which are so deeply-rooted that they can cause hindrances to academic inspections. Sarigul and Ashton-Hay (2005) affirm that "While visible signs of culture, such as dress style, cuisine, festivals and customs can be discussed and explained fairly easily, in contrast, invisible culture is often acquired during socialization and becomes inseparable from an individual's identity" (p. 2). Hence, this can outcome in miscommunication and clashes during cross-cultural interactions.

1.1.3. Culture and Anthropology

Anthropology is one of the major research disciplines that deal with 'culture' as a central concept in its study. Because it describes the entirety of the human condition through different phases of time and investigates cultural development in relation to social behaviours and practices of certain communities.

Many prominent anthropologists attempted to define the term and each provided a divergent conception and view. To begin with, probably the earliest and most quoted definition is Tylor's (1871) which, however broad in its context, mostly focuses on the behaviours human beings learn in their social environment. It depicts culture as "the complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society" (p. 1).

Comparatively, in Malinowski's (1960) words, culture is: "obviously the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers' goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs" (p. 36). Like Tylor, he also describes it as a 'whole'; yet to designate cultural practices, behaviours and social structures that fulfil both individuals' biological and emotional needs, such as nutrition, safety,

reproduction, movement, growth, etc. , to consequently conclude that humans cannot survive without culture.

In the case of Boas (1938), the father of American anthropology, the definition of the technical term came to specify a unique arrangement of elements that distinguished every social group from another, and regarded cultures as equal in worth and importance. It suggests that:

Culture may be defined as the totality of the mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behavior of the individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other groups, to members of the group itself and of each individual to himself. It also includes the products of these activities and their role in the life of the groups. The mere enumeration of these various aspects of life, however, does not constitute culture. It is more, for its elements are not independent, they have a structure (p. 159).

1.1.4. Cognitive, Symbolic and Critical Views of Culture

For other theorists, cultures are viewed to be rather different systems of ideas: cognitive, symbolic, and critical. In the cognitive view, Goodenough (1957) claims that:

a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members ... Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them (p. 167).

Here culture is seen as the knowledge structures that every individual must be acquainted with, in order to effectively operate and successfully interact with different

members of a society. Abstracted from materialistic phenomena, these mental organisations represent the main focus of cognitive as well as linguistic anthropology. Specifically stating that “a people’s culture is like a people’s language” (p. 99), Goodenough (1970) compares culture to language and applies linguistic methods to unravel cultural rules and behavioural sets of standards.

Whereas the cognitive view takes ‘culture’ as internalised knowledge, the symbolic or semiotic view sees it as a fixed system of public meanings and symbols; Geertz (1973) argues that “Though ideational, it does not exist in someone's head; though unphysical, it is not an occult entity” (p. 10). According to him, studying cultures means studying shared codes of meaning which are expressed as “socially established structures”. Those meanings are categorised into “units” and “rules” which altogether form the total sum of a society’s traditions, customs, religious beliefs and the general modes of behaviour that each member of a society is able to interpret and act upon. In Geertz words, culture is a “historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (p. 89).

Notwithstanding the substantial contribution of both the cognitive and the symbolic views in clarifying the meaning of culture, they received a critical point of view that discussed issues of power and political responsibility and argued that they have been laying out ‘a relatively unproblematic, static and a historical image of ‘culture’. According to Roberts et al. (2001), “in any community there are varieties and struggles over meaning which are observable in the actions of small groups” (p. 53). The analysis and interpretation of those meanings have raised questions on how dominant cultural practices came to be the right and natural ones.

1.2. Importance of Culture

As seen throughout this very brief collection of definitions, culture touches upon all aspects of life. It has a tremendous influence on spoken languages, perceptions of the world, attitudes and behaviours, values and religious beliefs, dressing and eating habits, systems of education, health etc. Although it may be sometimes silent and unseen, its presence has an irrefutable importance in shaping human existence and giving meaning to people's lives.

One major importance of culture lies in its ability to create strong bonds that tie people together; values, costumes, customs and traditions that all society members share and hold on to make up an effective means of social integration and solidarity. At the same time, culture is viewed as a system that controls society. People's established principles and values are based on cultural beliefs and rules. This is clearly reflected in the various mannerisms they exhibit and serve as underlying motives for their actions and ways of life. Fernandez-Armesto (2001) adds that "A people's proximity to and relationship with neighboring cultures can transform or inform the life of a society" (p. 4 - 5).

Cultural values and practices in a given community give it a unique identity and set it apart from other cultures. A community acquires a distinguished personality and nature due to the culture of its people. Culture is so valuable that norms, artistic, spiritual and linguistic symbols are learned, followed and passed on from one generation to the next. Wagner (1975) argues that "When we speak of people belonging to different cultures, then, we are referring to a very basic kind of difference between them, suggesting that there are specific varieties of the phenomenon of man" (p. 12).

Sustaining these values and practices guarantees a long-lasting survival of cultures and allows people to stay connected to their roots and stand out in foreign lands. Every person is a cultural being who amidst nowadays cultural diversity must recognise, respect and live in harmony either with his own or with other cultures.

1.3. The Relationship Between Language and Culture

Although the study of language and the study of culture appear to be completely distinct subject matters, no one can deny their intertwined relationship. A relationship that intrigued many researchers over the past few decades to investigate how they strongly relate, overlap and influence one another.

Languages are described according to five fundamental components, which linguists agreed were the common features shared by all language systems. ‘Phonology’, being the most basic, is the sound system that studies the distribution and patterning of speech sounds and the rules governing pronunciation. Next, ‘vocabulary’ or Lexicon which is a set of morphemes or whole words in a language that denotes particular meanings. The meanings of words constitute another component termed ‘Semantics’. ‘Syntax’ or grammar, however, is concerned with how words should be arranged in order to form meaningful sentences. Last, ‘Pragmatics’ which studies language use in social context.

Despite the fact that languages may obviously be structurally similar, Matsumoto and Juang (2008) assert that “culture influences the structure and the functional use of language”, and note that “language can be thought of as the result or manifestation of culture” (p. 263). By the same token, Sapir (as cited in Wierzbicka, 1997) identifies language as “a symbolic guide to culture” (p. 1).

Unlike some opposite views, Language is not seen as an abstract code; studying its function rather than its structure can provide better insights to its ambiguity. Scollon and Scollon (1995) explain that:

History, worldview, beliefs, values, religions, and social organization may all be reflected through different languages and linguistic varieties in a culture. At the same time, language may be a directly defining aspect of culture, rather than simply a

reflection of other, more basic structures. A cultural group may have quite distinctive ways of understanding the basic functions of language (p. 150).

Linguistics, or the scientific study of language, is a multidisciplinary topic. New fields have come to exist due to the direct relation of language to other areas of study. The relationship between culture and language can be closely explored in some of those fields like anthropological linguistics, ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, etc.

1.3.1. Language and Culture in Anthropology

Anthropologists were the first to believe that culture was real. The concept of culture received, from the beginning, a special attention from anthropologists who were fully engaged in their research. For example, American anthropologists have conducted longitudinal fieldworks on the Indians who were considerably different from European-Americans in their “way of organizing life, of thinking, and of conceiving the underlying assumptions about family and the state, the economic system, and even of mankind” (Hall, 1959, p. 23).

Those differences are markedly reflected through language. In fact, Boas (1938) notes that elements which are of cultural importance are referred to by a wider range of vocabulary like ‘snow’ for the Eskimo, ‘horse’ for the horse-breeder, the ‘rein-deer’ for the Chukchee. Counting systems are influenced by culture differences as well. In many languages, units are assembled in groups of ten, while others in groups of five (the number of fingers on each hand and foot). This makes translation rather tricky when dealing with higher units. Likewise, kinship relationships are attributed distinctive terms resulting from different principles of classification.

Evolutionists categorised cultures as primitive or highly organised according to the way their bearers lived. Without agriculture or industry, primitive cultures were assumed to have primitive languages as well; whereas more organised ones had superior or more perfect

languages. However, this idea was hard to prove and was rejected by anthropologists. With Boas at their head, they were against this kind of ranking and saw that languages ought to be treated each on its own term; and assessed culture not as an exclusive property of more developed societies, but rather as a tool linguistic systems utilise to reflect its users “habitual” thought (Leavitt, 2006).

1.3.1.1. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

Following the same line of thought, Sapir and Whorf are prominent anthropologists who emphasised the idea that language, culture and thought are mutually dependent. As put by Whorf, in his famous quote, “... the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems of our minds” (as cited in Darnell, 2006, p. 82).

In what is commonly known as the ‘Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis’ or ‘linguistic relativity’, language is argued to “shape” thought and world view. The nature, vocabulary, structure and function of every language determine a characteristic world view that moulds the behaviour and thought of its speakers (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008).

Under the light of this hypothesis, an assortment of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic researches was conducted to gain further insight into what ties culture and language together. The weaker version of this theory still gains support and is found influential and inspiring for a variety of studies. Some of which accentuate the role of culture in language differences at the semantic and the grammatical level (Leavitt, 2006).

1.3.2. Language and Culture in Ethnolinguistics

Another area where the correlation between language and culture gained a central focus is ethnolinguistics. According to Jourdan and Tuite (2006), “Ethnolinguistic inquiries tend to

cluster around two grand approaches to the relation between culture and language, which had long been regarded as mutually exclusive: language depends on culture; language organizes culture” (p. 5).

Even if it somewhat overlaps with anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics studies language from a different angle because it associates it to the study of ethnic groups and their cultures. Roberts, Bayram, Barro, Jordan and Street (2001) claim that language plays a significant role in indicating ethnicity and conserving boundary and national identity. Language not only represents the intrinsic characteristics of a social group, it is an important way to ensure a political unit and preserve the common rights of a community.

Moreover, it is a means to express identity. Individuals of a particular ethnic group validate their membership through the use of a certain language variety as asserted by Dorais (1995), “identity could possibly erode very rapidly without the active and useful presence of the language” (p. 304). Roberts et al. further explain that identity is manifested, through differences at the cultural and linguistic level, when individuals from different groups communicate together. Language conveys implicit features of cultural behaviour that are put at the center of attention by outsiders and perceived as different on the one hand; while they represent implied markers of identity for insiders on the other hand. A particular method developed by Dell Hymes approaches such interactions among members of diverse speech communities from an ethnographic perspective. This method, alternatively referred to by the terms ‘ethnography of speaking’ and ‘ethnography of communication’, puts the accent on the actual use of language and emphasises the role of culture in deciphering communication codes (Darnell, 2006).

1.3.3. Language and Culture in Sociolinguistics

Because it studies language, this time, in relation to the effect of society on its use, sociolinguistics deals with a wide range of instances that characterise and determine manifold aspects of this relationship. Issues of ethnic identity that often stem from both linguistic and cultural disparities are among the topics sociolinguistics aims at investigating. From micro to macro sociolinguistic issues, Coulmas (2007) avers that “social variants have a bearing on language choices at virtually every conceivable level of patterning and use, while the linguistic resources of groups and individuals are at the same time basic to constituting social order” (p. 13).

Bilingualism (or multilingualism), for example, is a crucial issue of language variation that proved a strong interconnectedness between language and culture. Many researches demonstrated behavioural, thinking and feeling differences among bilinguals. This is mainly due to the cultural context in which every language is learnt. Accordingly, learning more than one language is associated with acquisition of dissimilar sets of cultural values.

This association results in observable effects on personality as well. The study of bilinguals showed that they revealed different personality traits depending on the language being used, along with its cultural norms (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). From a methodological standpoint, Wierzbicka (1997) states that, “For the same reason that bilingual witnesses are better placed than monolinguals to affirm the reality of different languages, bicultural witnesses are better placed than "monolingual monoculturals" to affirm the reality of different cultures” (p. 20).

Adhering to Sapir’s characterisation of vocabulary as “a very sensitive index of the culture of a people” (as cited in Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 1), Wierzbicka (1997) develops a semantic approach to language; and argues, in the following statement, that the culture of a given language is expressed in its lexicon:

The evidence for the reality of cultural norms and shared conceptions is provided by language and, in particular, by the meanings of words. Linguistic semantics provides a rigorous methodology for decoding such meanings and, consequently, for elucidating for cultural outsiders the tacit assumptions which are linked with them (p. 22).

1.3.4. Language and Culture in Sociopragmatics

The focus on language use, rather than users, has also revealed prominent cultural dimensions to its study in different disciplines, one of which is sociopragmatics. The latter has to do with the proper interpretation of the hidden social meanings of speech acts and their cultural relevance to the context. Cenoz (2007) clarifies that, “Each speech community has some values and beliefs which are the basis of their own culture. The speech acts they produce reflect this culture and therefore different cultures do not produce or understand speech acts in the same way” (p. 126 - 127). In communication, speakers’ linguistic behaviour is conspicuously affected by gender, age, social class, ethnic group etc... Several studies on politeness, language variation, pronunciation and style have all come to the conclusion that “Culture inhabits conversation” (Carbaugh, 2005, p. 14).

Similarly, Agar adopts a cultural view of language by introducing the concept of ‘languaculture’. Focusing mainly on both the changeable semantic and pragmatic linguistic practice; and underscoring the ‘rich points’ where communication is bewildered due to cultural inconsistencies, the concept promulgates a strong connectedness between language and culture (Risager, 2007).

At this point of this rather selective and multifaceted general overview of the relationship between the study of language and the study of culture, the areas under investigation have demonstrated an undeniably strong interconnectedness between language and culture. Cultural differences are correlated with language differences at many levels, like

vocabulary and pragmatics. Culture is inseparable from language; and as recommended by Matsumoto and Juang (2008): “understanding the extent and pervasiveness of this relationship is integral to gaining an appreciation of these differences” (p. 287).

1.4. Algeria: History and Culture

Algeria is situated in Western North Africa on the Mediterranean Sea. It is one of several countries that form the ‘Arab Maghreb’. Almost nine-tenth of its overall surface is made up of the Sahara; the rest are fertile areas where the overwhelming majority of the population resides. Algeria is the largest country in the continent and a prime gateway between Africa and Europe.

1.4.1. Historical Background of Algeria

Many civilisations have occupied the lands of what is now called ‘Algeria’ or ‘*Al-Jaza’ir*’ (in Arabic). Its ancient history goes back to as far as 30.000 B.C. Cave paintings that show hunters alongside with giant buffalos, elephants, rhinoceroses and hippopotamuses in a savannah region are found at *Tassili -n- Ajjer* and other places of the country. They date to between 8000 BC and 4000 BC. In the time between 6000 BC and 2000 BC, Animal domestication and agriculture, which feature the main characteristics of the Neolithic civilisation, evolved in the area which became desert overtime (Henry, 2009, p. 23).

‘Berbers’ is a term coined by the Greeks to designate the indigenous population of North Africa. The population seems to have formed by the coming of different waves of settlers; partly from Western Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, and North-East Africa. The term was maintained by the succeeding occupants and is still used in the present time (World Infopaedia, 2007, p.106).

Carthage (currently Tunisia) was founded by Phoenician traders during the classical period. In modern-day Algeria, coastal cities such as “Tipasa”, “Annaba” (Hippo Regius) and “Skikda” (Rusicada) have a Carthaginian origin. The Roman Empire was next to conquering the region. The first Algerian Kingdom, called “Numidia”, was established after Masinissa (a Berber chief) allied with Ancient Rome against Carthage during the Punic Wars (3rd - 2nd centuries BC). Urbanisation and agriculture characterised that period and towns, such as “Tipaza” and “Timghad”, turned into miniature Roman cities (World Infopaedia, 2007, p.14-15).

Apart from Vandals and Byzantines, who did not keep a stronghold of the North African region, there came the Arab Muslims whose conquest was the most dominant and long-lasting. Arabic culture and language quickly prevailed and Nomadic Berbers converted to Islam en masse. Berber culture was consecutively threatened by Arab rulers (Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids, Almoravids, Almohads, Hafside and Zayanids); nonetheless, it resisted elimination (Henry, 2009, p. 23).

Early in the 16th century, Arab ruling waned and Algeria transformed into a base for privateers. With the assistance of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, privateering ensured economic prosperity and prevented against European incursion. For more than 300 years, Algeria would be a province of the Ottoman Empire under a regency that had Algiers as its capital (Library of Congress, 2008, p. 3).

In 1830, Algeria was subjugated to another great influential invasion. That would be the French occupation which lasted for a 132 years. The French maltreated Algerians and violently seized their lands and sabotaged cities and mosques. Algeria soon became a French colony that hosted an increasing number of colons.

Active resistance to foreign occupation came at the hands of Abd-el-Qadir who managed to gain control over two thirds of the Algerian territory by 1839; however, it was

doomed after a few years by starving the Muslim population and greatly increasing the number of French soldiers. Moreover, during the World Wars, After Algerians demands for equal civil rights were refused along with requests for independence, a fierce struggle for autonomy and self-determination started on Nov. 1, 1954. The Algerian War of Independence lasted almost eight years during which more than a million Algerians were killed in the bloodiest and most violent wars in modern history (Henry, 2009, p. 24).

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria was officially declared in 1962. The country has had three constitutions due to an ongoing political turmoil. During the 1990s, a strife between popular political parties led to a civil war that took the life of over 200,000 people. The country slowly regained its stability after national reconciliation took place (Library of Congress, 2008, p. 6 -7).

1.4.2. Cultural Background of Algeria

The succession of civilisations that Algeria witnessed all across its history has had a significant effect on the development of its culture. The most influential forces that shaped this unique cultural blend are the spread of Islam, arabisation and colonisation. The following is but an undersized glimpse of some of the material and symbolic characteristics of Algerian culture.

1.4.2.1. People

Arabs (or mixed Arabs and Berbers) make up the massive majority of modern-day Algerian population, with about 80% of Arabs and 20% of Berbers. The Berbers consist of four main groups: *Kabyles* in the Kabylia Mountains, the *Chaouias* in the Aurès Mountains, the *M'zabites* in the northern Sahara, and the *Tuaregs* in the desert. Most of the population of

the country identifies with the common Algerian culture; yet, the Berber tribes identify more with their indigenous culture and identity (Oakes, 2008, p. 18).

Close-knit relations are known to characterise family life in Algeria. The elderly are highly respected; and values of family solidarity and loyalty are well-established. Extended families were traditionally very common as the grandparents, the married male children, widowed or divorced daughters and sometimes other adult relatives would live together in the same house. Upon independence, this structure broke down into smaller units. Nuclear family has gradually prevailed due to increased urbanisation and the amplification of wage labour (Henry, 2009, p. 27).

To combat illiteracy, the Algerian law requires children nine years of schooling and provides free education up to its highest levels. The literacy rate is now esteemed to have reached 70%. Additionally, health care is generally given for free by the government. Seeing that Algerians benefit from good health conditions, life expectancy is about 70 years (Harmon, 2007, p. 56).

1.4.2.2. Religion

Islam is the dominant religion in Algeria. The overwhelming majority of Algerians are more specifically Sunni Muslims of the Maliki rite. A relatively small category of Berbers are, however, members of the Ibadhi sect that represents a form of Shia Islam (Library of Congress, 2008, p. 10).

Whether nationwide or with other Arab countries, Islam constitutes a powerful force that unites Algerian Muslims and affects their cultural identity. During the War of Independence, Algerians have all gathered forces against the French rule and Islam represented a fundamental part of the nationalist movement. The Algerian flag, for example, contains a crescent, a star, and a green colour, which are all symbolic of the Islamic religion.

Post independence governments all recognised Algeria's Islamic heritage and adopted it to a certain extent in their policies, encouraging more secular developments. The society on the other hand is observed to hold three different views. "The Islamist view regards Islam as a holistic religion, embracing all aspects of life, public and private. The secular view ... considers Islam a guideline, and allows more freedom to deviate than Islamism does. The third ...view is somewhere between Islamism and secularism, but unlike these two, involves scepticism towards modern society" ("World Infopaedia," 2007, p. 6).

Islam in North Africa is also characterised by Maraboutism or Marabouts. The latter are believed to be holy men who are endowed with special powers. Their tombs constitute an ideal destination for some followers who seek to solve their day-to-day problems.

1.4.2.3. Food

With Berber, Turkish, French and Arab influences, a rich variety of dishes can be found all across the Algerian territory. Although some can be regionally popular than others, a number of food preparations are common to all Algerians. *Couscous*, for example, is a national dish that is served at many occasions, like wedding ceremonies or even funerals.

The Algerian couscous is a combination of steamed couscous granules, a mixture of vegetables and different kinds of meat. It is a nutritious dish also known in some parts of the country as '*al taam*' (food in Arabic) or '*naama*' (blessing in Arabic). These symbolic connotations of abundance and blessing raise the dish's cultural status and enhance its social importance.

In addition, Algerians are accustomed to celebrating religious events with distinctive foods. Stanford (2001) notes, "Eid al-Fitr, the final breaking of the Ramadan fast, involves consuming large quantities of foods, sweets, and pastries in particular" (p. 27).

1.4.2.4. Clothing

It is no surprise that Algeria's traditional dress carries historical influences of previous cultural meetings and exchanges, most notably those of Berber, Ottoman and Islamic origins. The traditional Algerian attire, in all its forms, maintains an original style proper to the county and is still dearly preserved since centuries. Although the western trend is currently prevalent mostly in the cities, men in remote or rural areas continue to wear "a *burnous* (a long hooded robe) and baggy pants, and women wear a *haik* (a long piece of cloth draped over the entire body and head)" (Henry, 2009, p. 27).

The *hijab* (a loose fitting and hair covering Islamic garment) is presently worn by many women in public. On the other hand, in parties and wedding ceremonies women put on different traditional costumes (and jewelry) that are each typical of the region they belong to; for instance, the *Karakou* in Algiers, the *Blousa* in Tlemcen and the *Gandoura* in Constantine.

1.4.2.5. Architecture and Use of Space

Algerian architecture is an interesting mix of styles that has been influenced over the years by both western and eastern constructions. Nonetheless, the most apparent traditional influences pertain to the deeply- rooted Arab culture.

To make their daily life the most comfortable, secure and practical with respect to environmental factors, socio-economic reasons and religious tradition, Algerian houses maintained special designs that can notably be observed in the *Casbah* of Algiers, "a market of serpentine alleyways and intricate arches where a variety of traditional crafts are sold" (Stanford, 2001, p. 26). The *Casbah* also constitutes the older section of the city where the typical traditional homes (rooms encircling a courtyard), Ottoman-style palaces, hammams and mosques mark their presence.

The Mzabit city of Ghardaïa in the northern periphery of the Algerian Sahara is another instance of traditional urban planning that demonstrates an entrenched sense of community with its unique housing arrangement, intricate alleyways and mosques. Consisting of four different levels (entry floor, upper floor, roof terraces and basement), the conventional Mzab house “allowed residents to enjoy life in the open air and also live securely in a confined area completely protected on all sides. This type of setting maintained the privacy of domestic life in accord with the Muslim way of life, Mzabite socio-cultural values, and the severe environmental factors of the desert” (World Infopaedia, 2007, p. 173).

In rural locations and Kabylia Mountains, houses were much less sophisticated. They comprised generally one or two rooms which were made from the surrounding natural raw materials, such as stones and mud.

The largest cities in Algeria mainly Algiers (the capital), Oran to the west and Annaba and Constantine to the east form urban centres, in which the western influence is clearly widespread as a result of their historical background. After independence, overpopulation struck the country which pressed the state to instigate housing operations that did not include any cultural references and were keener on following modern European architecture. However, such cultural references were needed and “People capable of constructing their own dwellings in the new settlements inserted some architectural spaces and architectonic elements existing in traditional architecture, because these do reflect the social practices and representations” (World Infopaedia, 2007, p. 174).

1.4.3. Cultural Heritage and Arts

1.4.3.1. Cultural Heritage

Algeria’s cultural heritage is rich and diverse. Seven of its natural, archaeological and architectural locations are part of UNESCO’s list of world heritage sites. “The remains of the

Roman cities **Djemila** (1982), **Timgad** (1982), **Tipaza** (1982) and the **Casbah in Algiers** (1992). The ruins of the 11th -12th century town of **Al Qal'a of Beni Hammad**, the **M'zab Valley** and the region and rock art of **Tassili n'Ajjer** in the southeast complete the total” (Davies, 2009, p.168).

1.4.3.2. Literature

Algeria's famous literary writers and thinkers are widely acclaimed for their great works. To cite, Albert Camus (1913- 1960), born in Algeria to a Pied-Noir family, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1957. He is the author of a great number of novels, plays, short stories, books and essays. Also born in Algeria, French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) is well-known for his theory of “deconstruction”, a form of semiotic analysis. Equally famed, Mohammed Dib (1920–2003) is a native Algerian who produced over 30 novels in addition to many poems and short stories. Moreover, Berber activist and novelist Marie-Louise-Taos Amrouche (1913–1976) is identified as the first female Algerian writer and her brother Jean-Elmouhoub Amrouche (1906–1962) one of Algeria's best poets. Another highly praised name is Assia Djebar, an Algerian feminist whose novels got her the the Neustadt Prize for Contributions to World Literature and many nominations for the Nobel Prize (Harmon, 2007, p. 57-59).

1.4.3.3. Music

As another important component of cultural identity, music in Algeria is enriched with different genres. Raï music, meaning ‘opinion’, is one that gained international appreciation. Originally a traditional form of Bedouin music (Oranie) which lyrics often come from *Eshi'r el-Melhun* (popular poetry), Raï is a sort of rebel music that addresses local political and social issues (Benrabah, 2002, p.241).

In addition to creative Berber music (Kabyle, Chaoui, Tuareg, etc.), Chaabi music is another popular style that “is much more reminiscent of Arabic music from the Middle East with strong Jewish influences. Popular *chaabi* singers you may wish to look out for are El Haj El Anka or Dahmane El harrachi” (Oakes, 2008, p. 25).

Furthermore, Langlois (2009) presents two other well-liked musical genres in Algeria, The *g'nâwa*: “a black ethnic minority whose musical performances involve ‘folk’ interpretations of Islam and include psychotherapeutic practices” (p. 208) and the *andalus* art music tradition which “bears similar connotations of sophistication and heritage to those attached to Western classical music and is taught to middleclass children in much the same way” (p. 208).

1.4.3.4. Folk Art and Crafts

Algerian traditional crafts vary from wool woven carpets and sophisticated embroidery, silver and golden jewellery to pottery and brassware. Each one is distinctly more popular from one region of the country to another.

1.5. Language in Algeria

Aside from being recognised as the principal means of socialisation and communication, language is the medium of education and culture. Individuals within the same nation identify with it as a constituent part of their identity; Suleiman (2003) emphasises that “Whether objectively or subjectively defined, and whether or not one characterises it in boundary or ethno-symbolic terms, the nation is often associated with language as a marker of its identity” (p. 27). Language is also a basic carrier of the culture of a nation; Suleiman adds that “Within this framework of close association between language and national identity, the defence of

one's language emerges as a defence of the set of values it encapsulates and transmits from one generation to another" (p. 29).

1.5.1. Language Policy in Algeria

Before the French conquest of Algeria in 1830, Algerian Arabic was predominantly spoken by the people. Berber constituted the chief linguistic variety to some of them. Turkish was only used by the Ottoman rulers of that time. Additionally, a lingua franca, which is a sort of 'sabir', was spoken by merchants and businessmen in their interactions with Europeans (Chebchoub, 1985, p. 13).

This sabir together with Turkish quickly disappeared and the language of the new ruling power started to spread and take root. During the period of occupation, Algerians fell into two distinct categories of speakers. Those who could only speak Algerian Arabic or Berber and others who were considered bilingual because they received French schooling and, as consequence, could use French on top of Arabic or Berber.

After independence in 1962, Arabic was proclaimed to be the official language of the state and French a foreign one. The latter being the 'language of the coloniser' was persistently attacked and a process of Arabisation of education and bureaucracy was thus "undertaken with the view to recovering national identity long denied by the colonisers, and to salvaging the country's heritage of the Arab-Islamic civilization" (Miliani, 2005, p.138).

Nonetheless, "Algerians continue to use French for formal and informal conversations. In fact, French is considered by many the 'unofficial' official language, as it is used in most formal administrative meetings, gatherings, and various other functions" (Benremouga, 2005, p. 34). Modern Standard Arabic is restricted to the media and formal learning in both written and spoken form.

While Algerian Arabic is spoken by the vast majority of the population, a minority of Algerians natively speak Berber. The Kabyle and Chaouia dialects are among other Berber dialect groups (such as the Tuareg's and the Mزاب's) that "are spoken by any considerable number. The Chaouia dialect, which is distinguishable from but related to Kabyle, bears the mark and influence of Arabic" (World Infopaedia, 2007, p.199).

Sensitivity towards Arabisation policy developed among Berber minority language users who felt that it did not honour their cultural heritage and prized too highly one aspect of Algerian identity over another. So as to ease this ongoing tension, a political decision to recognise Berber as a 'national' language was eventually taken.

English in its turn received a particular attention from the Algerian authorities that, according to Miliani (2005), considered it "not only a tool for international communication, but also a means to keep abreast of modern technological and scientific research" (p. 137). After French, English is the second foreign language of the state. It is compulsory taught starting from middle school years.

1.5.2. The Arabic Language and its Varieties: Maghrebi Arabic

The Arabic Language is one of the major world languages that belong to the Semitic Family. It is the official language of more than twenty states, mainly in the Middle East and Africa. It is also used as a minority language, a second language or a language of Diaspora, which raises the estimate totality of its speakers to more than 250 million people. Arabic is also the language of the Koran, the holy book of the Islamic religion, making it, hence, the religious and liturgical language of all Muslims around the world.

Diglossia is another distinctive feature of the Arabic language. The term being described by Sayahi (2014) as:

a situation where two linguistic systems coexist in a functional distribution within the same speech community. One system is assigned the status of high variety (H), while the other receives the status of low variety (L). The H variety is used in more formal domains while the L variety is typically limited to oral informal communication (p. 1).

Classical Arabic (CA) is ascribed a high status principally because it originates from prestigious varieties of Bedouin tribes in the Arabian Peninsula and more specifically because it was later redefined as the language of the Koran. Conversely, a lower status is attributed to Spoken (Colloquial) Arabic which refers to the multitude of Arabic vernaculars and their respective dialects.

Classical Arabic (فصحى التراث\ العربية الفصحى) underwent a modernisation procedure into what is now known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, فصحي العصر\ العربية الفصحى). Mainly written, MSA is syntactically, morphologically and phonologically derived from Classical Arabic with a much more modern lexis. Although it is taught in schools and made the official language in the Arab World, the significantly different spoken Arabic is the real native tongue of Arabs. It is primarily employed in all informal interactions and strongly represents a “rich popular dialect culture of folktales, songs, movies and TV shows” (Habash, 2010, p. 1).

On the importance of Arabic dialects, Arabic dialectology professor Abboud-Haggar (2005) highlights that at the level of communication; the linguistic reality of the Arab World displays a wide range use of Arabic varieties through which Arabic peoples’ idiosyncrasies are echoed to the detriment of a non-natural Classical Arabic. According to her “social mentality” is reflected through proverbs, sayings, songs, plays, poetry etc.; and to be able to

understand Arabic dialects means to be able “to understand the art and media of most Arab societies, and to gain a deeper understanding of its culture and mentality” (p. 118-119).

Arabic dialects have been differentiated at many levels of analysis; one most obvious classification is in relation to their geographical position. North African (or Maghrebi) Arabic is counted among other groups of Arabic dialects like Levantine Arabic (which takes in the dialects of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine), or Gulf Arabic (which takes in the dialects of Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Qatar). Maghrebi Arabic includes the dialects of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania. Those dialects can be described to some extent as being mutually intelligible despite their numerous differences. They are known to its speakers as ‘Derja’ or ‘Darija’ (الدارجة) which stands for ‘dialect/ colloquial language’ in Modern Standard Arabic.

Understanding Maghrebi or Western Arabic is in many cases conceived by speakers of Mashriqi or Eastern Arabic as most gruelling. This is mainly because Maghrebi dialects experienced a unique series of socio-historic developments. The Arabisation procedure that was undertaken in the North African region and the extensive contact of Arabic with indigenous and other languages are markedly the basic factors that contributed to the shaping of Modern-day Marghrebi Arabic.

The history of Arabisation in North Africa took a parallel pace to that of Islamisation in the area. It was until the seventh century that Islam was introduced to the indigenous population which used Berber as a basic means of communication. Berbers lived in tribes in the hinterland (steppe, mountains and desert) very independently from the coastal area that was under Byzantine control. A first wave of Arabs consisting of a few thousand soldiers overpowered the Byzantines and was able to convert the Berber population to the new religion. The associated process of Arabisation was nevertheless hindered because of the large and meagrely populated land (Holes, 2004, p. 22, 34).

A sedentary Arabic or pre-Hilalian Arabic, including eastern pre-Hilalian spoken in Tunisia and eastern Algeria and western-pre-Hilalian spoken in western Algeria and Morocco, was formed at that particular time as a result of the sedentary settlements the Muslim army set up all across the Maghreb (Sayahi, 2014, p. 25). In addition, the Romance language which was spoken in the cities under the Byzantine command back then is believed to have greatly influenced urban Arabic dialects especially at the phonological and morphological levels (Molan, 1978, p. 77-78).

A second wave of Arab migrants, significantly higher in number than before, reached the Northern part of Africa during the middle of the eleventh century, causing a radical demographic change. Moving westward, the nomadic Bedouin tribes of Bani Hilal and Bani Sulaim reached Morocco in the twelfth century. Their settlements were rather established in the countryside than in towns (Holes, 2004, p. 34). Sayahi (2014) reports that out of this invasion emerged the Bedouin varieties of Maghrebi Arabic, explicitly: “the Sulaym variety is spoken in Libya and southern Tunisia, eastern Hilalian in Central Tunisia and eastern Algeria, and the Maṣqil in western Algeria and Morocco” (p. 26). The formation of those varieties was considerably influenced by the Berber language due to constant contact between the indigenous population and a large number of Arabic-speaking Bedouins. This Arabic-Berber mix characterizes nowadays the rural Arabic of North Africa and differentiates it from Eastern Arabic at many levels (Molan, 1978, p. 78).

Later on between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, another major wave of immigration brought about significant changes essentially at the social, cultural and linguistic levels in North African urban centers. Thousands of Andalusí refugees fled the Iberian Peninsula and settled in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. Also influenced by the Romance dialects of Iberia, Sayahi (2014) points out that these bilinguals “spoke a distinct variety of Arabic that, although it did not survive as such, had a strong influence on the local varieties

and is recognised as the source for some early borrowing from Spanish into Maghrebi Arabic” (p. 26). The following conquests of the area mainly the Spaniards, the Turks and the French have all, even at varying degrees, affected the linguistic composition of Maghrebi Arabic which has become the language of the majority by gradually replacing Berber.

A ‘rural’ / ‘urban’ distinction between Maghrebi dialects has earned serious regard into what makes a prestigious and more eloquent speech. Unlike in the east, Bedouin or rural speech in the Maghreb did not gain much appreciation. Characterised by the voiced velar [g] for *qaf* and particular lexical items, Bedouin varieties represent speech groups called *Al a‘rāb* (الأعراب), as opposed to *Alhadār* (الحضر) for sedentary people. However, due to increasing urbanisation, Dendane (2014) points out that the dichotomy *arab/hadar* seems to have disappeared from the people’s tongues, though the distinction between the two kinds of Arabic dialects remains at the linguistic level” (p. 145).

1.5.2. Algerian Arabic

Algerian Arabic is a Maghrebi dialect that is specific to the country of Algeria. It is spoken by an estimate of 80% of the population. Even though it holds a lot of similarities with its group members, it carries distinctive features on different levels such as phonology and grammar. It is sometimes recognised by neighbouring speakers as a language called ‘Dziri’.

Algerian Arabic or ‘Derja’ covers a variety of Arabic dialects spoken all across the Algerian territory. In Northern Algeria, three major dialects can be distinguished from east to west to be those spoken in three major cities: Constantine, Algiers and Oran. These dialects are opposed to Saharan Arabic (of group of more traditional Bedouin dialects) due to their notable differences.

Algerian Arabic is a variant of the Arabic language which, “like all Arabic dialects, has dropped the case endings of the written language” (World Infopedia, 2007, p. 199). Its vocabulary is additionally significantly different as many words originate from languages other than Modern Standard Arabic. Benrabe (2002) appends that:

Besides Arabic patterns and morpho-syntactic structures, one can find in present-day Algerian Arabic, words such as *rfissa* and *barkukas* (two traditional dishes) from Latin, *Boukraj* (‘kettle’) and *braniya* (‘aubergine’) from Turkish, *Kanasta* (‘basket’) and *essekouila* (‘school’) from Spanish, *miziriya* (‘poverty’) and *kamyoun* (‘lorry’) from French. Finally, Algerian contains a large number of words of Berber origin: in the North West of the country, Algerians use, for example, *aghlal* for ‘snail’ and *ajreuj* for ‘strainer’. (p. 237)

The various changes brought about to Algerian Arabic vocabulary manifest mainly on the phonological and semantic level for words coming from Classical Arabic. These words make up the largest division of the dialect’s lexis. It is, on the other hand, noteworthy to point out to the large number of borrowed French words present in this dialect as a result of the deep influence the French language had on Spoken Algerian Arabic during the period of colonisation. These words in turn underwent different kinds of changes. Benremouga (2005) provides, in the following, a comparative analysis of such alterations:

Modern Standard Arabic	Algerian Arabic
Assimilation:	
taji:’u	dji (she comes)
tazu:ru	dzur (she visits)
tadu:mu	ddu:m (it lasts—fem.)
Sadr	zdar (chest)
niSf	nuSS (half)
Metathesis:	
Yartaeid	yatruid (he shivers)
Laæana	neal (he cursed)

Dissimilation:

finja:n	finja:l
ba:dhanja:n	badhanja:l

Phone Substitution:

Shajara	sajra (a tree)
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Monophthongization:

Zawj	zu:dj (two)
Sayf	Si:f (summer)
Zayt	zi:t (oil)

Semantic Changes:

yudi:ru (he directs)	ydi:r (he does)
'ajlis (sit down—when someone is standing up)	'uqʕud
'uqʕud (sit down—when someone is lying down)	tgæʕʕad

French has nasal vowels, but Arabic does not. Therefore, the nasal vowels in borrowed French words are denasalized (1). Also, French sounds that do not exist in Arabic are substituted by Arabic sounds (2). As the Algerian dialect relies heavily on emphatism, loan words are no exception (3). Arabic has three short vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, and three corresponding long vowels, *a:*, *i:*, and *u:*. As a result, French vowels that do not exist in Arabic are replaced by one of the three vowels (short or long) (4). French influence extends to syntax as well (5).

French**Algerian Arabic**

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| (1) <i>Bouchon</i> | <i>bushu:n</i> (cork) |
| (2) <i>il roule</i> | <i>yru:li</i> (he wanders) The French <i>r</i> is replaced by the Arabic <i>r</i> . |
| <i>une serviette</i> | <i>serbita</i> (towel) The sound <i>v</i> is replaced by <i>b</i> . |
| <i>une savate</i> | <i>Sabba:t</i> (a shoe) |
| (3) <i>il sonne</i> | <i>ySu:ni</i> (he rings) The French <i>s</i> is replaced by the emphatic <i>S</i> . |
| <i>une place</i> | <i>bla:Sa</i> (a place) |
| (4) <i>un bureau</i> | <i>bi:ru</i> (a desk, an office) The French <i>ü</i> is replaced by <i>i:</i> . |
| (5) <i>une table</i> | <i>Tabla</i> (a table) The Arabic feminine indicator <i>a</i> is added. (p. 36) |

Another common feature to all Arabic dialects is the fact that there is no official consensus to put this form of language into writing; Algerian Arabic makes no exception. Oakes (2008) further argues that:

although there is no practical reason for this; the alphabet is phonetically based and it would therefore be possible to devise a way to transfer spoken language to written language. For some reason though, foreigners who specifically want to learn Algerian Arabic instead of MSA are told that it can't be written in script, and are then presented with one system or other of transliteration, none of which are totally satisfactory (p. 227) .

1.6. Cinema of Algeria

Filmmaking in Algeria marked its early beginnings during the period of colonisation as an important tool in the struggle for independence. Before 1957, the Algerian local population was exposed to propaganda films through which the French colonial state aimed at implicitly modifying certain aspects of social and cultural life. The Algerian war was totally missing from French cinema during the conflict, as it did not directly address nor distribute the works that tackled the issue (Armes, 2006).

To counter French propaganda endeavours and depict the underlying reality of the Algerian resistance and show it to the world, a number of anti-colonialist films were made. The French communist documentary filmmaker René Vautier has already shot two independent films (*Africa 50/ Afrique 50* and *One Nation, Algeria/ Une Nation, l'Algérie*) before joining effort with FLN (National Liberation Front) resistance fighters in 1957-8; and ended up making a short documentary (*Algeria in Flames/ Algérie en Flammes '1959'*) that reached a broad audience (Armes, 2006, p. 31).

According to Armes (2006), other collective documentaries were made by pupils of a film school set up by Vautier who has also started in 1957 the first film collective that included a number of Algerians, among which is the future film director 'Ahmed Rachedi'. In 1958, the group became the film service of The Algerian Republican Provisional Government in Exile (GPRA); which acknowledged the important role of film and sent another filmmaker 'Mohamed Lakhdar Hamina' to study at FAMU in Prague in 1959.

During the sixties, right after independence in 1962, film productions attempted to revive the past and celebrate FLN victory in a completely bureaucratised Algerian cinema. According to Austin (2009), "Algerian cinema is possessed by history. The 'repeated possession' of the new national cinema by the national trauma begins in earnest with its most celebrated manifestation, Pontecorvo's *Battle of Algiers* (1965)" (p. 20). Many titles like *Dawn of the Damned* (1965), *The Wind of Aurès* (1965) and *The Night is Afraid of the Sun* (1965) also met with a great success.

Noteworthy Higher budget films, always about the liberation, were released in the late sixties and during the seventies by prominent Algerian film directors. Namely, Ahmed Rachdi's *Opium and the Stick* (1969), an adaptation of a novel written by Mouloud Mammeri. *Chronicles of the Years of fire* (1975) is Hamina's Palme d'Or winner masterly film about the sufferings of villagers in the years preceding the war for independence.

Algerian cinema gradually shifted interest to other topics and styles. Austin (2009) explicates that:

By the 1980s, it seemed that Algerian cinema could be divided into three key stages: during the sixties the films of armed struggle (*cinéma moudjahid*); from 1971–76 the representation of the agrarian revolution and experimentation with new forms (*cinéma djidid*); and from the late seventies onwards, films of daily life (p. 22).

Lakhder Hamina's comic film *Hassan Terro* (1967) tells the story of an insignificant man who was unwillingly caught up in the resistance. The film's great success is, to Boudjedra (1995), due to "a real desire to forget the war that is summarized by the popular and spontaneous slogan: "seven years are enough!" and a need to use the humoristic parable to criticize all attempts at systematization, characteristic of the Algerian people" (p. 264). 'Rouiched', the starring actor of this film, is among other popular stars that emerged in subsequent comedy films like 'Hadj Abderrahmane' or 'l'inspecteur Tahar' in *The Holiday of the Inspector Tahar* (1973) and 'Athman Ariouet' in *Carnaval Fi Dachra* (1994). Merzak Allouache's *Omar Guetlatou* (1977) falls in a different category dealing with the new socio-cultural predicaments facing the population.

The eighties were characterised by various structural reforms that negatively affected Algerian feature-film production and quality. Fewer films were made with very limited budget support from the state; for example, Brahim Tsaki's *Children of the Wind/Les Enfants du vent* (1981), Lakhder Hamina's *Sand Storm/Vent de sable* (1983).

Social and political instability during the nineties did not make it any better for the Algerian cinema. All film production structures were closed down by the late nineties and many directors went to exile in France and Italy; which, as a consequence, brought up a new trend of Algerian films co-produced and funded from Europe (Armes, 2006, p. 40). Some directly handled such issues of terrorism and violence by the years 2000, like Yamina Bachir-Chouikh's *Rachida* (2002) and Belkacem Hajaj's *Al-manara* (2004). Contemporary Algerian cinema is witnessing an increase of films spoken in French rather than Algerian Arabic and is to some critics problematic and difficult to sort out.

Conclusion

Given the fact that a conclusive definition of culture is a far-reaching aspiration, the significant influence this particular notion exerts over many aspects of life can never be overlooked; especially at the level of language and communication. It is, by consequence, necessary to be aware and take into consideration this kind of hidden factors that may, in many cases, be the cause of avoidable problems. It is, additionally, not possible to talk meaningfully about a certain culture without understanding how it came about historically. This is why, some light was shed on the linguistic situation in Algeria in addition to the history of arabisation in North Africa, so as to set a general background on the sociolinguistic context in the area and the significance of its languages; and, by the same token, introduce one of these languages, 'Algerian Arabic', since it is the language under scrutiny in the present research.

CHAPTER TWO

Culture, Translation and Ensuing Problems of Cultural Transfer

Introduction

The present chapter gathers, in a nutshell, the basic literature that is associated with translation theory and attempts to shed light on its intricate connection with the notion of culture. First, it presents a general overview of translation from different angles mainly focusing on its important impact on everyday life and as a field of study. Second, it attempts to demonstrate how culture gained a significant consideration among translation theories. It tries to provide a brief account of some of the most prominent in the field. The vocabulary of culture is also at the heart of the descriptions displayed in this chapter. Its classification into cultural categories by specialised researchers is furthermore highlighted. The chapter, at last, addresses the issue of cultural gaps that surfaces whenever there is a cultural transfer, and that with a special reference to the concept of cross-cultural awareness.

2.1. General Introduction to Translation: *Importance, Definition and Development*

The role of translation in shaping civilisation is undeniably significant. It has for ages contributed in the transfer of knowledge and served as a means of cultural encounters between different peoples of the world.

Translation is important in every age and in every language. It was requisite in times of war and political arrangements. Instances of first translations date back to ancient Egypt when pharaohs exchanged letters and wrote treaties with other princes and kings of that time. Moreover, a good example is the major attention that Arabs gave to translation in the golden era of the Islamic civilisation. Because of a massive scientific awakening, Greek, Persian and Indian books were translated to acquire the knowledge they needed and translators were

encouraged as اسحاق ابن حنين *Ishāk Ibn Hunayn*, who started at that period for his fine work, was paid the same weight of what he translated in gold (Azeddine, 2005 , p. 5). Arab scientists added up to this knowledge in serious and authentic attempts which resulted in a leading intellectual rise that lasted for five centuries. Europe, in its turn, has awakened in the period of the renaissance from its long slumber and turned to translating Arab heritage and what was previously taken from the Greek into Latin which was the language of science back then; and that in diverse fields like mathematics, astronomy, medicine etc.

Translation is, also, a means of enrichment and deep cultural understanding. With the new developments in technology, information sharing and communicative advances, languages are being constantly introduced to clusters of new vocabulary and word-combinations. By re-creating any neologism, the translator offers an open view on social, cultural and scientific developments for other societies that aspire to integrate and progress in the era of globalisation and high-tech.

Nowadays, the translator's task is finally admitted to be highly sophisticated in its nature. Translation is not just a mere act of linguistic substitution; the translator must acquire a superior level of pragmatic and stylistic competences to be able to capture the complete message in his oral or written interpretations and convey it in a way that is essentially appropriate and comprehensible in order to avoid misinterpretation, or even conflict. Translation, as a consequence, plays a vital role in inter-human communication; it promotes social exchanges, and optimises the creation of close-knit relationships between people with different cultural and educational backgrounds.

2.1.1. The Concept of Translation

To begin with, one of the main debates that dominated the study of translation is over its status as an 'art' or a 'science'. Nida (1964) questions whether translation should be identified

as a skill that is acquired just by practice or a set of principles and procedures that can be studied and described. He argues that despite the fact that practice has overtaken theory, and regardless of the importance of the artistic elements for a good translation, translation is approached by linguists from a 'scientific' view point, since it is scrupulously subjected to description. Nevertheless, Nida goes on to conclude that:

Those who have insisted that translation is an art, and nothing more, have often failed to probe beneath the surface of the obvious principles and procedures that govern its functioning. Similarly, those who have espoused an entirely opposite view have rarely studied translating enough to appreciate the artistic sensitivity which is an indispensable ingredient in any first-rate translation of a literary work (p. 3).

Bell (1991) adds that this view should be maintained in the present time when not only literary texts are the chief preoccupation of translators (especially Bible translators who governed translation theory for so long), but also technical, medical, legal and administrative texts are calling for as much attention and importance (p. 5).

The term 'translation', if checked in a general dictionary, has more than one plausible meaning. It can refer to the *subject field* in general, the *product* (the text that has been translated) or the *process* (the act or instance of *translating*).

Unlike Intralingual translation or *rewording* (an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language) and Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* (an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems), The process of translating a text from one verbal language (Source Language) into another different verbal language (Target Language) is distinguished as one of the three types of translation in Jakobson's article '*On Linguistic Aspects of Translation*'; as it corresponds to Interlingual

translation or *translation proper* (an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language) (Basnett, 2002, p 23).

As a subject, various definitions were provided to clarify the true significance of translation. Because there is no conventional or fundamental text that defines it, scholars suggested each their own characterisation of the term, from their own perspectives. According to Ghazala (2008), for example, translation, “generally refers to all the processes and methods used to render and/ or transfer meaning of the source language text into the target language as closely, completely and accurately as possible” (p. 1).

While the main stress in Ghazala (2008)’s definition is on the processes and methods of translation, Nida and Taber (1982) attribute, in the following, a primary focus to meaning “Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style” (p. 12).

Every message is a carrier of meaning; and, thus, should receive a central attention from translators whose job is to make sure that every piece of information is faithfully transferred into the target language and that the intended meaning is clearly grasped by the target audience. Newmark (2003) identifies two basic forms of meaning:

first, the full sense, with all its richness, its denotations and connotations, all that the writer said, sometimes even modified by what she meant; and, secondly, the message, the pragmatic sense, what and how she wanted the reader(s) to act and feel and think (p. 56).

It is because every language is deeply immersed in its culture, understanding the pragmatic meanings that arise out of such a circumstance has become a real challenge to successful communication in a world where economic, cultural or recreational exchanges are

multiplying. Individuals who resort to translation in their interlingual interactions are likely to face problems of intercultural communication. This is why, the role of translation as a communicative act constitutes one of the complex issues that are meticulously investigated in translation studies.

2.1.2. Translation Studies

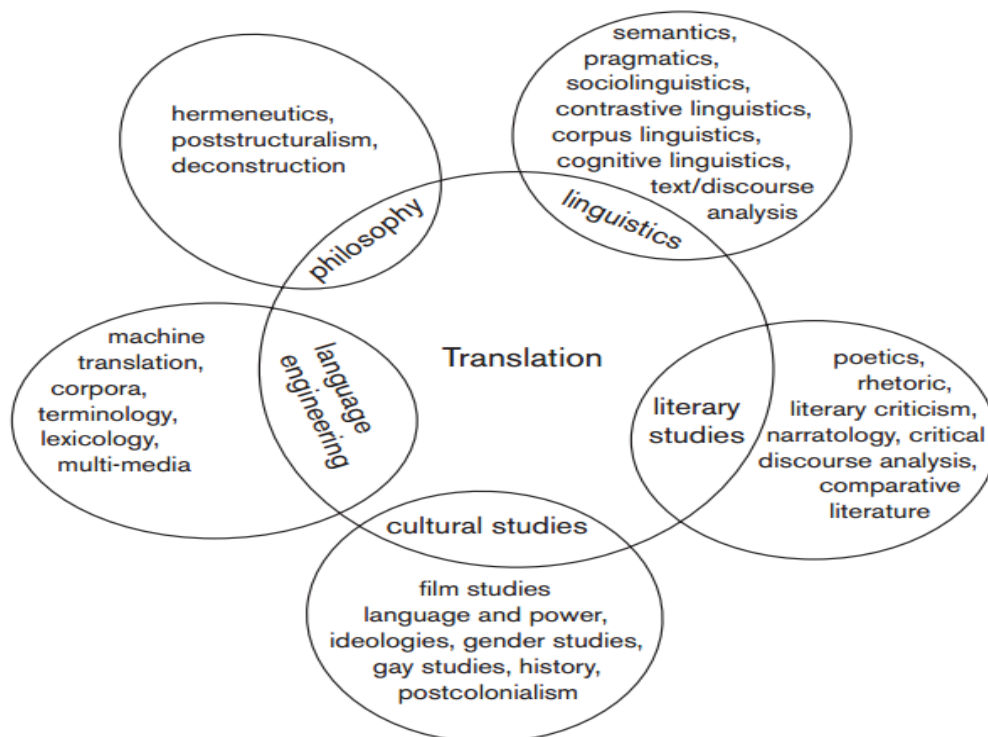
The study of the theory and the phenomenon of translation did not develop into an academic discipline until the second half of the twentieth century. Before that, the practice of translating represented only a course in modern language learning. Using what was known as the grammar-translation method, translation was just a means to facilitate foreign language-learning; and, as a result, didn't enjoy a well established position. With the rise of the direct method or communicative approach to English language teaching in the 1960s and 1970s, translation was soon discarded from language-learning and was restrictively taught in higher-levels of education (Munday, 2001, p. 7- 8).

The nascent field of translation studies owes its name to the Netherlands-based US scholar James S. Holmes in his paper *'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies'*, which represents a foundational statement for the discipline. Holmes provides a concise framework of what translation studies covers, mainly dividing it into "pure" translation studies (including descriptive translation studies and general and partial translation theories) and "applied" studies (encompassing translator training, translator aids and translation criticism). It was the "pure" category, however, that gained the better consideration (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 42); which basic objectives are according to Holmes (1988) as follows:

(1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted (p. 71).

The field of translation has witnessed an explosion of active research since Holmes’s paper. Being essentially focused on the phenomena of translation, conferences, symposiums, books, and journals have all contributed to the progress of the discipline which is established as multilingual and interdisciplinary in its nature. According to Hatim and Munday (2004), “the cultural and ideological features of translation have become as prominent as linguistics” (p. 8). In what follows, they provide a representative outline of the range of disciplines with which translation studies actually overlaps:

Figure 1. Map of Disciplines Interfacing with Translation Studies



2.2. Culture and Translation

According to Komissarov (1991) “Translation from language to language is *ipso facto* translation from culture to culture” (p. 43). To recognise such a fact, translation studies witnessed a long series of events that marked a strong relationship between language and

culture; and demonstrated how complex the problems occurring from differences in languages and in cultures are reflected all along the processes of different kinds of translations.

2.2.1. Cultural Translation

In what is termed ‘cultural translation’, researchers from different fields of interest approached the striking influence of culture on translation through versatile dimensions and courses. Thus, allowing the term to appropriate many different senses and applications. Originally emerging from two wide-ranging fields, namely ‘anthropology’/ ‘ethnography’ and ‘cultural’/ ‘post colonial studies’, the concept of ‘cultural translation’ is opposed to ‘linguistic’ or ‘grammatical’ translation. Sturge (1998) argues that it “refers to those practices of literary translation that mediate cultural differences, or try to convey extensive cultural background, or set out to represent another culture via translation” (p. 67).

In anthropology, precisely in the disciplines of cultural and social anthropology, specialised fieldworkers are confronted with broad issues of translation as a significant part in their practical investigations. Anthropologists are required in most cases to perform interlingual translations, being not only challenged at a linguistic level to make sense of what is going on but also having to deal with cultural differences in sometimes a very direct bodily experience besides just an intellectual one. In a second step, “when the fieldworker’s multidimensional, orally mediated experiences are reworked into linear written text, this is not simply a matter of interlingual, or even intersemiotic, translation, but also a translation between cultural contexts” (Sturge, 1998, p. 67).

In this sense, the concept of ‘cultural translation’ enlarged its scope to refer “to the act of describing for members of one cultural community how members of another interpret the world and their place in it” (Conway, 2012, p. 21), given that anthropologists believe that man’s perception of the world is predominantly expressed through both language and culture.

Complementary to this, ethnographers are more concerned with making this world interpretation clear and comprehensible in the target language. They have to decide on levels of description of cultural systems and on appropriate ways to render basic meanings into the target language in order to bridge the gap between the source and target cultures. A hotly debated question is that of domesticating what is foreign to the readership through the processes of ‘decontextualisation’ and ‘recontextualisation’, perceived from the receiver’s point of view as a sort of ‘gain’ that would enrich the target culture; while from the donor’s point of view this double process represents a ‘form of loss’ that does ‘violence’ to the original and leads to confusing misinterpretations (Burke, 2007, p. 10).

The ethnographer-translator is judged to take ‘authorship’ of what has been said and done by the native speakers, since he interprets what was meant by those actions according to his own observations instead of natives themselves. Consequently, he is placed at a higher position and acquires the status of a more knowledgeable individual. This conception of ‘cultural translation’ was criticised for entering the scope of dominant political power that would naturally influence its processes (Sturge, 1998, p. 68).

In the late 1980s and 1990s, new culturally oriented approaches to translation, principally feminist and postcolonialist, have come to challenge descriptivist notions of translation and provide important contributions to the field of translation studies. Feminist and postcolonial approaches present two major methodological differences. Firstly, unlike the descriptivists, their discourses are said to be “passionately engaged” and politically oriented seeing that they defy imperial rules and support subjugated minority cultures. Secondly, these approaches were critical over the descriptivist assumption that the target culture always controls translation because from a postcolonial perspective it was rather the source culture that held a primary control over the translation process (Robinson, 2007, p. 196).

Homi Bhabha and other postcolonial scholars were attracted to the concept of cultural translation in their research because they saw it as “a tool, at least potentially, to challenge oppressive or restrictive social norms” (Conway, 2012, p. 2). Such social norms describe the notion of national and cultural identity within modern western societies as distinct and advanced from that of previously colonised societies. Susan Bassnett (2007) provides an example that highlights those imbalanced power relations when it comes to translating a text from the language of the colonised into that of the coloniser, she reports Niranjana’s description of this kind of translation as “an act of appropriation ... and a collusive activity that participates in the fixing of colonized cultures into a mould fashioned by the superior power” (p. 20).

Another metaphorical view of translation is that the discourses of both the colonising and the colonised are reciprocally altered by each other through the processes of substitution and adaptation; therefore, creating a sort of ‘hybridity’ in cultural identity and language. Conflicts resulting from cultural disparities are subjected to negotiation (Sturge, 1998, p. 69). ‘Negotiation’, in this case, implies “that a given translation should be regarded less as a definitive solution to a problem than as a messy compromise, involving losses or renunciations and leaving the way open for renegotiation” (Burke, 2007, p. 9).

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the perception of ‘cultural translation’ from this standpoint was criticised for being deeply immersed in theory causing difficulty when it comes to careful textual analyses. This is also said to promote ‘sloppy thinking’ because there are no specific distinctions for the term and its delimitations. Additionally, critics feared what is believed to be a ‘utopian potential’ for cultural translation to cancel out literary translation (Conway, 2012, p. 22). They, indeed, described it as “the eraser” of translation and questioned the very meaning and usage of the collocation which they esteemed it to be a non-textual non-linguistic characterisation that held a different sense for the word ‘translation’ from the

regular one, to refer to already well-defined phenomena like migrancy or exile etc. (Trivedi, 2007, p. 282).

2.2.1.1. Polysystem Theory

Related to power relations in cultural studies is ‘*the polysystem theory*’, an innovative approach that was introduced by Even-Zohar in the 1970s. Inspired mainly by Russian formalists and the concepts of system and defamiliarisation, this view puts forward the idea of translation norms in which translators conform to restricted and sometimes slanted interpretations that mirror the social and historical development of the target culture (González Davies, 2004, p. 79). Translated literature brings out questions of domination as it may be affected or may affect national literature.

Polysystem theory has had a significant influence on the development of translation studies. It enabled the study of literature within other systems like culture, and moved away from studying the text as an independent piece of writing. According to Williams (2004), the theory “abandons prescriptive values and begins to see the historical contingency and social constructedness of processes of translation” (p. 38); he adds that this resulted in “freeing up translation studies from static, traditional cultural assumptions, and increasing interest in the translated literature of target languages” (p. 38).

On the advantages polysystem theory has had on translation studies, Bassnett and Lefevere (1998) state that:

it is hardly surprising that it dominated thinking for the next decade. All kinds of new work began to be undertaken: the systematic study of the history of translation and translating, the recovery of the statements by translators and translation theory of previous times. This kind of work paralleled similar research in women's studies, particularly of the 'hidden from history' variety (p. 128).

2.2.1.2. Bible Translation (Formal and Dynamic Correspondence)

In early modern Europe the most translated text was obviously the Bible. With translations into more than fifty languages, the translators' chief goal was to play the role of missionaries and spread Christianity, even beyond Europe and in unlike cultures. Although literal translation was more recommended for this highly ranked type of text, some daring translators replaced Christianity keywords with their perceptible counterparts from the receiving culture. Still aiming at idolising their culture, as that of the dominant and more powerful, translators are burdened with the rather tricky decision between foreignising and domesticating; since, this time, the translation is uncommonly overturned towards the culture of the colonised (Burke, 2007, p. 20-28-29). Fernandez-Armesto comments that (2001) "thanks to the displacement of traditional concentrations of power and sources of initiative, the former centres, such as China, India, and Islam, became peripheral, and the former peripheries, in Western Europe and the New World, became central" (p. 415).

Similarly, in an ambitious effort to translate the Scriptures and to remove the cultural barriers that may hinder the receptors from receiving the desired effect, Nida (1964) distinguished between two types of translation equivalence: "formal" and "dynamic". The former corresponds to a 'word for word' translation being fully oriented towards the source text, while the latter represents a 'thought for thought' translation; that is to say, it tries to communicate the same thought and produce the same effect with a total focus on the receptors in the target language. According to Komissarov (1991), Nida leans towards the dynamic method and explains that "the degree of dynamic equivalence should be evaluated not against the source text but against the receptors' reactions which are greatly dependent on their cultural background" (p. 44).

2.2.2. The Cultural Turn in Translation Studies

Such contributions to translation theory paved the way for the emergence of what became known as *'the cultural turn'*, which enabled translation studies to stand, for the first time, as an independent discipline and to free itself from subjection to linguistics and comparative literature.

In an introductory chapter to their book *'Translation, History and Culture'* (1990), Bassnett and Lefevere judged the latter disciplines to be too “narrow” and “prescriptive” for translation studies that started to drift away from formalist approach, as it focused more attention on extra-textual factors and considered broad questions of context, history, ideology and culture (Bassnett, 2007, p. 13-14). With the conviction that languages are cultural “vehicles”, translation now means “a transaction not between two languages, or a somewhat mechanical sounding act of linguistic “substitution” ..., but rather a more complex negotiation between two cultures” (Trivedi, 2007, p. 280).

Based on the theory and practice of translation, Snell-Hornby (1988) presents in *'An Integrated Approach to Translation'* a variety of linguistic approaches, methods and concepts that may be useful for literary translation analyses. She integrates in this approach a more cultural conception of translation and focuses on the strong interconnectedness between culture and translation, and that with reference to any kind of text.

In addition, scholars like Snell-Hornby, Bassnett, Lefevere, Delabastida, Toury, Hermans and others have investigated the impact cultural systems do actually have on the norms and practices of translation works. They all have a shared speculation which until today still suggests that *'translation is always controlled by the target culture'*. This is, nonetheless, criticised by Robinson (2003) in the following commentary:

rather than arguing over the correct type of equivalence to strive for and how to achieve it, they insisted that the belief structures, value systems, literary and linguistic

conventions, moral norms, and political expediencies of the target culture always shape translations in powerful ways, in the process shaping translators' notions of "equivalence" as well (p. 196).

2.2.2.1. Skopos Theory

Another approach to translation that attaches more importance to culture is Vermeer's *Skopos Theory*. The German linguist takes a functionalist orientation in explaining the concept of translation. Translation for him is more of a cultural transfer than a linguistic one; it is a specific form of communication and social action. An *action* which, according to action theory, must have a purpose (*Greek*: Skopos). In the following statement, Vermeer views translation as an '*offer of information*' made by a source text (which is located in a given situation and conditioned by its own cultural background) for a target audience in the form of a target text that the translator has composed according to his assumptions about their need, background knowledge and cultural affiliation:

“...an offer of information in a language *t* of the culture *T*, which imitates an offer of information in a language *s* of the culture *S* according to its specified function. In other words, a translation is not the transcoding of words or sentences from one language into another, but a complex form of action in which someone gives information about a text (source language material) under new functional, cultural and linguistic conditions and in a new situation, while preserving formal aspects as far as possible” (as cited in Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 53).

Despite its limitations, Skopos theory has altered the old conceptualisation of the status of both the source and target text. Translators are now able to translate the same text in different ways depending on the purpose of the target text or its communicative function.

Starting from the principle that there is no one ‘perfect’ or ‘correct’ translation, translators have shifted their focus toward the target text and abandoned traditional visions and restrictions by widening the range of translation strategies and making the purpose of translation a basic criterion for translation ‘adequacy’ (Du, 2012, p. 2193).

2.3. The Vocabulary of Culture

In order to gain insight into the potential meanings words may carry; long debates surrounding the task of semantic interpretation put the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativity in the limelight. The theory suggests that “the structure of language, which is highly dependent on culture, affects our perceptions and cognitions of the world around us” (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008, p. 118).

In what seems the only real and tangible construal of world-view, culture is tightly linked to language. Given that language plays a central role in communication and constitutes the most efficient means for people to express their thoughts and exchange ideas, it is indubitable that culture has a direct influence on the primary component of language. That is, vocabulary. According to Sapir (1949), “vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people” (p. 27). He views that differences in the nature of the vocabulary of every language are closely linked to completely different types of culture. In other words, Katan (1999) explains that “For Sapir, at least in his early years, the key to cultural reality was in the lexicon. As far as he was concerned language was a case of labelling lexis, and behind that label was a different reality rather than simply a different label” (p. 75).

A very relevant area of interest that places the semantic complexity of words at the heart of its exploration is linguistic semantics. The latter affords to adopt a cultural analysis within the general field of linguistics, so as to gain a deeper insight into the connotation of words and identify with the implicit codes that determine their use. Wierzbicka (1996) argues that one

way of acquiring meaning is through ostensive definition. As this procedure may seem rather simplistic and uncomplicated, she notes that language learners “must go beyond a mere observation of material objects ..., and come up with some (unconscious) hypotheses about the way people think about those objects; they must make the leap from ostension to conceptualization, from objects to construals” (p. 227).

The way people conceive their natural environment and their social reality differs widely from one cultural group to another. This is clearly shown in the elaboration of vocabulary cultures employ in order to refer to objects or concepts of particular interest to each one of them. The first to speak about cultural elaboration is Franz Boas (1938). His memorable example of Eskimo words for ‘snow’ triggered an abundance of comparative studies on the subject. The results are quite revealing and are given a fundamental importance.

In translation, serious problems of equivalence are due to such differences in terminology. The translator is faced with the difficulty of creating a proper correspondence, however the odds are heavily against him/ her; since these words are deeply couched in the source culture and the referred items may be unequally perceived in the target cultural system or even worse, their counterparts may not exist. Robinson (2007) maintains that translator training and translation theory have persistently given a central importance to *realia*. He defines *realia* as “words and phrases that are so heavily and exclusively grounded in one culture that they are almost impossible to translate into the terms — verbal or otherwise — of another” (p. 186).

In a broader sense, the collocation of *cultural reference* is commonly used as a pedagogical key word in translation to designate:

Any kind of expression (textual, verbal, non-verbal or audiovisual) denoting any material, ecological, social, religious, linguistic or emotional manifestation that can be attributed to a particular community (geographic, socio-economic, professional,

linguistic, religious, bilingual, etc.) and would be admitted as a trait of that community by those who consider themselves to be members of it. Such an expression may, on occasions, create a comprehension or a translation problem (gonzález davies & scott-tennent, 2005, p.166).

Moreover, Aixéla (1996) provides another definition for what he names *culture-specific items* (CSI). He emphasises their function in the source text and how it could affect reception in the target culture:

Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text (p. 58).

In addition to *realia*, *cultural reference* and *culture-specific item*, other expressions such as *cultureme*, *culture-specific references*, *cultural words*, *Extralinguistic- Cultural References* etc. are used to refer to cultural manifestation in language; however, Davies (2003) claims that *culture-specific item* is the one that gained a wider acceptance (p. 68).

The vocabulary of culture encompasses words that describe the same concepts or things and for which equivalents in target languages are easily found; but at the same time do not hold a matching value if they are taken out of their original socio-cultural context. Wierzbicka (1997) confirms that:

the meanings of words from different languages don't match (even if they are artificially matched, *faute de mieux*, by the dictionaries), that they reflect and pass on ways of living and ways of thinking characteristic of a given society (or speech

community) and that they provide priceless clues to the understanding of culture (p. 4).

She takes the example of the word 'bread' which French equivalent is 'pain'. In French, 'pain' entails its main ingredients, way of preparation, many kinds and importance in social reality. If compared to its English counterpart, not the same features will appear. The same is true for "كسرة" *kasra* which is another equivalent word for 'bread' in Spoken Algerian Arabic. Sapir (1949) observes that "Distinctions which seem inevitable to us may be utterly ignored in languages which reflect an entirely different type of culture, while these in turn insist on distinctions which are all but intelligible to us" (p. 27). This is why any lexical item is susceptible to fit the criteria that form a cultural term.

Not only words can be semantically complicated. When put together, words form sentences and expressions that may convey complex meanings as well. Proverbs and fixed expressions are mostly highlighted as they conjure up culture-specific definitions. In such cases when there is a total correspondence (as in: 1), translating problems do not surface.

1. To look for a needle in a haystack

البحث عن ابرة في كومة قش Al Baḥṭhu 'an Ibrah Fī Kawmati Kash

However, if there is a partial or absolutely no correspondence (as in: 2), the use of dissimilar cultural references, the task becomes rather difficult.

2. Mad as a hatter (This phrase comes from the fact that in the 18th and 19th centuries hat makers treated hats with mercury. Inhaling mercury vapour could cause mental illness).

مجنون مثل صانع القبعات Majnūn Mithla Sani 'i Al Kuba 'āt

(a word-for-word translation provides an ambiguous definition).

Furthermore, Wierzbicka (1997) points out that "frequency of use" is another marker of cultural specificity next to elaboration of vocabulary. Some words are noticeably more commonly used in one culture if compared to their corresponding items in another.

Nonetheless, it is apparently hard to ‘objectively’ measure the frequency of a certain word; and the use of frequency dictionaries can to some extent reveal cultural prevalence (p. 15).

“Key words” is a supplementary principle that ties both vocabulary and culture together. A key word is one of special importance to a particular culture. Although it is not easy to determine the cultural relevance of a given word, Wierzbicka (1997) provides some indicative hints that may be of help: “The word in question is a common word, not a marginal one ..., is frequently used in one particular semantic domain ..., is at the centre of a whole phraseological cluster ..., the proposed “key word” occurs frequently in proverbs, in sayings, in popular songs, in book titles, and so on” (p. 16).

2.4. Classification of Cultural Terms into Cultural Categories

Because of the significant importance of cultural references in language and their direct impact on understanding, many scholars have conducted thorough examinations on their characteristic features in addition to the problems involved in their misinterpretation and translation. They provided many classifications and taxonomies according to their personal perspectives to better clarify and facilitate certain tasks, like translation. Liu (2012) points out that “culture is subdivided into *paraculture* (the norms, rules and conventions valid for an entire society), *diaculture* (norms, rules and conventions valid for a particular group within the society, such as a club, a firm, or a regional entity) and *idioculture* (the culture of an individual person as opposed to other individuals)” (p. 40). This is why using a more general classification of culture will better serve the examination of cultural disparities. However, some categories may not fully identify certain cultural aspects, as they can be oversimplified or overlapping. The following are examples of such classifications:

2.4.1. Newmark's Classification

Following Nida, Newmark (1988), who perceives translation as a cultural act, proposes an exemplified categorisation of foreign cultural words (p. 95):

1/ Ecology

Ecology related terms may designate plants, animals, meteorological phenomena and landforms. Every culture is dramatically influenced by its natural environment. According to their presence, importance and influence on everyday life, many languages may have an unusually large number of words to refer to one single thing. For example, the words 'horse' (in Arabic), 'snow' (in Eskimo languages) and 'wind' (in English) (Boas, 1938).

2/ Material Culture (artefacts)

Material culture has to do with man-made objects that are indispensable to everyday life. It includes four main sub-categories:

- (a) **Food:** food is a true reflection of a particular culture. The naming of foods follows several patterns. They can merely bear the same name of the plant or animal like: *potato, fish, beef, etc...*, but in some cases those names may have different origins, for example, the word *sheep* has an Anglo Saxon origin whilst its equivalent word *mutton* is of French origin; or in the case of interior animal parts better-sounding names are provided such as, *sweetbreads* for *pancreas*, *caviar* for *fish eggs* and *mountain oysters* for *testicles*. Prepared foods or dishes may be named after places but some require extra knowledge to figure out their main ingredients, like *Florentine* (named after Florence, Italy) is for dishes with spinach, and *Provençal* (Provence) means made with tomato, garlic and olive oil (Lehrer, 2003, p. 549).

National cuisines like ‘Indian cuisine’ and ‘German cuisine’ link between food and place; their labelling provides an overview of the geographical delimitation of a certain nation and serves as a way of expressing, nationalism and identity; and it is also a means for appreciating food practices.

Food practices and choices are characterisations of people’s thoughts, beliefs and experience with nature. Vegetarianism, for example, excludes certain animal products (meat basically) and opts for an organic food production. For the Muslim community, eating pork is forbidden as well as drinking alcohol; while certain other food preparations are strictly for medicinal purposes and are based on a combination of herbal infusions and recipes.

(b) Clothes: in addition to clothes, this section also includes headwear, body decoration and footwear. Through the ages from prehistory till now, various sorts of garments and decoration have been used by human beings all over the world as an expression of cultural, religious and societal beliefs. For example, as a sign of beauty for a time in Chinese culture, young Chinese girls tightly bound their feet to keep them small. Also, first used as weapons, seventeenth century gentlemen carried carefully crafted canes as an indispensable item of elegance and social status (Pendergast & Pendergast, 2004).

(c) Houses and towns: like food and clothes, architectural styles vary noticeably across cultures. Every culture inspires a certain type of architecture through which social structure, lifestyle and aesthetic inclinations are expressed. Depending on the available materials of construction and for reasons of safety, intimacy, religion or environmental adaptation etc., man has come up with assorted building designs that are remarkably different yet truly outstanding. Examples of such range from Eskimo igloos to African

huts into more sophisticated architectural works of art like the grand European baroque style added to the Chinese and the Islamic styles.

(d) Transport: transport being the act of carrying or conveying a thing or person from one place to another has always been conjoined to a multitude of means that facilitated travel and physical mobility. All across cultures, those modes of transportation varied tremendously from prehistory until the times of modern technology. They all play a significant part in clearing up some facts about social life as well as social rules and organisation. By way of examples, the *Rickshaw*: (which is a cart pulled by a man) was one of the most popular modes of travel for wealthy merchants in 19th century China. *Sled dogs*: which were originally used during the Alaskan Gold Rush has now become a source of entertainment. The *Motorcycle*: which represents a middle-class accommodation in certain societies and a symbol of personal identity in others is restricted only to male riders in some areas of the world.

3/ Social Culture - work and leisure

Social culture is recognised as the central factor that makes a clear-cut distinction between one community and another. People from all over the world tend to have dissimilar world views and perceptions of reality. The meaning of work and how it is differently defined across cultures is a case in point. Work-related behaviours, attitudes and beliefs are associated to culture differences as in the case of individualistic and collectivistic cultures. The way people in individualistic cultures construe themselves vis-à-vis work is single, independent and self-reliant. Conversely, those who belong to collectivistic cultures tend to consider work as a constituting part of self-identity since harmonious group work and interdependence between its members is highly valued and gains priority over personal life and aspirations. Biological differences between men and women do influence social roles

and work positions as well. The degrees of such influence vary perceptibly throughout societies.

Away from work, leisure time correlates in the same way with cultural particularities and choices. Many factors such as class, age, gender, religion and geography have had a direct influence on the practice and reinforcement of leisure activities. Some sporting activities like yachting, tennis and squash are usually played by the upper class. Common physical activities like jogging, dancing and collective games like football or basketball make a source of entertainment for lower class members. The youth generally indulge in many hobbies such as playing guitar, travelling, and internet surfing. As for women, shopping, knitting, spending time with friends and family constitute enjoyable pastimes.

4/ organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts

Any culture is distinguished by the ideas, beliefs and attitudes that the whole members of a specific society fully share and maintain. These nonmaterial aspects of culture form a large set of characteristic features that may be identified as obvious or subtle if compared right through disparate societies. Comparisons of this kind stand at the level of the entire network of the different organisations and systems that provide structure and services for people; in addition to the various activities, customs and policies that they respect and perform on a daily basis. The following compose basic examples of cultural demarcation:

- (a) **Political and administrative:** “Cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations to political phenomena” define the political culture that is “distributed in national populations or in sub-groups” (Walton, 1985, p. 21). Furthermore, “the culture of a given organization depends on the legal, social, and economic frameworks within which it is embedded” (Schachter, 2002, p. 89). Political culture and administrative

culture are both geared by a body of shared values that vary from one population to the next. This variance as a consequence brings forth important distinctions.

(b) Religious: religious and spiritual beliefs delineate how society members ought to live and interpret the world around them in a way that is realistic and reasonable. Religion is a guide to righteous behaviour; ethos, ideals, and values are deeply connected to culture. They provide structure and meaningful order to the point that some cultures deem their religion to be the backbone that makes sense of all the social activities that hold the culture together. Religious identity must be valued because it plays a significant part in terms of intercultural dialogue.

(c) Artistic: psychological investigations on the relationship of art and the nature of beauty to Man revealed that “music, painting, architecture, and all the other special arts seemed to agree in becoming significant in proportion to the extent that they were revelations of human feelings, desires, and passions. Admittedly, these feelings were clarified, purified, objectified, and universalized” (Morris, 1929, p. 459). Every art is proper to a definite culture. In this regard, the famous Italian film director ‘Federico Fellini’ gives a fine description to the significance of art in his celebrated statement: “All art is autobiographical; the pearl is the oyster’s autobiography”.

The marked variations of conceptions at the level of political, administrative, religious and artistic cultures usually influence people’s choices of words which, as a result, will form a register that is quite different than that in another language. A major problem in translation is the absence of correspondence between such words. Discrepancies and failures in communication are an evitable upshot to this problem.

5/ Gestures and Habits

Besides language, human beings are able to communicate certain feelings and thoughts using nothing more than bodily gestures. Such gestures communicate rather explicit or implicit meanings, which depending on the culture to which they pertain, may be interpreted in contrasting manners by individuals from different social backgrounds. Take, for example, hand gestures which meanings may translate as good in some countries and can be regarded in others as extremely offensive. In addition, a great number of hand gestures specific to a number of classical Indian dance forms constitute a rich cultural heritage that is a prerequisite for successful Indian dancers.

Cultural traits and peculiarities are portrayed by people's habits as well. If the same patterns of behaviour are analysed all through different cultures, it is likely to obtain a variation of results as to which behaviours are normal, common and acceptable. To illustrate, the greeting habits display notable distinctness across cultures: the British say 'Hello', the French usually kiss on both cheeks, Americans prefer to handshake, the Japanese to bow, while Arab men in the Gulf rub noses.

2.4.2. Katan's Classification

In another attempt to explore cultural manifestations and their immediate significance in translating problems, Katan (1999) proposes a more graded categorisation of isolates i.e. "individual building blocks of culture", which he arranged according to logical levels as undermentioned in a brief outline (p. 45- 61):

1/ Environment: includes all culture-bound elements that affect behavior such as:

_ *Physical Environment:* rivers, seas, mountains... (The visual part)

_ *Political Environment:* refers to political geography and territory.

_ *Climate:* the 'sensed' part of the environment.

_Space: distance, physical space.

_The built Environment

_Dress

_Olfaction and food: besides food, smell has a part to play in intercultural communication.

_Temporal Setting: “each period has its identity which constitutes a framework for that culture”

2/ Behaviour: has to do with all the accepted norms and rules of a community.

3/ Capabilities/ Strategies/ Skills: deals with strategies of communication, that is to say, it examines the way messages are transmitted and perceived through:

_Language Channels and Style: written, spoken and non-verbal.

_Rituals

_Strategies: strategic rules of actions in contrast to behavioural rules.

4/ Values

5/ Beliefs: according to which behaviours are modified and controlled.

6/ Identity: with culture being the utmost shaper of identity.

2.4.3. Aixela’s Classification

Aixela (1997) proposes a further categorisation of cultural items. He suggests two distinct categories: proper nouns and common expressions.

- **Proper nouns:** are in turn divided into two sub-categories: *conventional* (proper nouns which have no meaning of themselves) and *loaded* (proper names which hold certain historical or cultural associations at varying degrees in the context of a particular culture) (p. 59).

- **Common expressions:** cover the world of objects, institutions, habits and opinions restricted to each culture and that cannot be included in the field of proper names (p. 59).

2.5. Cultural Gaps in Translation

To understand the major disparities that appear when two languages are contrasted, it is useful to hark back to the complex relationship that ties language and culture together and to the central role language plays to mirror people's world view and thought. No two languages are the same. Due to the striking differences in conceptions and the levels of importance ascribed to them, it is unpreventable to come across gaps that suggest an absolute lack of correspondence in case of translating from one language to another.

A gap can tremendously impede the translation process because the concepts of the source language which have no equivalents in the target language will indubitably lead to losses in meaning, as this absence of correspondence cannot be amply fulfilled by the translator. Gaps in translation are found in all languages and can be organised into different categories (linguistic, lexical, phonological, cultural etc.). Cultural gaps will, however, gain a central focus in this section as they are directly related to the topic of the present research.

With language being unquestionably an inherent part of culture, many scholars of translation accept as true that transition from one language to another is not purely linguistic; yet it is rather cultural. Ghazala (2008), reports that:

translation is culture bound, and when we translate we transport not words from one container to another, but rather one entire culture to another, including the social, political and other conditions that surround the translators themselves in their own environment, that is, their own culture. In other words, texts can be viewed as carriers of ideological meaning, a fundamental factor of culture (p. 193).

Problems of misinterpretation and losses of meaning in translation are the result of a cultural overlap that is correlated with distance between cultures. A text does not enclose the whole elements of a culture; but, still, at an individual level some elements, which include different cultural information, may produce lacunas when their counterparts are unfamiliar in the target language or culture.

Furthermore, Al-Jabbari, Sadaq and Azmi (2011) point out that such difficulties “are influenced not only by the use of words and expressions that are not found in the second language culture, but also by its language form and usage” because “cultures do not share the linguistic qualities or language features” and “the TL culture has few situational and linguistic features identical to that of the source language” (p. 61).

In his analysis of cultural gaps in translation, Wu (2008) identifies different areas where they are expected to come across; namely, cultural background, non-equivalence, extension and intension, and derivation. Further clarification is presented in the subsequent summary:

-Cultural background is a prerequisite in linguistic translation, as words are special carriers of meaning and characteristic symbols of culture. It is essential to acquire an advanced level of intercultural awareness so as to bridge the differences between languages and succeed in communication. Lack of cultural knowledge will otherwise negatively impact mutual understanding and grasp.

-Non-equivalence is a problem that translators frequently encounter since languages as complex codes present inexorable differences in the way meanings are expressed and formulated since they are governed with distinctive regulations and constructions. Gaps in this case occur when “a term in one language does not have a counterpart in another language” or when “words and terms in both languages that appear to refer to the same object or concept on the surface actually refer to quite different things”.

- *Extension and intension* vary notably across languages as they symbolically define people's lifestyles and cultural backgrounds. The same object may be referred to by the same primary meaning, but it may have additional meanings that are significantly different from each other. Another occurrence of lacunas results from inequalities in designation of certain concepts or things. Some may have one or two terms in one language, while in another many more can be found.

-*Derivation* of meaning is concrete evidence that cultures influence people's appreciation of the world around them. The same objects or beings are viewed in divergent ways according to the cultures to which they adhere. The 'owl', for example, being well identified in both cultures, symbolises wisdom in English; while in Arabic the bird is attributed negative qualities such as pessimism and bad luck (p. 123-125).

Cultural gaps in translation are considered serious hindrances to total equivalence and transmission of meaning. Al-Jabbari et al. (2011) assert that:

since language changes continually, as new words, idioms and phrases appear to match the continually changing needs of cultures, cultural gaps in linguistic communication is inevitable. Choosing words or finding the right equivalent becomes a serious problem in text translation or reaching a proper level of communication between cultures (p. 62).

Although researchers have not been able to determine decisively to which extent they can be fully compensated, a number of solutions are suggested to deal with the problem in order to reach satisfactory results. Aside from thorough awareness of both source and target cultures, it is the translator's duty to take into account certain strategies and procedures that can narrow such gaps.

2.6. Cross-cultural Awareness and cultural transfer through translation

Culture and language are intimately related for culture affects both structure and functional use of language. This, as a result, automatically influences communication and allows culture to serve as a requisite reference to achieve full grasp when people with shared or disparate cultural backgrounds engage in different kinds of interaction.

Intercultural communication (ICC) is an area of interest in which researchers focus their efforts in studying communication issues that manifest across cultural boundaries, be it intra- or interlingually. The general intention of this subject is to help manage successful communication through which behaviours are deemed to be culturally acceptable and appropriate. Its objectives make solid grounds for translators training, while its problems represent a significant area of investigation that translation studies aspires to resolve (Robinson, 2007, p. 195). Added on the relevance of translation to communication, Yanhong (2008) maintains that “translation constitutes an effective means of facilitating cross-cultural understanding by bridging the communication gap between the source and target text” (p. 100).

As has been discussed under the heading “*Culture and Translation*”, the collision between the latter two prime subjects avers to be incontestably of considerable importance and gains a central focus on the part of different scholars who are in a constant quest for answers and justifications to problems of equivalence and transfer of meaning. According to Robinson (2007), the cultural turn in translation studies disapproves of conservatives’ attests that there are *never* any real causes to such problems; but rather aims “to explore the ways in which the various requirements and prohibitions placed on translators are not universals, to be obeyed in all circumstances, but culturally channeled lines of force, often intensely local in their impact” (p.198).

It is postcolonial scholars' major concern to study how cultural systems affect translation and under which commands cultural knowledge is conveyed. The stringent control that political power exerts over culture promotes the ideology of the dominating countries and purposely neglects and shows little interest in that of the dominated. Thus, the latter are devoid of recognition and esteem and occupy a marginal place. This inequitable contrast redirects translators' attention on the delimitation of valid cultural borders and raises a debate on the necessary amount of cultural knowledge that should be carried across those borders.

The recent shift in translation studies from linguistic to social and political perspective is also the result of such controversial matters of faithfulness and accuracy in translation. In addition to the "immediate textual context", an as important "spatial" context is well-identified and receives enough consideration and emphasis. Chesterman (2006) outlines its main constituents:

- “ – *Cultural context*: focus on values, ideas, ideologies, traditions etc.
- *Sociological context*: focus on people (especially translators), their observable group behaviour, their institutions etc.
- *Cognitive context*: focus on mental processes, decision-making etc.” (p. 11).

From this standpoint, a focus on the process of translating and the conception of its practice is clearly highlighted. The role of the translator as an active agent during this process has a direct impact on the end-product. The translator as a reader and interpreter of the source text's integral meaning is under strict obligation to perform an ethical and responsible rendition of not just the existing sum of knowledge within the original text, but also its desired effect on the receiving population. Grosman (1994) emphasises “the fact that no translator can claim impersonal access to the textual meaning, nor is it possible to translate in a social vacuum” (p. 52). This implies that the translator's vision should stem from careful

reading and close understanding of cultural specificities. Put differently, the translator should acquire an adequate amount of “cultural awareness” to attain his ambitious goals.

Cultural awareness is a concept that has recently been approached by many scholars in diverse areas of study in order to introduce learners and professionals to the importance of its integration in their day to day activities; and hence to facilitate intercultural communication. As its name suggests, cultural awareness consists of two basic components: ‘culture’ and ‘awareness’.

The term ‘awareness’ is commonly used within the field of psychology to mean: “an internal, subjective state of being cognizant or conscious of something. Cognizant or conscious, in turn, indicates general information, wide knowledge, interpretive power or vigilant perception” (Kleindienst & Hutzschenreuter, 2010, p.26). Therefore, awareness observably manifests itself in the form of both cognitive and behavioural changes. The latter are linked to the cultural aspect in the field of translation to express “an awareness of the otherness and differentness of others, or rather, of foreign cultures in all their complexity. This presupposes a capacity for noticing, and, consequently, for understanding and tolerating the otherness of foreign cultures” (Grosman, 1994, p. 51).

Cross-cultural awareness as a body of knowledge that covers more than one culture and puts under the spotlight the ensuing differences and similarities of multilevel comparisons has for long been the focus of translation theory and practice; yet in a restricted way because it dealt with words and phrases that are heavily loaded with cultural connotations and disregarded until recently the determining factors that contribute in shaping cultural knowledge, such as ideology and power etc. (Robinson, 2007, p. 188).

A higher sensitivity on the part of the translator vis-à-vis those complex differentials is needed. Byram (1991) points out that “culture awareness component is concerned with non-

linguistic dimensions of culture and more focused on the question of change from mono-cultural to intercultural competence” (p. 24).

Cultural competence as the ability of the translator to adapt practice skills to fit cultural contexts is a necessary condition which cannot be achieved unless awareness of personal and foreign cultures is acquired and accepted, and cultural knowledge developed. Robinson (2007) insists on the fact that “cultures, and the intercultural competence and awareness that arise out of experience of cultures, are far more complex phenomena than it may seem to the translator ..., and the more aware the translator can become of these complexities, ... the better a translator s/he will be” (p. 186).

Acknowledgment of the magnitude and depth of cultural differences enhances awareness of the meanings associated with copious cultural constructions which according to Grosman (1994) “can prevent the automatic tendency to perceive the other and the different in terms of the known and the familiar, whereby foreign texts are divested of their very otherness” (p. 51). It is quite necessary to develop the translators’ cultural-awareness in order for them to adopt proper attitude to culture discrepancy and gain basic competence to handle it carefully. Grosman further argues that “cross-cultural awareness promotes open-mindedness beyond one’s own cultural border, contributing to a better understanding between people. Conceived this way, it seems a prerequisite for all successful communication in a world rapidly turning into a multicultural village” (p. 51).

In dealing with cultural differences in opinions, thoughts and behaviours, a serious criticism to cross-cultural awareness training is that it harbours stereotypes and sometimes negative generalisations about people from other cultures. Fries (2003) adds that “Since stereotypes are by definition oversimplified and by nature judgmental and often derogatory, this would certainly not encourage effective intercultural communication” (p. 8). However,

Matsumoto and Juang (2008) underline the necessity to recognise their limitations and recommend using them just as guides in the following explanation:

As guides, stereotypes are not written in stone but give us ideas, impressions, or images of people that can be used for an initial encounter, after which they can be discarded or reinforced depending on the exact nature of the interaction and behaviour observed (p. 79).

Conclusion

The motivational reason behind tackling for the most part the interconnected relation between translation and culture in this chapter is that it provides a clearer insight into the true essence and nature of this complex bond. Since it is directly linked to the general theme of this research work, the examination of the multiplicity of principles that adhere to such a subject is of essential relevance to the practical analysis of this work. Moreover, problems of equivalence between source and target cultures are no less important to reflect on, because they allow a better understanding of the major hindrances that face translators to achieve such an arduous task, which, as a consequence, will help find better solutions to avoid them.

CHAPTER THREE

Audiovisual Translation and Subtitling

Introduction

This chapter specifically reviews the theoretical literature concerning audiovisual translation, as a specialised branch in translation studies that directly relates to the general topic of the present research. It offers relevant definitions about the term in question, and describes the characteristics of the audiovisual text. Further information about the different modes as well as the theoretical approaches to audiovisual translation are subsequently provided. In its second part, the chapter sheds more light on subtitling, since it is the particular form of translation being investigated. It defines the term, highlights its main types and advantages. It also accounts for its historical background and characteristic features as constrained translation. In addition, special focus is given to the importance of cultural specificity in communication and the way it is dealt with in subtitling.

3.1. Audiovisual Translation

The revolutionary transformations brought about to modern life due to technological advances have affected both the way of life and needs of people in every corner of the Earth. The process of globalisation is a typical upshot of the close connection between information technology and worldwide communication in different domains. Since entertainment and access to information is directly linked to cinema, television, radio, internet, etc., a wide range of audiovisual productions travel easily across the globe to reach audiences of different tongues and cultures. Thus, an urgent need to translate audiovisual materials arises.

3.1.1. Definition of the Term

Audiovisual Translation (AVT), as explained by Chiaro (2009), is an umbrella term that is “set out to cover the interlingual transfer of verbal language when it is transmitted and accessed both visually and acoustically, usually, but not necessarily, through some kind of electronic device” (p. 141). Clearly, Audiovisual Translation highlights the extra-verbal elements present in different kinds of audiovisual content such as films, television programs, theatrical plays, web pages, video games, etc.

It is, however, not the only existing expression. Some academics are comfortable using more restricting terminologies, like “Cinema Translation” or “Stage/Film Translation” (“*Mary Snell-Horby*”, 1988), to refer to linguistic transfers in films. Others resort to “Screen Translation” (“*Ian Mason*”, 1989) to add more scope to their descriptions as it encapsulates all products displayed on a screen, including those presented on a computer screen, like web pages and CD-ROMs. “transadaptation” (“*István Fodor*”, 1976), “traducción Cinematográfica” (“*Amparo Hurtado*”, 1994), “traducción audiovisual” (“*Jorge Díaz Cintas*”, 2001) are additionally used. “Multimedia Translation” is another popular designation that was first used by “*Gambier*” in 2003 (Pardo, 2013, p. 19-20). Majcenovič Kline (2011) identifies *Multimedia* as “an accumulation of written, audio and visual channels. Multimedia translation thus implies not only film ... translation, but also radio and video media, theater, comics, and today more modern on-line and off-line products and services” (p. 193).

Although all these terms overlap considerably in their delineations and that this diversification shows a rising interest and flexibility within the field of study, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) point out that “Fortunately enough, one of the terms, audiovisual translation (AVT), has been gaining ground in recent years and is fast becoming the standard referent” (p. 12). Hence, to serve the purpose of the research at hand, the term ‘Audiovisual

Translation' will, henceforth, be used precisely to refer to translations of filmic productions as they constitute the main focus of its practical analysis.

3.1.2. Audiovisual Translation: Translation or Adaptation?

Audiovisual Translation is a very recent subfield of translation studies. The most eminent audiovisual translation modes, like subtitling, dubbing and voice-over, developed after the introduction of the first talking pictures in the 1920s to overcome language barriers and enable films to easily circulate around the world. Bartolomé and Cabrera (2005) further assert that “its practice dates back to the silent era, when intertitles were introduced between frames in order to narrate the story plot” (p. 89).

Translation theory explores a wide range of disciplines interfacing with translation. Light is both cast on literary as well as non-literary types of translation. However, with regard to the polysemiotic nature of language transfer in the audiovisual field, some theorists find it rather a case of adaptation than one of translation. Díaz Cintas (2003) rejects this view and describes it as “puristic” and “outdated”; he argues that these scholars have little interest in this professional practice and consider it inferior to more traditional and prominent issues in translation studies. According to him “A definition of translation that excludes large areas of professional activity is clearly too narrow” (p. 194).

More recent theories in the field of translation take notice of new types of translation. Jakobson's (1959) classification of translation into ‘intralingual’, ‘interlingual’ and ‘intersemiotic’ types seems to have opened the door for serious studies in the field of Audiovisual Translation. Academic research and development in this new area of interest sprung from a close contact between the industry and the academic world; thus, creating a theoretical framework that responds to the continual needs of practitioners in order to improve their profession. A breadth of research topics has also been characterised by an

interdisciplinary approach in which “most works have departed from the pioneering technical and linguistic approaches to encompass the sociocultural dimension of AVT” (Diaz Cintas, Matamala & Neves, 2010, p. 12); for example, the embedded notions of culture and identity.

The emerging discipline of Audiovisual Translation first attracted attention by the mid-nineties and maintained a steady progression within Translation Studies; as numerous specialised conferences and publications of edited books and monographs have demonstrated an active concentration on this particular field of research (Diaz Cintas & Anderman, 2009, p. 8). Not only the main focus of AVT to overcome the language barrier is amply investigated, further developments in the field address other obstacles in accessing audiovisual content with regard to the needs of a different kind of audience; that is, the sensory impaired.

In this sense, Diaz Cintas, Matamala and Neves (2010) argue that “AVT could potentially elevate the status of Translation Studies thanks to the polymorphic nature of its research object and the fact that it makes use of knowledge from diverse fields, at the same time as feeding into fields of research that are equally diverse” (p.12). Therefore, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) conclude that translation is “a more flexible and inclusive term, capable of accommodating new realities rather than disregarding practices that do not fit into a corseted, outdated notion of a term coined many centuries ago, when the cinema, the television and the computer had not yet been invented” (p. 11).

3.2. The Audiovisual Text

Given its polymorphic nature, the audiovisual mode of discourse is separated from the regular type of ‘text’ and is differently approached and categorised. Language is integrated with images and sounds which altogether convey meaningful information. Dumoran (2011) points out that “The term text is no longer synonymous with written material, but has broadened to include in its definition, audiovisual (AV) material—both bigscreen and

smallscreen productions, cybermedia productions and stage productions” (p. 149). In addition, Gambier and Gottlieb (2001) affirm that “translation does not end with “text” but with delivery” (p. xix); they note that “Instead of the term "text" one may prefer "document" in these situations where various semiotic systems subordinated to each other in different ways are combined: the verbal (written or oral) sometimes dominates, sometimes plays a minor role” (p. xviii).

Screen products are both seen and heard. The visual part is given much consideration due to its complexity and importance in piecing together their overall shades of meaning. It is, therefore, expected to collocate verbs like “watch” and “see” with “films”, “television programs”, etc. Translating audiovisual products is according to Diaz Cintas, Matamala and Neves (2010) “innate to humankind; people have been translating the audio/visual world which they live in from time immemorial. Every expression in art is, in its own way, a form of AVT ” (p. 13).

Audiovisual translation is remotely different from print translation in many ways. The major reason is basically due to the nature of both texts. Written products may include illustrative representations with no other reason than clarifying the verbal load. In opposition, the verbal, audio and visual codes are all equally important constituents of meaning in audiovisual products. Comic books make an intermediate genre between print texts and audiovisuals because they combine images and words with a fervent intent to imitate spoken language. To boot, the traditional Japanese comics “*manga*” could easily convert into the famous cartoon industry of “*animé*”. Audiovisual productions, therefore, form an indissociable combination of verbal and non-verbal codes that can be either seen or heard. The following representation provides further details (Chiaro, 2009, p. 142):

Figure 2. The Polysemiotic Nature of Audiovisual Products

	VISUAL	ACOUSTIC
NON-VERBAL	SCENERY, LIGHTING, COSTUMES, PROPS, etc. Also: GESTURE, FACIAL EXPRESSIONS; BODY MOVEMENT, etc.	MUSIC, BACKGROUND NOISE, SOUND EFFECTS, etc. Also: LAUGHTER; CRYING; HUMMING; BODY SOUNDS (breathing; coughing, etc.)
VERBAL	STREET SIGNS, SHOP SIGNS; WRITTEN REALIA (newspapers; letters; headlines; notes, etc.)	DIALOGUES; SONGLYRICS; POEMS, etc.

Chaume (2004), therefore, defines an audiovisual text as:

a semiotic construct comprising several signifying codes that operate simultaneously in the production of meaning. A film is composed of a series of codified signs, articulated in accordance with syntactic rules. Its typology, the way it is organised and the meaning of all its elements results in a semantic structure that the spectator deconstructs in order to understand the meaning of the text (p. 16).

The features of the audiovisual codes that distinguish the audiovisual text are summed up by Sokoli (2009) as follows:

- Reception through two channels: acoustic and visual.
- Significant presence of nonverbal elements.
- Synchronisation between verbal and nonverbal elements.
- Appearance on screen – reproducible material.
- Predetermined succession of moving images – recorded material (p. 38).

Sokoli emphasises that “These features condition the translation of the audiovisual text, and, as a result, their consideration is fundamental for its study” (p. 38).

3.3. Modes of Audiovisual Translation

Language transfer within the field of Audiovisual Translation takes diverse forms. This is due to many reasons; some may be economical, historical and cultural, some are adopted according to the needs of certain audiences or to the type of the audiovisual product itself, etc. The number of audiovisual translation modes has increased throughout the years and less common ones are gaining ground while receiving special attention from researchers and practitioners in the field.

This number is unstable as these modes are in constant change and the different typologies provided by prominent scholars (such as *Gambier (1996)*, *Luyken (1991)* and *Diaz Cintas (1999)*) do not seem to agree on a particular one. A count of ten types or more is likely to be found (Diaz Cintas, 2003, p. 195). Gambier (2003) groups them into two main groups ‘dominant’ and ‘challenging’ according to how common and well-established they are; while Chaves (2000), De Linde and Kay (1999), and Luyken (1991) consider all AVT modes as subtypes of the prevailing modes of subtitling and revoicing. The latter classify differently depending on the level of priority they receive (Bartolomé & Cabrera, 2005, p. 92). According to Bartolomé and Cabrera (2005), the next table lists some of the recent classifications of AVT modes.

Table 2*AVT modes according to different recent classifications*

Chaume 2004	Gambier 2004	Díaz Cintas 2001 Linde and Kay 1999 Gambier 1996	Chaves 2000 Agost 1999 Luyken 1991
Dubbing	Dubbing	Dubbing	Dubbing
Subtitling	Intralingual subtitling	Subtitling	Subtitling
	Interlingual subtitling		
	Live or real-time subtitling	Live subtitling	
	Surtitling	Surtitling	
Voice over	Voice over or half dubbing	Voice over	Voice over
Half dubbing			
Simultaneous interpreting	Interpreting	Consecutive interpreting Simultaneous interpreting	Simultaneous interpreting
Narration		Narration	Narration (not in Agost)
Free commentary	(Free) commentary	Commentary	Free commentary
Sight translation	Simultaneous or sight translation		
Animation			
Multimedia translation			Multimedia translation (only in Agost)
	Scenario or script translation		
	Audio description		
	Multilingual productions		
		Multilingual broadcasting	

Subtitling and dubbing are the most common audiovisual translation modalities and the best known to audiences. They both engage different types of linguistic transfer from source to target language: subtitling involves changing the original spoken language into written text; and dubbing entails keeping it as spoken by replacing the original dialogue with a new soundtrack in a process called revoicing. The replacement in dubbing and other modalities like narration and partial dubbing is total; while in voice-over and interpreting the original soundtrack can still be perceptible in the background (Díaz Cintas & Anderman, 2009, p. 4). “The translation of live performance was added to this taxonomy at a later stage and that is

how surtitling for the opera and the theatre has also come to be included” (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 12).

Dubbing and subtitling are generally used in the translation of films and TV series and sitcoms. Nevertheless, their degree of use varies from country to country. In Europe, for example, a clear-cut division existed between a subtitling block that consisted of Western European countries (Scandinavian and Benelux countries, Greece and Portugal) and central and southern ones (so-called “FIGS”, France, Italy, Germany and Spain). Presently, the situation has changed with the spread of DVDs and the inclusion of the subtitling mode as a low cost alternative in dubbing countries (Chiaro, 2013, p. 2).

Recent developments within the field of AVT address the needs of minority social groups. In what is called *audience design*, a strong focus on the handicapped group is provided. As a result, inceptive modes of AVT translation have appeared and became very helpful during the 90s ((Bartolomé & Cabrera, 2005, p. 90). In addition, “Accessibility is a new key concept; an umbrella term that encompasses all associated new modes of translation” (Díaz Cintas & Anderman, 2009, p. 5). Chiaro (2013) explains that “accessibility endorses intralingual translations in the form of subtitles, sign language interpreting for the deaf and hard of hearing, and audio-descriptions for the blind and visually impaired” (p. 5).

As a final point, Jorge Díaz Cintas (2003) puts up two basic observations out of these changes: “First, the world of audiovisual production is constantly changing, and translation modes are not as set in stone as some would like to believe. Secondly, this diversification of modes creates the need for translation and generates more work in the field” (p. 197-198).

3.4.Theoretical Approaches to Audiovisual Translation

The establishment of AVT as a sub-discipline of translation studies is quite recent as interest in this area grew at the beginning of the nineties when the process of language

transfer in audiovisual media was no longer alienated from translation theory. Not counting the articles published in *Babel* in 1960, Chaume (2004) indicates that “the first articles about audiovisual texts from a translation studies perspective centered their attention on those specific aspects of the text that differentiate them from other types of texts” (p. 14). The works of Bassnett (1980-1991) and Snell-Hornby (1988) are important theoretical instances involving audiovisual texts from a translation studies perspective. Both of them include this type of translation within the literary category, Bassnett refers to audiovisual translation in a category she calls ‘Translation and Poetics’ and names it *translation for the cinema* (p. 7-8); while Snell-Hornby prefers to use *Stage/ Film translation* (p. 32).

Chaume (2002) actively stresses the importance of highlighting research in Audiovisual Translation. He insists that “It is the responsibility of teachers and researchers to draw our attention precisely to those aspects which mark it out as different from other modalities” (p. 1). Besides, research should cast light on a variety of related concepts and methodologies that include, in Gambier’s (2003) words, “polysystems theory, psycholinguistics, cultural studies, critical discourse analysis, relevance theory, as well as functional approaches to translation” (p. 183). However, the preponderance of research articles and published works on Audiovisual Translation studies during the last three decades demonstrate the large “extent of the field’s reliance on **allochthonous models of translation** (approaches imported from the wider context of translation studies or beyond), to the detriment of their **autochthonous** counterparts (developed from within and for audiovisual translation studies” (Pérez-González, 2014, p. 97).

Among the communicative approaches that examine audiovisual texts in relation to Discourse Analysis is Agost’s (1999). She identifies four codes of audiovisual translation: the written (script), the oral (actor’s performance), the musical and the visual (the image). She also classifies audiovisual material by genre; for example, dramatic, informative, advertising

and entertainment. Moreover, other approaches to audiovisual translation hold a pedagogical perspective as different research articles and publications have tackled issues of language learning and teaching using audiovisual media; such as, McLoughlin's (2009), Harji, Woods and Alavi's (2010).

Descriptive studies on Audiovisual Translation presented a number of influential researches and methods of analysis. Fodor's (1976) visual phonetics and pioneering descriptions of different types of synchronisation are worth highlighting. In his work, he chiefly addresses the problem of adjusting the translation to the movements of the actor's mouth. Other technical issues are additionally dealt with by Ivarsson (1992).

Studies concerning the cultural impact of the translation of audiovisual texts, their reception and the rules governing the transfer of their messages are dominated by two important approaches, specifically, 'polysystems' and 'norms'.

3.4.1. Polysystem Theory

Given the nature of audiovisual texts, a multidisciplinary approach in audiovisual translation research is recommended by Chaume (2004) who views that its use would help analysts to "better understand the relationship between the elements that make up the object of their study, and the key textual and contextual issues that need examining when transferring elements to another language and culture" (p. 13). It is, indeed, based on translation theory that different models of analysis of audiovisual texts have been presented. Polysystem theory, a theory that arose in the 70s and took literary studies as a reference, "is used to refer to a group of semiotic systems that co-exist dynamically within a particular cultural sphere" (Diaz Cintas, 2004, 23). This approach was first applied to audiovisual texts- cinematographic texts- during the 90s by Patrick Catrysse who proposes to use translation

techniques for the analysis and description of the process of cinematographic adaptation (Pardo, 2013, p. 21).

According to Pérez-González (2014), “the dynamics of the filmic system can be accounted for as the product of the interplay between its various sub-systems: institutionalized genres, non-canonized forms of expression, ... and translated films” (p.121). From a translational point of view, Diaz Cintas (2004) reports that polysystem theory “allows for the translated work to be studied as a product in itself that is integrated in the target polysystem. It also dispenses with the traditional perception of the inferior translated copy derived from a superior original to which it barely does justice” (p. 23).

3.4.2. Norms

Translation as a norm-governed activity also applies to the field of audiovisual translation as it has been principally used as a causal model of research “to investigate whether and how translation influences the perceived authenticity of audiovisual texts in the target culture” (Pérez-González, 2014, p. 133). Norms have a particular importance in descriptivist studies of translation. They take on a sociological dimension; since they “account for the relationships that exist between the rules of the abstract and modelling society and the idiosyncrasies of each translator. These norms constitute the theoretical pillars on which the methodological principles rest” (Diaz Cintas, 2004, p. 25). Therefore, norms do not constitute a set of prescribed rules but are rather specific to a context that is constrained by time, culture and societal values.

Toury’s (1995) identifies this concept as the “translation of general values or ideas shared by a community -- as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations” (p. 55). Similarly, Chesterman (1997) indicates that certain norms are supported by certain values.

Norms are generally different from conventions in that they incite translators to adopt certain translation solutions, rather than just indicate that they constitute a general tendency agreed upon by both readers and professionals in the field (Pedersen, 2011).

The changing nature of norms allows for the study of the cultural factors that determine a translation that took place in a particular context; and, as a result, explains the translator's behaviour and choices. Hermans (2013) clarifies that "translation norms in their totality can be said to inform the translation poetics of particular periods and cultures. A poetics may be understood as made up of a body of mostly normative textual expectations together with a set of canonical models and practice" (p. 5). Empirical analyses of translations can reveal considerable information concerning translating behaviours and procedures. It provides, at the same time, valuable feedback to Translation Theory. Norms can, consequently, be understood as "intersubjective directives of behavior, present in the decision-making process of translation and empirically recoverable as patterns in the product of translations" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 37).

Apart from the audiovisual translator, the application of norms during the translation of audiovisual products can be considered by different participants in the process; such as, laboratories, production and distribution companies, dubbing actors and directors, technicians, adaptors, linguistic advisors or TV stations. As a consequence, the concept of norms in the study of translation is quite revealing, as Diaz Cintas (2004) indicates that "to discover norms and to value them in the contexts in which they take and have taken place means to reveal how culture, the symbolic capital in Bourdieu's terminology, has been manipulated in favour of certain vested interests, be they economic, political or of any other kind" (p. 28).

Norm systems are described differently by prominent scholars in the field of Translation Studies, namely, Toury (1995) who, based on the translation process, provides three main types of translation norms: the initial norm, preliminary norms and operational norms. The

initial norm distinguishes between two types of translated text: ‘adequate’, i.e. oriented toward the norms of the ST, and ‘acceptable’, i.e. the translated text is oriented toward the norms of the TT. It is mainly concerned with matters of directness in translation. Preliminary norms have to do with translation policy, that is, which texts are translated and whether they should be imported. Operational norms deal with the process of translation, the matricial and textual-linguistic norms that govern the translation activity.

In addition, Chesterman (1997) proposes two main divisions of norms: product norms and process norms. Product norms, or ‘expectancy’ norms, form a set of expectations produced by the readers/ viewers as consumers of translations. On the other hand, process norms control the translation process itself. Process norms include three types: the accountability norm (an ethical norm), the communication norm (a social norm), and the relation norm (a linguistic norm). In the present study, primary focus is given to Toury’s norms, especially initial and operational ones, because they apply better to the main empirical investigation, which principally aims to discern the reasons behind certain translating choices.

3.4.2.1. Foreignising as a Norm in ‘Anglo-American Culture’

In *‘The Translator’s Invisibility’*, Venuti (1995) identifies two types of general translation strategies: ‘foreignisation’ and ‘domestication’. He describes foreignisation as “a close adherence to the foreign text, a literalism that resulted in the importation of foreign cultural forms and the development of heterogeneous dialects and discourses” (p. 242). Foreignisation, according to him, moves the reader towards the author, as source text information and cultural elements are retained and manifested in the target language.

On the other hand, domesticating involves a naturalising process, as it moves the reader toward the author making the source text much more conforming to the target culture. In this regard, Venuti (1995) specifies that a domesticated translation “whether prose or poetry,

fiction or nonfiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers, and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance ... that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the ‘original’ ” (p. 1).

Venuti (1995) strongly supports foreignising strategies and criticises domesticating practices, claiming that they contribute to the translator’s invisibility and constrain cross-cultural communication, in the name of fluency and transparency. He argues that, unlike foreignising which aims to “restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation” (p. 20), domesticating characterises “the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others” (p.20), pointing out more specifically to “Anglo-American culture”. He suggests that “foreignizing translation in English can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations” (p. 20).

Venuti’s influential ideas have been a matter of great controversy and received direct criticism as to providing a strict definition to the concept of foreignisation, simplifying the reality of the translation activity by the use of the foreignisation/ domestication dichotomy, the very effect of exoticism foreignisation may have and its effectiveness when translating from marginal languages (Myskja, 2013). Nonetheless, *The Translator’s Invisibility* is acknowledged for its deep methodological account of the history of translation at a particular period of time (Milton, 1996, p. 187).

3.5. Subtitling

3.5.1. Definition of the Term

Subtitling is defined by Luyken et al. (1991) as “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” (p. 31). Similarly, Gottlieb (2004) points out that subtitling is “the rendering in a different language of verbal messages in filmic media, in the shape of one or more lines of written text, presented on the screen in synch with the original verbal message” (p. 86).

These definitions indicate that subtitle translation includes a shift of mode, from spoken to written, and holds special technical delimitations and particular characteristics. Moreover, Diaz Cintas and Remael (2007) highlight the multimodal nature of subtitling, which they depict as:

a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image ... , and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (p. 8).

Consideration of the polysemiotic aspect of subtitling is necessary; since Gottlieb (2001) clarifies that “What is expressed monosemiotically in a novel, i.e. solely through writing, occupies four channels in a film: dialogue, music & effects, picture, and -for a smaller part- writing (displays and captions)” (p. 155). Thus, “despite of taking visual and audio modes into account, the translator takes them as the context for dealing with subtitling, ... , because they are pre-existed and cannot be changed by the translator” (Chuang, 2006, 374).

3.5.2. Types of Subtitling

Subtitles are generally classified according to linguistic and technical criteria into many different types. Linguistically, Gottlieb (2001) distinguishes two categories:

(a) **Intralingual subtitling** (in the original language). This includes

- Subtitling of domestic programmes for the Deaf and hard of hearing
- Subtitling of foreign-language programmes for language learners

Intralingual subtitling is vertical, in the sense that it involves taking a speech down in writing, changing mode but not language.

(b) **Interlingual subtitling**. This type is diagonal, in the sense that the subtitler crosses over from speech in one language to writing in another, thus changing mode and language (p. 247).

Bilingual subtitles constitute an additional type of subtitles which are mainly produced in countries that speak two different languages, like French and Flemish in Belgium and Swedish and Finnish in Finland. In this situation, two lines of subtitles are presented on screen, each of which is written in a separate language. Bilingual subtitles are also delivered in international film festivals where one subtitle is written in English, while the other is in the language of the country that hosts the event (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 20 -19).

Subtitles (also referred to as captions) take on another distinction based on the technical process of subtitling. ‘Open’ and ‘closed’ subtitles are contrasting categories in the sense that open subtitles are visible and not optional for viewers of filmic products or as terrestrially transmitted television programmes, whereas closed subtitles are transmitted as teletext (optional) for the Deaf and hard of hearing to be selected by individual viewers of television programmes. Closed subtitling also includes interlingual television subtitles intended for different speech communities (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 247).

3.5.3. History of Subtitling

The history of subtitles can be traced back to the introduction of ‘intertitles’ in the time of silent films. In fact, subtitles are generally seen to have evolved from intertitles, which Rittmayer (2009) defines as “narration or dialogue presented on a blank screen between segments of action, [which] brought translation to film in a very basic way” (p. 2). As most of the titles were very simple and short, it was possible to replace them each time using a different translation so that foreign audiences could enjoy the film. Intertitles slowly disappeared with the advent of sound films; and by 1929, the use of subtitles prevailed at the same time as the first talking pictures reached the European audience (Gottlieb, 2001).

As compared to dubbing, subtitling is a cheaper method of language transfer which many countries prefer to use. The preparation of subtitles underwent various changes and was improved over time. The initial steps of film subtitling relied on manual projections of printed text slides directly onto the screen. The translators were only responsible for producing the subtitles which they wrote by hand based on the original script. The spotting task was determined by technicians who defined the in and out times of the subtitles in accordance with the start and finish of actor’s utterances. These times were simultaneously marked on the original script (Caroll, 2004).

Many enhanced technical processes succeeded. *The optical method* allowed photographed titles to be copied onto the film copy, as the film negative was exposed in sync with a separate film of the same length with frames containing the titles. *The mechanical, thermal and chemical processes* were invented between 1930 and 1935. They all used different techniques to impress subtitles directly onto the film copies. The chemical process offered a better legibility as white letters appeared on the screen. The optical and chemical processes are still used in many countries. However, *Laser subtitling*, a more developed technique, came into use since 1988. It applies lasers to burn away the emulsion of the film

copy and offers perfectly defined letters. The technique is also cost-effective and takes a comparatively short time (Ivarsson, 2004).

Soon, as films were broadcast on television, it was very difficult to read the titles from the prints which were intended for the cinema. Various methods were employed, specially manual and automatic (using a frame counter) feedings of the subtitles. Moreover, with the development of *caption generators* in 1960's, the direct insertion of subtitles into videos became much easier. Nonetheless, these generators were impractical for subtitling as they were primarily aimed at captioning and were very expensive (Caroll, 2004).

In the 1970's, equipment which was exclusively directed to subtitling was consequently provided in the form of two main systems: a system that uses a computer-controlled character generator in the transmitter and a teletext system which mixes characters into the television picture using a character generator in the receiver (Ivarsson, 2004). Thanks to teletext systems, the hearing-impaired gained a larger access to television programming in many countries (Caroll, 2004).

Later on, in the 1990's, the process of subtitling took on another dimension, since revolutionary developments in the digital technology simplified the whole practice. Therefore, an entire subtitling programme can be easily installed on a personal computer and the subtitler can conduct all different tasks at once at any location (Ivarsson, 2004).

3.5.3. Professionals in the Subtitling Process

The process of subtitling can be carried out by three different professionals. First, the spotter, also known as the subtitler, decides on the in and out of the subtitles. Spotters usually understand the source language of the programme and are knowledgeable about the technological specifications of the subtitling programmes. Second, the translator whose underlying job is the language transfer. He is supposed to master source and target languages

and cultures, in addition to the semiotics of subtitling. Third, the adapter is basically responsible for the fitting of translations into the subtitle lines without distorting the meaning of the original and taking the media constraints into consideration. Yet, he can sometimes be unacquainted with the source language (Diaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 34).

This three-way division no longer reflects the actual situation in the subtitling industry. The fact that neither spotters nor adapters are familiarised with the language of the audiovisual programme attracted serious criticism in the past mainly because their interference would negatively affect the quality of the finished product. The subtitler's job profile is consequently changed to include both the tasks of translation and adaptation. With the help of subtitling programmes, this made it possible for only one professional to produce the final subtitles and accomplish all three tasks alone (Diaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 35). Therefore, for simplification purposes and because not much is known about the actual subtitling conditions of the films under consideration in the main empirical part of this research, the words 'translator' and 'subtitler' are interchangeably employed.

3.6. The Constraints of Subtitling

Subtitling is a form of translation that is subject to different kinds of constraints. These constraints are so common to the point that subtitling is also referred to as 'constrained translation'. Hence, they form a constituent part in the practice of subtitling and require much attention and consideration (Pedersen, 2011).

3.6.1. The Overt Nature of Subtitling

One ultimate drawback is that viewers who are familiar with the source language can easily draw comparisons and pass judgments on the subtitles because subtitling constitutes an overt type of translation. Subtitles continuously accompany the original dialogue, thus,

creating what is called the ‘gossiping effect’ or ‘feedback effect’. Instances of such can take place when source language is English or when source and target languages have common linguistic origins. Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007), who label subtitling ‘vulnerable translation’, affirm that “not only must the subtitles respect space and time constraints, they must also stand up to the scrutiny of an audience that may have some knowledge of the original language” (p. 57).

3.6.2. The Shift from Speech to Writing

Another restraining factor is the shift of mode that characterises the process of subtitling. Gottlieb (2004) identifies it as ‘*diasemiotic* translation’; that is, the transfer of messages is made from one language into another and from speech to writing. These two channels of expression differ mainly in terms of functional and structural elements creating, as a result, the “problem of possible hesitation between situational varieties that range from the oral register of the source text to the written register of the target text” (Assis Rosa, 2001, p. 214). Added to that, Karamitroglou (2000) points out to the difficulty of interpreting the accompanying ‘visual source-culture elements’ and ‘aural source-language elements’ in written verbal language. In fact, audio and visual elements constitute important components of non-verbal communication. Assis Rosa (2001) argues that, “When left untranslated these elements may in some cases assume the same meaning in ST and TT cultures. However, in other cases they can not only be impossible to interpret but also assume different or even opposite meanings thus confusing the audience” (p. 214).

3.6.3. Time and Space Constraints

In association with the semiotic switch from spoken to written language, subtitling is technically constrained by time and space. As said by Carroll (2004), subtitles are formulated in relation to three rhythms:

1. the visual rhythm of the film as defined by the cuts,
2. the rhythm of the actors' speech
3. and an audience reading rhythm (p. 5).

The spatial constraints arise because the screen space available shapes the translation process. In order to avoid obscuring the picture, the subtitles are generally restricted to only a single line (or at most two lines) at the bottom of the screen which requires, as result, a limited number of characters that varies between 28 and 35 characters. A full two-liner can include up to 72 characters. Other factors such as italics, capital letters and wider letters like 'm' and 'w' may reduce the number of characters per line, since they take more space (Pedersen, 2011).

On the other hand, the temporal constraints have to do with the exposure time of subtitles. Problems arise when the speech rhythm on the screen is too fast for the viewers to read the translation. Studies have demonstrated that six seconds are enough for the viewer's eye to read a two-line subtitle and examine the images at the same time (Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 96). In some cases, however, exposure time can last longer if some aspects are taken into consideration; for example, 'children's programming', 'complex lexis and syntax', 'the polysemiotic nature of the medium', 'much information coming through the non-verbal visual channel'. All such factors can slow down the reading speed of the target audience and distract their attention from the picture (Pedersen, 2011).

Temporal synchrony is essential in subtitling and requires spotting and translating abilities. Synchronisation determines the in and out times of subtitles in accordance with the speech rhythm of the original; that is, a subtitle should be inserted at the same time as an utterance begins and should be removed immediately when it ends. Poor timing can have a negative effect on the quality of the work and detract the viewers from enjoying the programme. Synchronisation is crucial in identifying who is saying what in the original dialogue, especially if the latter includes multiple voices and a quick information delivery. It also helps keep the element of suspense and spares viewers from re-reading the already displayed subtitles in favour of a new set of subtitles that appear with each cut (Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 90).

Condensation or 'reduction' is a common outcome to the previous constraints. Seeing that there are two types of speech in the original dialogue: scripted and spontaneous; the subtitler is faced with a number of serious challenges. In documentaries, for example, scripted speech can be difficult to relay as it contains much information which will render, as a result, very long subtitles; while, unscripted speech would necessitate a lot of reformulation and interpretation due to repetition, hesitation, unfinished sentences, use of poor or specialised language, etc. (Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 64). Therefore, condensation is necessary in subtitling, since it is not possible to render the entire verbal load from the source text into writing. Pedersen (2011) validates that "Something usually has to be left out, or rather: the remaining TT message has to be edited so as to (ideally) say the same thing, in fewer words (or at least in fewer characters), as the ST" (p. 20). Pedersen adds that even though a quantitative average of one third is taken away, condensation is a systematic process which does not contribute to a qualitative loss of information and viewers are capable of collecting much of what was removed through pictorial information.

3.7. Advantages of Subtitling

Subtitling is, on the economical level, a cheap method of language transfer in audiovisual translation as compared to dubbing. Many countries have recourse to it because it is less complicated, very quick and requires the services of subtitlers and translators only. Subtitling may have the disadvantage of “smudging” the picture and causing “attention splits”, which misrepresents the real essence of the audiovisual medium (Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof, 2002). However, Luyken et al. (1991) indicate that it is more real, as the viewers are exposed to the original programme without any modifications in voices and sound effects.

According to Gottlieb (2004), interlingual subtitling, having societal and language-political implications, is instrumental in:

1. Improving reading skills.
2. Boosting foreign language skills.
3. (Ideally) facilitating easy and cheap international program exchange.
4. (In reality) cementing the dominance of English (p. 87).

In actual fact, subtitling has significant learning effects. Constant exposure to subtitled material incites viewers to reading and developing decoding skills in an active process that requires hearing as well. Vocabulary acquisition and foreign-language skills are additionally developed, as in the case of English which comprehension is widely increased in subtitling communities all over the world (Koolstra et al., 2002; Gottlieb, 2004).

Intralingual subtitling also proves to be very beneficial, as it serves two main functions: as an accessibility aid for the deaf or hard-of-hearing as well as a didactic aid for individuals who are not well acquainted with the language of the source text. The verbal synthesis of the pragmatic information of the scenes helps the target audience to better comprehend both the verbal and the audible non-verbal representations of the original. Moreover, combining both

phonological expression and written interpretation, viewers with no sensorial disabilities are able to enhance their understanding of foreign language (Caimi, 2006).

3.8. Communication and the Role of Culture in its Process

Communication is a fundamental aspect of human interaction. It is a two-way process in which people exchange information and send messages in order to reach mutual understanding and sustain social contact.

Communication is a complex process that involves an *'encoder'* or *'sender'* and a *'decoder'* or *'receiver'*. *'Encoding'* refers to the process of conscious or unconscious method selection through which messages are created in order to be sent to a receiver who will simultaneously use another process called *'decoding'* to accompany these messages with meaningful interpretations. Such messages make up meanings to *'signals'* that take the form of sounds, symbols and actions so as to convey information about ideas, feelings and concepts that the sender intends to pass on. Furthermore, via some definite sensory modalities called *'Channels'* signals are sent and messages are captured (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008, p. 282-283).

Communication can also happen across large distances in time and space. Through the use of a medium (or *'media'* in the plural), messages can target outsized masses of recipients who, in contrast to interpersonal communication, cannot provide direct feedback to the sender. This relatively recent type of communication gained an increasing importance in people's lives with the rise of new technologies and the ongoing scientific development. Examples of media range from print media like books and newspapers to radio (music), television (films), internet and new media such as mobile phones, video games, GPS devices etc. (Paxson, 2010, p. 3).

Being so intricate and complicated, communication does not just rely on deciphering verbal signals. It gives as much importance to the non-verbal signals in order to effectively transmit information. Matsumoto and Juang (2008) ascertain that “Communication does not occur in a vacuum; it occurs in a specific context. People have certain biases, and words are couched in a particular framework, coupled with facial expressions, gestures, postures, and other behaviors” (p. 278). They point out that although non-verbal signals are not given a lot of ‘conscious’ attention during the communicative act; they are proven to serve as fundamental backings to verbal interpretations, especially when the latter are discrepant. According to them, non-verbal communication includes two major categories: *nonverbal behaviours* and *nonverbal nonbehaviours*. The former refers to all expressive behaviours other than words that take place during communication such as ‘facial expressions’, ‘tone of voice’ and ‘interpersonal space’; while the latter designates sources of information that are not specifically generated to send communicative messages but still emit tacit and useful clues. Examples of such are ‘architectural styles’ and ‘type of clothing’ (p. 279- 280).

If the notion of context in communication is closely looked upon, a cultural perspective comes into view. In his theory of culture, Hall (1959) regards culture as communication and communication as culture. He argues that culture controls behaviour so deeply that it often manifests in unconscious patterns; one of which is the use of language, which study provides more information on communication (p. 94 - 101). In the same way, Valverde (2005) holds that

Every culture has a system of knowledge which allows them to know how to communicate among each other, and how to interpret their behavior; this system is made up of cultural standards. These standardized features are reflected on every routine activity, including the use of language (p. 94).

Attending to the cultural context in communication is essential, since it is indivisible from language. Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein and Colby (2000) expound:

Understanding the context means the persons knows these cultural meanings associated with time, place, person, and circumstance. This understanding, in turn, prescribes language behavior appropriate to those circumstances. In essence, one does not need to be familiar with the other person in order to communicate, but one does need to understand the context. This, of course, becomes far more problematical in cross-cultural encounters (p. 10).

Observations of cross-cultural encounters between individuals with different sets of cultural knowledge demonstrate pronounced difficulties in accomplishing mutual understanding while communicating. The communicative channels that members of a community have unintentionally assimilated in their upbringing are very susceptible to rupture if faced with interactional mismatches. In such a case, issues of uncertainty, anxiety and conflict are likely to prevail. Valverde (2005) notifies that these issues “if not controlled, may lead to feelings of uneasiness, discomfort or even rejection toward the target culture or the person with a different culture” (p. 93).

In her article *‘The Pragmatics of Cross-cultural Communication’*, Tannen (1984) analyses the use of verbal language in communication from a cross-cultural perspective in an attempt to gain a deeper insight into its nature. She identifies eight levels of communication differences. *‘When to talk’* and *‘what to say’* appear to follow disparate cultural standards as in some places of the world people find it more appropriate to keep silent in the presence of strangers and others avoid to ask questions for they are deemed too *‘powerful’* to use. *‘Pacing and pausing’* in addition to *‘intonation’* add up to the conversational mystification. The rules which are followed are not the same, which may lead to failure in communication or even conflict, since a raised pitch in India is used *‘to get the floor’* while in Great Britain it is a sign

of anger. Levels of '*formulaicity*', '*indirectness*', and '*cohesion and coherence*' do also characterize troublesome sources of misunderstanding and confusion in talk (p. 189-195).

Aside from 'words', paralinguistic features, gestures, pictographic signs etc. are important factors that directly influence communication. Such factors are due to underlying cultural variations to which sociolinguists and anthropologists have directed their attention and attempted to identify and categorise. In what he refers to as '*the silent language*', a pioneering study that highlights these variations in world views is Hall's (1959). He explains that the way people handle time and organise space are so different that it is more important to focus on what they do rather than what they say (p. 2); For example, Feghali (1997) reports that examinations of Arab nonverbal behaviour conclude that Arab societies' attitude toward time is polychronic and tends to emphasise on relationships rather schedules. They are also seen as 'contact' cultures, however restricted between males and females. They generally keep a close interpersonal distance, still dependent upon sex and type of relationship (p. 363).

To boot, Cultures vary according to five fundamental aspects as summarised by Ziegahn (2001) in the following:

4. *Individualism and Collectivism*. Individuals are defined by their unique attributes such as self-reliance, equality and autonomy as opposed to appreciation of group membership, effort and harmony.
5. *Monochronic and Polychronic Time*. 'M-time' is regarded as a tangible commodity, while 'P-time' gives little value to schedules and focuses more on socialization.
6. *Egalitarianism versus Hierarchy*. Equal opportunities are fostered in individualistic cultures. Collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, are more in favour of hierarchy.
7. *Action versus "Being" Orientation*. Precipitous and efficient action completion is contrasted to holistic cultural orientation.

8. *Change and Tradition*. Certain cultures are very open to change if compared to those which do not resist history and consider it to be an essential guide to their present and future (p. 1).

As a final point, to reach a good understanding of the generality of language and the culture in which it is embedded, one must be aware of the importance of communicative symbols, be able to read them and successfully use them. Sarigul and Ashton-Hay (2005) assert that “culture can not be transferred from one culture to another automatically and requires greater consideration and care in communicative strategies” (p. 2).

3.9. Cultural specificity in Subtitling

Differences between cultures constitute one of the major problems of correspondence in translation. The strong relation between language and culture, as previously highlighted in Chapter 1, can actually create serious problems in subtitling as a complex form of interlingual transfer. Rendering cultural specificity in subtitling is quite challenging for subtitlers as not only will they face problems of untranslatability regarding cultural references that can be deeply entrenched in a society’s culture, history or geography; but will, also, have to deal with the technical restrictions of the medium in question.

Subtitles as combined with images and sounds form altogether the general context of the audiovisual material. They are simultaneously tied with the cultural aspect due to the omnipresence of culture-specific items which are supported by graphical background images that are “available mostly for the objects of material culture, flora, fauna etc. The additional visual information reduces the amount of data that has to be transferred in the target language, influencing, thus, the choice of translation methods and procedures” (Lungu Badea & Shiryayeva, 2014, p. 884).

Culturally-bound texts can, in fact, be very difficult to translate, which obliges the translator to resort to many problem-solving strategies and procedures in order to bridge the gap across cultures. Many studies based on comparative stylistics have suggested procedures (Viney and Darbelnet, Malblanc, Intravaia, Scavée and Newmark), or techniques by Bible translators (Nida, Nida and Taber, Margot) aiming to propose a metalanguage and an assortment of solutions to translation difficulties (Guerra, 2012, p. 5). Nonetheless, Guerra indicates that these procedures faced major criticism concerning the naming and categorisation of such terms (procedures, techniques, strategies and methods) as “Naming problems occur because the procedures sometimes overlap, they only catalogue differences in terms of language and not usage, and they focus on translation results rather than on the translation process” (p.6). Still, these procedures and strategies ultimately serve a better analysis of translation equivalence and an improved acquisition of translation competence.

As regards the work at hand, it will follow Pedersen’s (2011) solution to the terminological problem. Hence, calling ‘method’: “global decision-making” and ‘strategy’: “local problem-solving”. According to Pedersen (2011), “translation strategies are mainly used for dealing with problem areas, i.e. translation problems” and “are central to any study seeking to uncover translation norms” (p. 70). In addition, Pedersen explains that “translation strategies are categories into which translation solutions can be grouped, on the basis of ... the same or at least a similar process” and “are almost invariably presented as taxonomies, i.e. hierarchical structures containing inclusive and exclusive relationships between the categories” (p. 71).

3.10. Taxonomies of Translation Strategies

Vinay and Dalbernet (1977) came out with one of the best known general translation taxonomies. Their taxonomy consists of seven basic translation procedures: adaptation,

calque, equivalence, modulation, borrowing, literal translation and transposition; with a reference to three others: compensation, expansion and contraction. According to Guerra (2012), this taxonomy was reformulated because Vasquez Ayora, for example, distinguishes between (i) oblique translation procedures (adaptation, amplification, compensation, equivalence, explicitation, modulation, omission and transposition) and (ii) direct methods (calque, loan and literal translation). In the same way, Hurtado adds further strategies to the list; like, extension, amplification and reduction.

More specific translation procedures dealt with cultural references. Guerra (2012) reports some studies, such as Graedler (2010)'s who proposes four: (i) Making up a new word, (ii) explaining the meaning of the SL expression in lieu of translating it, (iii) preserving the SL term intact, and (iv) replacing it using any term in the TL that has the same "relevance" as the SL term. Moreover, Mur Duenas (2003)'s procedures comprise: (1) TL cultural cognate; (2) SL cultural and linguistic borrowing; (3) SL cultural borrowing plus explanation; (4) replacement of SL cultural referent by explanation; (5) TL cultural referent suppression; and (6) literal translation of TL cultural referent.

The way these strategies are constructed is set up according to diverging source and target orientations. The names of the 'source-oriented' strategies are *foreignising* (Venuti 1995), *exotic* (Gottlieb 2009), *adequate* (Toury 1995), *Literal* or *formal* (Nida 1964); while the 'target-oriented' ones are *domesticating* (Venuti 1995), *acceptable* (Toury 1995), *free*, *dynamic* (Nida 1964) or a *parallel term* (Pedersen, 2011).

Another basic distinction is made between strategies "which are local (dealing with text segments) and those which are global (dealing with whole texts)" (Bell, 1998, p. 188). Local strategies are understood as "the subsequent lower-level decisions and problem-solving activities ... which take place in relation to specific lexical items" (Jääskeläinen, 1993, p. 115);

while global strategies refer essentially to “the translator’s general principles and preferred modes of action” (Jääskeläinen, 1993, p. 116).

In the same way, Newmark (1988) distinguishes between translation methods and translation procedures. He states that “while translation methods relate to whole texts, translation procedures are used for sentences and the smaller units of language” (p. 81). Jääskeläinen’s (1993) and Pedersen’s (2011) studies indicate that local and global strategies are inter-related, in-that local level translating choices correspond to global level ones. To note, the terms local/ global and foreignising/ domesticating strategies are the ones used in this study.

Cultural specificity is translated according to these strategies, such as, *foreignisation* and *domestication*. More focused studies that dealt with the transfer of culture-specific units in subtitling are not very extensive and undertake, in the most part, categorisations of related approaches of translation. Namely the works of:

- Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) who proposes strategies ranging from transfer, through culturally neutral explicitation and paraphrase, to target language adaptation.
- Tomaszewicz (1993) who discerns omission, literal translation, borrowing, equivalence, adaptation, replacement of the cultural term with deictics, generalisation, explication
- Karamitroglou (1998) suggests five alternatives of cultural transfer, transposition, transposition with explanation, neutralisation (plain explanation), and omission.
- Gottlieb (2009) enumerates the ten strategies of expansion, paraphrase, transfer, imitation, transcription, dislocation, decimation, deletion and resignation.
- Vlahov and Florin (1980) divide translation of *realia* into: Introducing a neologism (calques, semi-calques, assimilations, semantic neologisms), approximate translation (the use of hyponyms/hypernyms; functional analogies; description, explication, interpretation)

and Contextual translation (zero translation (omission) with the transfer of the unit's meaning in the context) (Lungu Badea & Shiryaeva, 2014).

- Fedorov (2002) who recommends using full or partial transliteration or transcription, the creation of a new word or word combination on the basis of existing language elements and morphological relations, using a unit which fulfils a similar function in the target language and the use of a hypernym (Lungu Badea & Shiryaeva, 2014).
- Lungu Badea (2004) gives three main options of borrowing the foreign term, using an existing word or collocation with a new sense and using an existing word complying as much as possible with the suggested pragmatic functions (Lungu Badea & Shiryaeva, 2014).
- Pedersen (2011), similarly, puts forward official equivalent, retention, specification, direct translation, generalisation, substitution and omission.

Conclsion

In a much more restricted overview than the previous chapters, the present chapter looks into translation from a very specific angle, the one that directly relates to the general theme of research, that is, audiovisual translation and subtitling. Although they are very recent subjects of interest in the field of translation studies, they constitute important vehicles of information in modern society. This is why they are attracting increased attention from academic researchers and theoreticians all across the globe. Suggestions to translation problems, especially at the level of the transfer of culture-specific units, are continuously offered giving the way to further studies on this field of research.

CHAPTER FOUR

Teachers' Questionnaire: Research Design and Data Analysis

Introduction

This chapter offers a detailed account of an experimental survey that basically attempts to explore the new developments within the field of audiovisual translation, both from an academic and a professional outlook. The survey is conducted using an e-questionnaire that was administered to teachers of audiovisual translation -more specifically 'subtitling', all across different European universities, as an initiating part to the empirical study carried out in the present research work. The questions mainly revolve around the important changes in the field and the place of culture in the educational and professional practice of subtitling. The chapter includes a full description of the questionnaire, the participants and the circumstances of its administration online, in addition to statistical calculations and analyses of the results.

4.1. Research Design

4.1.1. Participants

Twelve university teachers of subtitling took part in the study at hand. All the teachers practise their profession at European universities, where majors in subtitling or audiovisual translation are mostly provided. The reason behind choosing them to form the sample of our analysis is the increasing academisation of audiovisual translation which resulted in an increased number of professionals who hold an academic degree in subtitling. Therefore, the new generation of subtitlers applies the same methods they have learnt at university from their teachers who are well aware about the recent developments in the field of research. This is why, they necessarily make up reliable references with the amount of knowledge and

experience they have acquired over time. Only subtitling teachers at European universities were targeted in this survey because this area of specialisation does not apparently exist in Algeria; and more importantly because the films under analysis in the main empirical study in this research are both subtitled in Europe.

4.1.2. Data Collection

An e-questionnaire was administered to the teachers in order to meet the research objectives and obtain the largest amount of information possible about different issues regarding the transfer of cultural specificity in subtitling and the way such an issue is approached by the teachers during their academic trainings. The questionnaire makes the best research instrument in this particular survey because it could simultaneously reach a large number of teachers working at different European universities and save a lot of time better than any other solution. It could also generate accurate and relevant data because the teachers had taken the time to respond to its relatively simple questions.

The questionnaire is composed of twenty four questions and divided into two main sections. The first attempts to gather personal information about the teachers' qualifications and work experience; while the second is more concerned with subtitling professional requirements, practical procedures and surrounding topics to the general theme of investigation. The questions are of three types. They occur in the following descending order:

- *Close-ended questions*: are constrained questions that can either be multiple-choice or dichotomous. In the former, the respondents are given many options to choose from or, if not any, to specify, after ticking the option 'other'; while for the latter, they are required to choose only one of two provided options.
- *Open-ended questions*: offer the respondents the freedom to express their opinion using their own words.

- *Numeric questions:* to which respondents provide specific information about their professional background and work experience.

In many instances, the same question may consist of two parts (a & b); as, generally, the second part is an open-ended question that aims to gain more clarifications about the answer to the first part. All the questions are structured in a way that attempts to gain the most direct and accurate information from the teachers, with special care to the time factor.

The questions serve the primary objectives of the study and are interrelated and complement one another. Some of them are based on theoretical information and all of them serve a particular aspect related to the research. Questions 1 through 6 seek personal information about the teachers' workplace, formal qualifications and professional background. Questions 7 through 11 aim to find out whether the teachers master the languages into and/or out of which they train to subtitle and whether this has a relation with their conception of culture and their mastery of the source and target cultures. Questions 12 through 14 investigate the place of culture in the teaching practice and the way it is approached in the universities' training programmes. Questions 15 through 19 focus more specifically on the way ECRs are rendered in film subtitling at a local and global level and the parameters that influences such strategic choices. Questions 20 through 23 enquire whether subtitle quality has developed over time and whether an academic qualification is necessary to produce better subtitles. Question 24 invites the respondents to make any additional comments.

On the whole, this questionnaire attempts to explore general aspects about the actual practice of film subtitling and how it is approached on an academic level, paying special attention to the cultural specificity and its importance in this area. Therefore, the questionnaire considers the following issues:

- Teachers' qualifications and mastery of source/ target languages and cultures.

- The place of culture in the specialised programmes offered by European universities about subtitling and Audiovisual Translation.
- The need for such courses to improve subtitle quality.
- The best way to render cultural specificity in film subtitling and the potential factors that might influence the translation behaviour.
- The new developments in the field and their impact on subtitle quality.

Finally, providing an answer to these concerns reinforces the findings of the contrastive analysis in the next chapter and helps putting forward a set of pedagogical recommendations and suggestions for further investigations.

4.1.3. Procedure

The questionnaire is an online survey that was designed via ‘Google Docs’. The latter is a web-based application that enables full access to the document from any geographical location through the use of a computer device with an internet connection and a fully-featured web browser. The teachers could easily respond to the questions and the data were automatically saved and organised online, whereas the author of the document is allowed to control and view updates at any time.

It was through a thorough search on the Internet that an e-mail contacts list was created. The list includes teacher’s e-mails, retrieved mostly from the official websites of universities that offered a subtitling major all across a number of European countries, the contacts of the programme leaders, administrative contacts, as well as those of specialised associations; such as, ESIST (*European Association for Studies in Screen Translation*) and SUBTLE- (The Subtitler’s Association).

Afterward, a formal and explicit request to fill in the questionnaire was sent to each one on the list. Some of them promised to forward it to the persons concerned and to other

colleagues. Thus, it is not possible to clearly determine the total number of teachers who received a link to the e-questionnaire. Most of the returns took about one month; and with a total of twelve responses, the return rate can be described as satisfactory because it is sufficient to fulfill the exploratory intention of the survey.

The data analysis consists of percentage calculations, descriptions and interpretations of the results. The data are sorted out in a way that enables inferring possible correlations in teachers' responses concerning:

- General opinions about the importance of culture in the teaching and professional practice of subtitling.
- The reasons behind differences in feedback about the specific topics brought into discussion.
- The assessment of their role and contribution in the new developments in the field.
- The link between academic and professional trainings.

4.2. Data Analysis

4.2.1. Personal Information

4.2.1.1.1. Questions 1 through 5

These questions seek to identify where and for how long the teachers have practised their profession, in addition to what academic degrees they hold, mainly, because this gives a clear idea about their experience in the domain and adds value to their contribution in this study. Questions about whether the same teachers had a significant work experience at a subtitling company are also important in revealing their familiarity with the professional conditions of the subtitling practice.

Although the questionnaire reached teachers from other European countries, such as France and Italy, the returns essentially came from Spain and the United Kingdom. Thus, the respondents are teachers from *Universitat Jaume I* (Spain), *University of Valladolid* (Spain), *Universitat Pompeu Fabra* (Spain), *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona - UAB* (Spain), *University of Leeds* (UK), *University College London* (UK) and *Stockholm University* (UK).

They are all university awards. They all hold BA and MA degrees, in addition to a PhD degree for eight of them. Six teachers majored in ‘Audiovisual Translation’, three in ‘Translation’ and the three left in: ‘English’, ‘Literature’ and ‘Applied Linguistics’. This indicates that different related majors are reliable in the teaching of subtitling; however, a specialised degree in AVT is obviously more appropriate in this field of education.

80% of the respondents accounted for a work experience that is equivalent to ten years or more (reaching 25 years); and another 80% have reportedly worked at a subtitling company for a period that amounts to ten years or more (reaching 15 years) for half of them. As a result, these teachers can be perceived as reliable referents to this study.

4.2.2. Teaching Practice

4.2.2.1. Question 6

What modules have you taught so far?

The question enquires about the type of modules being currently or previously taught by the respondents and gives an idea on how this academic discipline is outlined. The answers show a variety of modules that tackle subjects which vary from general to more specific. The general subjects correspond to: ‘Foreign Language Teaching’, ‘English Linguistics’, ‘Spanish Language Modules’, ‘general translation’, ‘Translation and Interpreting’ and ‘Audiovisual Translation in General’ (Dubbing, Subtitling and Accessibility). In opposition, more specialised modules correspond to: ‘Audiovisual Translation Theory (Dubbing and

subtitling)', 'Audiovisual Translation and LSP', 'Dubbing', 'voice-over', 'Interlingual Subtitling', 'Intralingual Subtitling: Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing (SDHH)', 'Audiodescription' and 'Translation Technology'.

Although the information taken from the answers to this question provide just a glimpse at the way subtitling is approached academically, the type of modules listed seem to vary from one university to another. This is probably due to variation in the main focus of study these majors offer. Some prefer to study in more detail one particular aspect of subtitling, such as SDHH, rather than more comprehensive and general sides.

4.2.2.2. Questions 7 and 8

From and into what language(s) do you train to subtitle?

The questions reveal the different language combinations that are used in the subtitling programmes provided by the aforementioned universities. The source languages the teachers have been translating from are: *English, Spanish* and *Catalan*. In opposition, the list of the target languages comprises: *English, Spanish, Catalan, French, Swedish* and a number of other languages. Given the geographical location of the universities, it is assumed that the languages that the teachers use in their training programmes are likely to be their native languages, in addition to second or foreign languages with which they are best acquainted. These language combinations also have to do with the type of audiovisual material being subtitled and the audience needs. They may consist of widespread British and American productions or national ones as in the case of Spain, where Catalan is the native language of certain communities.

4.2.2.3. Question 9

Which of the following is the mother tongue of the teacher?

In relation to the preceding question, this one seeks to check in numbers whether teachers really employ their native languages in their subtitling instructions, as to Newmark (1988), translating into the language of habitual use is “the only way [to] translate naturally, accurately and with maximum effectiveness” (p. 3). Table 3 below displays the results.

Table 3

Frequency of Teachers' Native Language Use in Subtitling Training

<i>Option</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Source Language	2	16.7 %
Target Language	7	58.3 %
None of them	3	25 %

Between source and target language, 75% of the respondents use their native languages during their teaching of subtitling, in contrast to 30% whose native languages are none of them. Almost 60 % of the native languages are the target ones in translation, as it seems that English is mostly the one being translated from. Hence, the results confirm Newmark's statement and demonstrate that a full mastery of the languages of translation is normally a prerequisite for a professional subtitler.

4.2.2.4. Question 10

How would you define the concept of 'culture'?

This question investigates teachers' perception of the concept of culture. It provides two definitions to choose from with the possibility to present their own in a third option. The suggested definitions come as follows:

- a. The sum total of the learned behaviors of a people which are transmitted from generation to generation, which are generally considered to constitute their tradition, and which serve them as potential guides for action.*
- b. The totality of intellectual products, artistic achievements and the general mode of human refinement that is associated with civilisation.*

The first definition embraces a sociological perspective. It describes culture as a way of life and a system of knowledge that a particular group of people share and pass on to future generations. The second definition takes a divergent turn as it focuses on all the aesthetic and intellectual features that characterise the concept of culture as well as its strong connection with civilisation. The first is general in its scope as it refers to various constituent aspects and is usually provided by people with varying literacy levels; while, the second comes with a more restricted view as it emphasises the artistic, educational and highly esteemed products and manifestations of culture. The latter definition is commonly referred to in academic circles as teachers and educators might reflect on it in their day-to-day practice. The question, therefore, ought to evaluate teachers' understanding of culture from these two perspectives. Although it provides the respondents with an open-end, it also limits the amount of responses that may occur given the multitude of definitions the term of culture possesses.

Table 4*Teachers' Definition of the Concept of 'Culture'*

Options	N°	%
a. <i>The sum total of the learned behaviours of a people which are transmitted from generation to generation, which are generally considered to constitute their tradition, and which serve them as potential guides for action.</i>	2	16.7%
b. <i>The totality of intellectual products, artistic achievements and the general mode of human refinement that is associated with civilisation.</i>	3	25%
c. <i>Both</i>	5	41.7%
d. <i>Other (please specify).</i>	2	16.7%

As shown in Table 4, the results indicate that almost half of the teachers see that culture signifies both of the suggested definitions; while 16.7 % chose option (d.) and provided the following details:

- *“To be culturally literate is to possess the basic information needed to thrive in the modern world. The breadth of that information is great, extending over the major domains of human activity from sport to science. It is by no means confined to “culture” narrowly understood as an acquaintance with the arts. Nor it is confined to one social class”.*
- *“There are different approaches to the meaning of culture”/ “culture is both and much more”.*

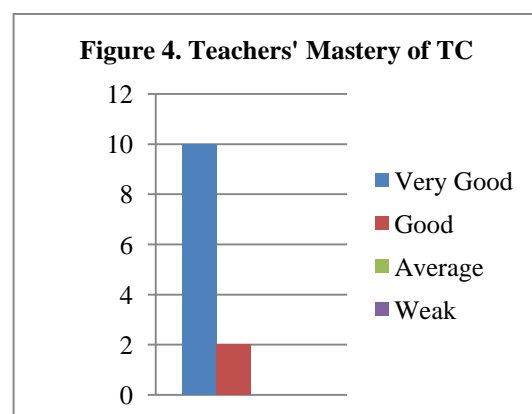
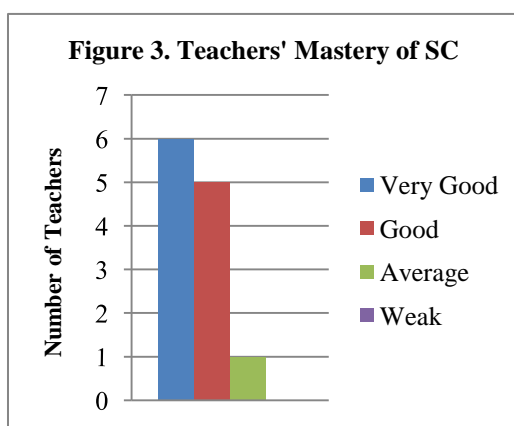
This indicates that the teachers are not oblivious to the varying meanings the term holds, and adequately understand its prevalence in different existing domains. In addition, inferring that the concept of culture may carry additional meaning to what has already been put forward shows that the teachers are aware of the difficulty to provide a precise and a concise definition for the concept. Nonetheless, the remaining teachers chose only one of the

proposed definitions, as 16.7 % were keen on (a.) and 25 % preferred (b.). Definition (a.) may have represented to them the observable facts of their day-to-day life; while (b.) may have been identified in accordance with its significance to their profession as trainers and university educators.

4.2.2.5. Question 11

How do you evaluate your mastery of both Source and Target cultures?

This question received a positive feedback from most of the teachers (83.3%), who confirm a very good mastery of the target culture and a good mastery for the rest (16.7%). For the source culture, 50% of the teachers posit their understanding to be very good, 40% are good and only 1% finds it average. Clearly, the teachers are proficient in the languages they use and, consequently, their cultures. The fact that 70% of them are using their mother tongues (see *Question 9*) serves as a plausible explanation to the obtained results. The results are represented in figures 3 and 4.



4.2.2.6. Question 12

In your teaching practice of subtitling, to which degree are students exposed to theory and practice?

In order to gain insight into the degree of students' exposure to theory and practice during their training programme of subtitling, the teachers were provided with a three scale evaluation ('small', 'average' and 'high'). Besides, the additional option 'other' is suggested to represent any supplementary type of training apart from theory and practice without including further specifications. The results obtained from the analyses of the responses are presented in table 5.

Table 5

Frequency of Students' Exposure to Course Types

Course \ Scale	Workshops (Practice)		Theory		Other	
	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%
Small	1	8.3%	2	16.7%	3	37.5%
Average	2	16.7%	8	66.7%	3	37.5%
High	9	75%	2	16.7%	2	25%

The results reveal 75 % of high exposure to subtitling workshops, in comparison to theory which received 16.7 % for high and 66.8 % for average. This explains the importance of both theory and practice in curriculum design. With practice gaining a larger timetable, Theoretical knowledge forms a sound foundation for students to build on; while practice makes an effective way to perfect their abilities and skills through different kinds of tasks and activities that set them in a direct experience with the processes of subtitling so that they can professionally operate in the future.

Nonetheless, additional choices (divided between small, high and average) were indicated by eight teachers for supplementary teaching methods other than theory and practice. Such examples are disclosed on the official site of the University of Leeds where some of the respondents to the current survey teach. At this particular university, students benefit from specialised facilities, such as the “Electronic Resources and Information Centre” that is equipped with professional software tools to support the practices of AVT; and the “Centre for Translation Studies” that runs a regular programme of ‘Research and Professionalisation Talks’ from visiting speakers like practicing subtitlers. Seminars and a Summer Projects also constitute an important part of the training program.

4.2.2.7. Question 13

How is culture significant to your training programme?

This question examines to what extent culture is relevant to the teaching of subtitling at European universities. As presented in Table 6, the responses show that culture is 41.7% highly significant and 33.3% significant to the majority of the training programmes, while 25 % insignificant to some others. Hence, the importance of culture can easily be validated as it is thoroughly and consciously integrated in the curriculums taught by most of the teachers. The 25 % insignificance of culture is possibly due to the nature of the modules they teach which must provide major concern to different subjects other than culture.

Table 6
The Significance of Culture in the Training Programmes

Options	Number	Percentage
a. very Significant	5	41.7%
b. Significant	4	33.3%
a. Insignificant	3	25%

4.2.2.8.Question 14

If you selected (a) or (b), how do you approach the teaching of culture in your lectures? (If you tick 'Other', please specify)

In complement to the preceding question, this one aims to gather further information concerning the teaching approaches of culture, based on teachers' personal experience. The 75% teachers who consider culture significant or very significant in their training programmes were requested to choose from the proposed options the ones with which they identify the most, or specify in their own words any other method they might be using in an open-end to the question (so as to get a fuller response).

To note, each of the four options provided presents a different outlook of culture. In the first, focus is shifted towards the artistic achievements of literature and all what it may characterise as high culture, disregarding any other constituent aspects. In the second, information about historical developments and public organisations of a given community are presented to the learners who remain unaware of the societal rules and customs that govern the behaviours and beliefs of the members of a certain community. The latter specification is, thus, offered in a third option. Last of all, the fourth option involves a description of culture as a means of communication and a useful guide to attain a successful interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds.

These views are certainly much more complex and elaborate; however, for reasons of simplification and time constraints, general descriptions were suggested. Table 7 displays the proposed options together with the analyses of the results.

Table 7
Teaching Approaches of Culture

Teaching Approach	N°	%
a. Teaching culture through the target language literature	0	0 %
b. By providing a body of knowledge about the history, geography and institutions of the target language	1	11.1%
c. Focusing on culture as shared behaviors and values among target language members	2	22.2%
d. Culture as a set of practices and a necessary tool of communication	3	33.3%
Other	3	33.3%

Two thirds of the teachers' answers are divided between options (b), (c) and (d) with 11.1 % for (b) and 22.2 % for (c) and 33.3 for (d). Option (a) received no regard, as the reason could be due to the fact that literature does not give an inclusive understanding of culture that may be of effective use to the study of subtitling in particular. Culture as a set of distinctive values and behaviours and an essential means of communication constitutes, however, the main highlights in the teachers' approaches.

Nonetheless, three teachers did not adhere to any of the proposed approaches and described their own in the following:

- *"Provide examples from literature and practice, ask students to make presentations about their cultures, involve in our teaching practitioners with a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds."*
- *"By making students aware of the distance existing between source/target social realities (languages and cultures)."*
- *"I provide different approaches to culture from a theoretical point of view and then approach it practically with examples and exercises in which cultural references are included"*

The answers to this question evidence that no exact approach gains everyone's acceptance as almost each teacher favours a separate one. Yet, it is obvious that culture is given careful consideration in the training programmes, with teachers finding different ways to implement it from their own perspectives depending on the varying aspects and nuances they intend to point out.

4.2.2.9. Question 15

In film subtitling, how do you describe the impact of proper cultural transfer (including cultural references) on the appreciation of a film?

In a special focus on film subtitling, this question is intended to explicate the extent to which cultural specificity is important in the understanding of a film as well as the role it plays in its appraisal if appropriate transfer into other languages and cultures takes place. Teachers' opinions were accordingly derived from a three-point scale of slight, moderate and strong. All the teachers confirm that the impact of proper cultural transfer on the appreciation of a film is strong, except for one who finds it moderate. Culture can hence be concluded to have a major influence on the good reception of films from audiences with mixed cultural backgrounds and therefore necessitates a great deal of attention and care in order to ensure an accurate transmission of its messages.

Table 8

Proper Cultural Transfer on Film Appreciation

Option	N°	%
a. Slight	0	0 %
b. Moderate	1	8.33 %
c. Strong	11	91.7 %

4.2.2.10. Question 16

In film subtitling, do you think that it is more difficult to transfer culture-specific references from dialect?

A dialect is known for its characteristic features that differentiate it from the standard form of language. Its special vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation are examples of such dissimilarity. Although spoken language is naturally acquired by its native speakers, it is not taught in school, which may add up to the hardships the daunting task of translating bears.

Social varieties of a given language are commonly used in films because they sound more natural and can reach and affect a wider audience. Like its standard counterpart, spoken language also constitutes an important frame of reference for the culture of its speakers; however, it is less common for language learners and translators to study this specific form in formal environments. Thus, it is assumed that subtitlers are likely to make extra effort in order to suitably convey the meanings expressed all-across the different scenes of a film.

The present question is intended to clarify whether the previous statement is true as the teachers were required to answer with “yes” as a sign of confirmation or with “no” to disagree. Table 9 accounts for a highly positive feedback; since all the teachers approved that those culture-specific references are harder to translate from dialect, except for one teacher who disagrees.

Table 9
Difficulty in Translating Culture from Dialect

Option	N°	%
Yes	11	91.7 %
No	1	8.33 %

From these views, it is, then, possible to deduce that familiarity with dialect can characterise an eminent hindrance to the subtitler who aims to render a consistent rendering of the culturally-engulfed references that it may well contain.

4.2.2.11. Question 17

Which General method do you think is more recommended in film subtitling?

In respect to the degree to which film subtitles conform to the target culture or retain source text information to preserve original meaning, this question directly inquires about which general method of translation subtitling professionals are inclined to use. The contrasting methods of domestication and foreignisation (Venuti, 1995) were proposed to the teachers to see whether they favour a Target Language - oriented translation, i.e. ‘domestication’, a Source Language - oriented one, i.e. ‘foreignisation’ or none of them. Additionally, teachers were subsequently requested to justify their choice and the motives behind employing one method over another. Percentage calculations of the results are found in Table 10.

Table 10

Recommended General Method in Film Subtitling

Method	N°	%
Foreignisation (SL -oriented translation)	4	33.3%
Domestication (TL- oriented translation)	4	33.3%
None of them	4	33.3%

Teachers’ responses can be said to be equally divided into three disparate standpoints. Each of foreignisation and domestication gained the same percentage rate of 33.3 %, as well as the neutral position with the same figure.

The justifications they provided are presented as follows:

Foreignisation:

- *“Due to the feedback-effect from the original”.*
- *“People who watch subtitled films want not only enjoy, but also learn about original story, director, actors, ... and subtitling is quite respectful with these aspects”.*
- *“In this country (Spain), the average subtitle viewer is a person who either knows the source language or is familiar with or interested in its culture”.*
- *“Because the audience is exposed to the source language, and also because the audience who prefer subtitled films (compared to dubbed films) are keen to learn foreign languages and cultures”.*

Domestication:

- *“Spectators may be unfamiliar with the SL culture. There is no time to stop the exhibition and provide them with explanations. Subtitles must give them something they can readily identify with, and go on watching”.*
- *“By domestication, the source culture is erased and replaced by target elements. Although it may sometimes be necessary, it shouldn't be the standard. Although foreignisation imports source-cultural elements non specific to the target language and culture, the essence of the audiovisual product should necessarily be preserved”.*
- *“We tend to domesticate (orient subtitles to TL and culture).”*
- *“People will understand better”.*

None of them:

- *“It is difficult to generalize. It depends on many factors such as the target language and the shared knowledge of culture references between the two cultures. It also depends on AVT constraints, etc”.*
- *“It would certainly depend on the film, the genre, the scene...”*
- *“It's hard to give a straight answer as it always depends on the situation”.*
- *“It depends on many other factors; it is not a matter of A or B”.*

The conflicting views were spelled out by the proponents of the foreignisation method to have different reasons that mainly centre around the distance existing between source and target cultures. According to them, foreignisation is a way of enabling spectators to learn more about source language and culture since they are directly subject to the original version and can simply make observations and draw comparisons about different aspects of the film. Familiarity with source language and culture also makes it easier to follow this method because the meanings can pass through straightforwardly. At the same time, if the target audience is unacquainted with source information and the subtitler opts for an equivalence of effect in a persistent target language oriented translation, differences between source and target text can attract viewers' attention and cause the subtitles to be undervalued through what is labelled 'the feedback-effect from the original'. As stated by Gottlieb (1993), "the feedback-effect from the original -whether that consists of recognizable words, prosodic features, gestures, or background visuals- may be so strong that a more idiomatic, "functional" rendering will be counterproductive" (p. 268).

On the other hand, advocates of the domestication method set out the reasons to be mostly technical. According to them, the nature of the audiovisual text obliges a quick and effective reproduction of the desired effect of the original mainly one that they can readily identify with and understand, without needing to provide further descriptions.

The teachers who sat on the fence, found it hard to generalise or take a definite side as many factors come into play when it comes to choosing the most appropriate method of translation. Distance between source and target cultures, film genre, target language and scene are among such factors. The teachers advance that these two methods cannot be standardised because although they are necessary in many instances, they can in much the same way distort the authenticity of the audiovisual material given that it is subjugated to different kinds of constraints.

To sum up, the responses did not provide a clear-cut recommendation as to which method of translation is better fit in film subtitling. The latter is conditioned by many aspects that seem to influence the subtitler's decision-making. As stated above, distance between source and target cultures is an essential element to be taken into consideration because the subtitles tend to be more inconsistent when the gap between them widens. Therefore, the reason why foreignisation was chosen in this survey can be due to the close resemblance source and target cultures bear because the teachers are all from European countries and use Germanic language combinations in their subtitling trainings. Still, other factors such as film type and the technical and contextual constraints within a scene might as well crucially affect the process of subtitling and the general rendition of the original text.

4.2.2.12. Question 18

What strategy(s) is/are adopted when dealing with cultural references in film subtitling?

Extra-linguistic Cultural References are specially dealt with in film subtitling using multiple strategies. Although different labels and classifications can be found, the question was backed by a list of strategies that are generally used in this particular context (Tomaszkiewicz, 1993) to see which of these strategies is more commonly employed and considered the most effective by the subtitling instructors. The possibility to select all of them or to refer to other unmentioned suggestions was also afforded. The strategies provided are namely enlisted in Table 11 together with the calculated percentages of their use.

Table 11*Strategy Used when Dealing with Culture-Specific References in Film Subtitling*

<i>Strategy</i>	<i>N°</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
a. Omission	2	16.7%
b. Literal Translation	1	8.3%
c. Borrowing	1	8.3%
d. Equivalence	2	16.7%
e. Adaptation	5	41.7%
f. Replacement of the cultural term with deictics	1	8.3%
g. Generalisation	4	33.3%
h. Explication	5	41.7%
i. All of them	3	25%
Other	2	16.7%

From the table, no strategy was excluded as all of them were selected even though at varying percentages. 25% saw that all strategies are used when dealing with cultural references, while two responses appended that the choice depended on many factors. ‘Adaptation’, ‘Generalisation’ and ‘Explication’ got all the highest percentage rates (41.7%, 33.3%), as compared to the other strategies. Although they might somehow alter or add up to the original meaning, they appear to be the most frequently used as they allow a better understanding of such cultural connotations for the target audience. Next, with a percentage of 16.7 %, ‘Omission’ is also adopted by the subtitler who would rather prefer to discard certain cultural elements than risk a failed interpretation. Conversely, ‘Equivalence’ is equally seen to be more appropriate when these elements match up with their corresponding counterparts in the target culture. Last, the lowest percentage of 8.3 % was attributed to all of ‘Literal Translation’, ‘Borrowing’, and ‘Replacement of the cultural term with deictics’ as they seem less recurrent and variable.

4.2.2.13. Question 19

Do these reasons influence the choice of certain strategies?

This question aims to identify the prevailing reasons that characterise the choice of the previously mentioned strategies. The transfer of cultural elements in films takes a special dimension as it is certainly governed by a variety of conditions that might not only include genre and technical restrictions; but also extra-textual and industrial interferences. Basic instances of such conditions are delineated in the next table along with the teachers' responses.

Table 12
Reasons Influencing the Choice of Certain Strategies

Reason	N°	%
a. The type of the cultural reference itself	7	58.3%
b. Degree of distance between cultures (Transculturality)	9	75 %
c. The targeted audience (categories of viewers)	8	66.7%
d. The type of film (Genre)	8	66.7%
e. Technical interferences	5	41.7%
f. Motivation on the part of the subtitler	3	25%
g. Subtitling norms	7	58.3%
h. Budget	3	25%
i. Deadlines	5	41.7%
j. All of them	5	41.7%
Other	0	0 %

Clearly, most suggestions received high acclamations from the teachers as almost one-half approved of all of them. The others also gave general consent to suggestions (a.), (b.), (c.), (d.) and (g.). Thus, making 'the type of the cultural reference', 'the degree of distance between cultures', 'the type of film', 'the targeted audience', and 'subtitling norms' the top factors that might definitely influence subtitlers' strategic choices regarding cultural

references. Lower rates were determined by the same teachers for ‘technical inferences’ and ‘deadlines’ with 41.7% and 25% for ‘Budget’ and ‘motivation of the subtitler’, which indicates that they hold a slightly less important impact as compared to the aforementioned causes. Again, what the subtitler might consider most are all the distinctive features that primarily pertain to the cultural element itself, such as film genre and the level of difference and acceptability from the audience. Financial and professional conditions take a secondary position in a list where all options are relevant. To note, no hint to further suggestions was put forward.

4.2.2.14. Question 20

According to you, what factors can affect the quality of subtitles?

Many factors can contribute to the assessment of the quality of subtitles. By extension, this issue gains a major focus in the general field of translation studies as lots of research and discussions were carried out in order to recognise the potential causes that may affect the process of subtitling and by consequence the quality and good reception of subtitles. Three inclusive factors were proposed in this survey, namely, ‘cultural’, ‘technological’ and ‘professional’ in order to comparatively evaluate the degree of influence culture can have on subtitle quality. As put in the previous discussions, culture is directly linked to semantic coherence in that discrepancy in meaning and failure of translation can result from its recurrent misinterpretation. Moreover, cultural factors include context-related issues that vary between audiovisual variables (E.g. textual features) and sociological variables (E.g. Categories of viewers). The technological factors are also worth citing, since technological developments have undeniably affected the field of Audiovisual Translation and served the needs of different groups of recipients (E.g. the hearing impaired). Professional factors, with specific reference to the subtitler’s abilities, form another explicative facet to the issue of

quality in subtitle delivery given that cultural and technological factors cannot be accounted for without the subtitler's righteous manipulation and complete mastery of the latter.

Table 13
Factors Affecting the Quality of Subtitles

Factors	N°	%
Cultural	7	58.3%
Technological	9	75%
Professional (subtitler's skillfulness)	10	83.3%
Other	1	8.3%

Table 13 shows that all proposed options can highly affect the quality of subtitles especially technological and professional factors which gained the confirmation of respectively 75% and 83.3%. In addition, with a somewhat less significant percentage (58.3%), the cultural factor is also an important influencing factor on subtitle quality. On the other hand, one response put forward commercial factors which involve budgetary and time constraints.

4.2.2.15. Question 21

Do you believe that an academic degree in subtitling is necessary to produce high quality subtitles?

In recent years, the incorporation of subtitling as a new discipline in higher education has gradually taken place, especially in European countries. The overwhelming technological developments gave way to an increased trade of all kinds of audiovisual products all over the world which, consequently, dictated different forms of translation. This implies that, in order to keep up with those advances and come up with better results, the audiovisual industry requires the services of professional subtitlers who are apt to master all technical and

linguistic skills and are well-informed about the working conditions and regulations. Thus, it is sought throughout this question to find out whether the acquisition of an academic degree in subtitling can meet those requirements and enhance the quality of subtitles.

Table 14
Necessity of an Academic Degree in Subtitling

Option	N°	%
Yes	9	75%
No	3	25%

The obtained results in Table 14 show that 75% of the teachers agree that a university degree in subtitling is more appreciated when it comes to producing a satisfactory outcome. Considering that 80% of the respondents have had a working experience at a subtitling company that rose up to more than a decade for some of them, it is possible to deduce that their evaluation is based on profound knowledge and thorough analysis of the situation.

4.2.2.16. Question 22

a. According to you, did the quality and the practice of subtitling develop over the years?

All through the years, the practice of subtitling has witnessed plenty of changes notably with the advent of new technologies and the influence of the globalisation process, as they apply to a wide range of audiovisual productions that necessitate varied technical procedures and new methods of adaptation. Such changes evidently hold a direct impact on the characteristic features of subtitles. The question, with its two partitions, aims to examine if this impact takes a positive trend and attempts to expose the basic reasons behind it according to teachers' accounts.

Table 15
Development of Subtitling over Time

Option	N°	%
Yes	11	91.7%
No	1	8.3%

91.7% of positive responses clearly confirm that the practice of subtitling together with the quality of subtitles have evolved in the course of time. All the reasons put forward by the teachers are gathered in the following (To note, two teachers did not provide any justification):

- *“The shift from analog to digital video rid the process from complex and expensive equipment, requiring specialized operators as well. Digital video has enabled a keen translator to cover all the steps to the finished product, so quality can be checked and maintained at every step”.*
- *“Yes, although not always in a positive manner. Economic constraints may limit subtitling practices (production times, subtitling conditions, subtitling products...)”*
- *“In many ways, due to technological advances, globalization, etc.”*
- *“The more practice the more quality”*
- *“Speeding the process through technology and expanding the nature of audiovisual programmes that get subtitled nowadays.”*
- *“More research, more specialized courses, more awareness and visibility of the field in general”*
- *“Most new professionals have studied subtitling at universities.”*
- *“Better ability to convey meaning”*
- *“New technological skills. New profiles”*

The technological advances that took place during the last few decades opened up new possibilities for several forms of video production. Since the advent of digital video, as

compared to analog video, sound quality is improved using cheaper equipment that is more easily manipulated and less prone to distortion. Digital video disposes of a wide-ranging set of editing and processing tools that allow quick access to any part of the recording without causing it any damage. For this reason, the process of subtitling can now be undertaken by the subtitler who is capable of accomplishing every task from beginning to end all in a shorter period of time and control the quality of subtitles. Furthermore, digital video can be transmitted over networks and integrated into multimedia which facilitates its circulation and exchange in a globalised world that requires an increased demand for translations into all kinds of languages. In consequence, the wide array of audiovisual programs to subtitle incites professionals to carry out advanced researches in the field and promote academic awareness of the practice of subtitling. The quality of subtitles, in this case, is improved with more practice and more university graduates in audiovisual translation.

4.2.2.17. Question 23

Are you pedagogically satisfied with the teaching of culture in university?

In view of the importance of culture in language and translation studies, the concept is assumed to have earned a right place in university and gained proper consideration within the variety of disciplines available. With a special focus on audiovisual translation, it is intended throughout this question to gather factual information on this issue and analyse its pros and cons in accordance with teachers' opinions as reliable experts in the field.

The results, as presented in Table 16, are given in two equal proportions. 50% of the teachers were satisfied with the amount of involvement culture gets in the teaching programmes at their universities; whereas the second half provided negative replies.

Table 16
Teachers' Satisfaction with the Teaching of Culture in University

Option	N°	%
Yes	6	50%
No	6	50%

The results were given multiple explanations. On the whole, teachers who expressed their contentment with the methods they are applying in the teaching of culture seemed very confident about what they opted for. They expounded that it is mainly based on collaborations with colleagues from other departments and freelance translators who have long-term experience in dealing with this topic both from a research viewpoint and from a practical perspective.

On the other hand, teachers complained about the lack of proper consideration for the teaching of culture at their universities because the syllabuses are designed in a way that gives higher priority to other specialised modules, such as translation norms and technical issues, which take most of their time. As a consequence, not enough culture is taught and the courses are too theoretical; and for some universities it is left to non compulsory modules. Other arguments questioned the effectiveness of course contents in the future professional practice. Besides, they criticised constant modifications and educational regulations which have an undesired outcome on the cultural background of students who may unintentionally reject their home culture to foreign cultures through regular exposure to audiovisual products.

4.2.2.18. Question 24

Additional Comments. *Please feel free to add any further comments.*

No return to this concluding part of the questionnaire was given. Only a couple of teachers sent words of approval and encouragement in e-mail messages.

Conclusion

In a serious attempt to explore the basic aspects influencing the transfer of cultural specificity in film subtitling, a number of conclusions could be drawn based on the obtained results. First of all, the role the concept of culture plays in the understanding and appreciation of films is definitely very significant because it directly interferes in the subtitling process and has a strong impact on subtitle quality.

In addition, academic education of subtitling and collaboration among professionals is widely encouraged in order to promote awareness about professional reality and enable subtitlers to properly evaluate both the linguistic appropriateness and cultural sensitivity of each film dialogue they intend to translate. Subtitlers are not only required to fully master the languages and their cultures, but also all the technical procedures associated with the transfer of culture-specific elements. There is absolutely no clear guideline as to which procedure must be used because the choice is motivated by a variety of reasons that may include extra dimensions than just the textual and technical ones. Different variables should be analysed based on more extensive populations in order to come up with the most suitable translation, bearing in mind that the importance attributed to them varies from one country to another and from one film to another.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Comparative Analysis of ECRs and Translation Strategies of the Films' English Subtitles

Introduction

This chapter constitutes the main part of the empirical investigation that is carried out in the present research. It presents a comparative analysis of the English subtitles of a selection of two Algerian films, based on Pedersen's (2011) model. The analysis aims principally at gaining better insight into how the cultural specificity is treated in the two translations and attempts to uncover the basic motives behind the choice of translation strategies within different historical contexts. The chapter is divided into four major sections. The first one introduces the films and explains the main reasons behind their selection. It also offers a general account of the model of analysis and why it was adopted in this study. It ends by a detailed explanation of the way ECRs were extracted from the subtitles and following which criteria. The second and the third sections revolve around a qualitative and a quantitative examination of the renderings of these ECRs, from both product and process-oriented perspectives; while the last section provides a comprehensive summary of the results and discusses them in a wider context.

5.1. Description of the Sample

5.1.1. The First Film: *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'*

5.1.1.1. Presentation

This film depicts the story and the struggle of shahid Mostefa Ben Boulaid in a new type of production that brakes the cycle of Algerian war films that have a political bent; and

reports, in a didactic and a simplistic way, all the relevant steps of his life. Besides, it marks the major events that led to the start of the revolution and provides the viewers with the social and political context that characterised Algeria at that point in time. The script is based on written documents, history books and testimonies from the martyr's family and companions.

5.1.1.2. Synopsis

The Biographical film portrays the life of the revolutionary figure from a young age, starting by his mandatory mobilisation in the Second World War, and goes through his main political and military involvements, as a member of the 'committee of the six' and a war leader. It provides a chronological account of his arrest in Tunisia, incarceration at *Koudiat* prison in Constantine, death sentence and miraculous escape to join the revolution in the Aurès. The final sequences picture Ben Boulaid's death in the blast of a radio bomb that was parachuted by the French army.

Figure 5. 'Mostefa Ben Boulaid' Film Poster



5.1.1.3. Technical Data

- **Title:** Mostefa Ben Boulaid (*Arabic:* مصطفى بن بولعيد)
- **Genre:** Historical
- **Country:** Algeria
- **Running Time:** 170 Minutes
- **Language:** Algerian Arabic subtitled into English
- **Main actors (in credits order):** Hassane Kachache, Slimane Ben Aissa, Ahmed Benyahia, Rachid Fares.
- **Director:** Ahmed Rachdi
- **Screenplay and dialogues:** Sadek Bekhouche
- **Production:** Ministry of Mujahidin, Algerian Television, Mycene-Belkis Films
- **Subtitled by:** Titra Film
- **Year of release:** 2008

5.1.1.4. Awards

- Olivier d'Or for best historical film at Ghaza International Film Festival 2009.
- 3rd Arab International Film Festival of Oran (23-30 July 2009): best actor (Hassane Kachache).

5.1.2. The Second Film: '*Chronicle of the Smoldering Years*'

5.1.2.1. Presentation

'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years' is an epic near-three-hour narrative that gives a chronological account of the Algerian struggle for independence against the French colonial rule, through the eyes of a poor peasant called Ahmed. The well-funded national production exhibits great visuals and strong realistic scenes, which stem from the director's personal experience of a period of history that he himself has lived. Based on historical references, the

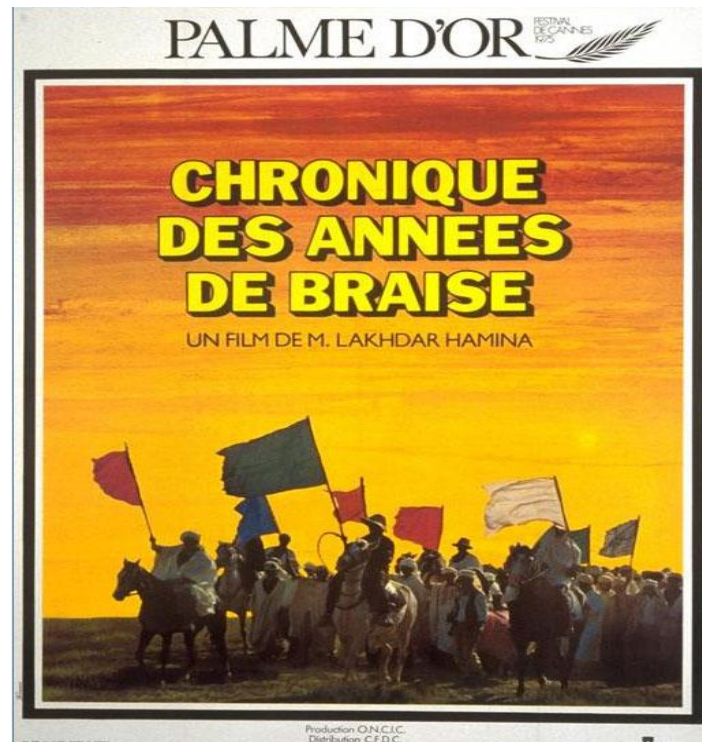
film tells the story of the Algerian rural uprising, which was marked by long droughts, dispossession of fertile lands by the colonialists and exodus towards the cities. It explains that accrued deprivation, injustice and bad human conditions were the main causes that gave rise to the Algerian Revolution and the aspiration for freedom and for a better life.

5.1.2.2. Synopsis

The film is structured according to six episodes that report actual events, which span over a period of 15 years: from the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 to the start of the Algerian Revolution in 1954. It tells the personal story of humble peasant Ahmed who has been through hard times and eventually becomes a revolutionary.

In *“The years of Ashes”*, the film depicts desperate villagers and tense conditions caused by severe drought. Ahmed leaves for the city, where he meets the wise fool Miloud, expecting to find a better life. However, in *“The Year of the Cart”*, a sweeping Typhoid epidemic kills his wife and one of his two children. He, then, goes back to the village to work for the settlers in the fields. Ahmed is forcibly recruited into service in Europe in the Second World War, after bombing a dam that deprived the villagers from water. His return to Algeria coincides with the French massacre of thousands of Algerians in May 1945. The next episode, *“The Smoldering Years”*, shows the start of organised resistance and the early revolutionary activities led by Ahmed and Si Larbi. In *“The Year of the Massacre”*, the elections of 1947 end up in a bloodshed and Ahmed is imprisoned and joins the guerillas after his evasion. *“The Years of Fire”* shows Ahmed’s son, Smaïl, learning about the death of his father and his heroic fight. The final episode, *“November 11, 1954”*, marks the start of the Algerian War and the successful pursuit of liberty.

Figure 6. 'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years' Film poster



5.1.3.2. Technical Data

- **Title:** Chronicle of the Smoldering Years - *also known as:* Chronicle of the Years of Fire (Arabic: وقائع سنين الجمر)
- **Genre:** Historical fiction
- **Country:** Algeria
- **Running Time:** 177 Minutes
- **Language:** Algerian Arabic subtitled into English
- **Main actors:** Yorgo Voyagis, Mohammed Lakhder-Hamina, Larbi zekkal, Cheikh Nouredine, Hassan el Hassani, Sid Ali Kouiret.
- **Director:** Mohammed Lakhder -Hamina
- **Screenplay and dialogues:** Mohammed Lakhder –Hamina, Tewfik Fares, Rachid Boudjedra
- **Production:** O.N.C.I.C.

- **Distribution:** CFDC (1975), Arab Film Distribution (1997)
- **Subtitled by:** Titra Film
- **Year of release:** 1975

5.1.2.4. Award

- Winner of the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival 1975.

5.2. Motives Behind the Choice of the Sample

Both films are specifically selected to form the sample of the research at hand for a number of reasons. First, they are Algerian productions that are spoken in Algerian Arabic and subtitled into English. These particular traits are purposely chosen because they serve the main aims of the study. Besides, familiarity with the source language of the subtitles allows performing an in-depth analysis and a positive identification of cultural references.

Second, the films show additional points of similarity, which enable a plausible comparison between them. *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'* and *'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'* are both feature films with a high level of verbosity and a running time of approximately three hours each. The time is judged to be long enough to extract large and comparable numbers of cultural references.

Moreover, both of them fit the same historical genre, which is a type of film that has a close connection to the real world outside the text and a higher frequency of ECRs (Pedersen, 2011). These references are, also, expected to be similar in nature and belong to related domains. Third, a significant time gap of thirty three years separates the dates of release of the chosen films; therefore, a diachronic comparison can be properly drawn.

5.3. The Model of Analysis

The analysis and the extraction of the empirical data of the present investigation are chiefly based on the model presented by Jan Pedersen (2011) in his monograph entitled *'Subtitling Norms for Television'*. The model presents a number of particularities that make it most suitable to fulfil the main objectives of this study. It is specific, in the sense that it is primarily constructed for the rendering of culture in subtitling. In fact, this model introduces a taxonomy of translation strategies that is used to solve problems related to the transfer of cultural references in interlingual subtitles. It has, also, a strong empirical base that gives it a high instrumental value in dealing with similar objects of enquiry.

In addition, Pedersen (2011) claims that the “model matches the world, rather than trying to make the world fit the model” (p.74), because it has evolved over time into a more recent version that rests on new findings and that is somewhat different from the three previous ones (Pedersen 2003, 2005 and 2007). Many researches based their work on the latter versions so as to reach tangible results; for example, Westling (2011), Salumahaleh & Mirzayi (2014), Sasaninejad & Delpazir (2014) and Al Damanhoury (2015).

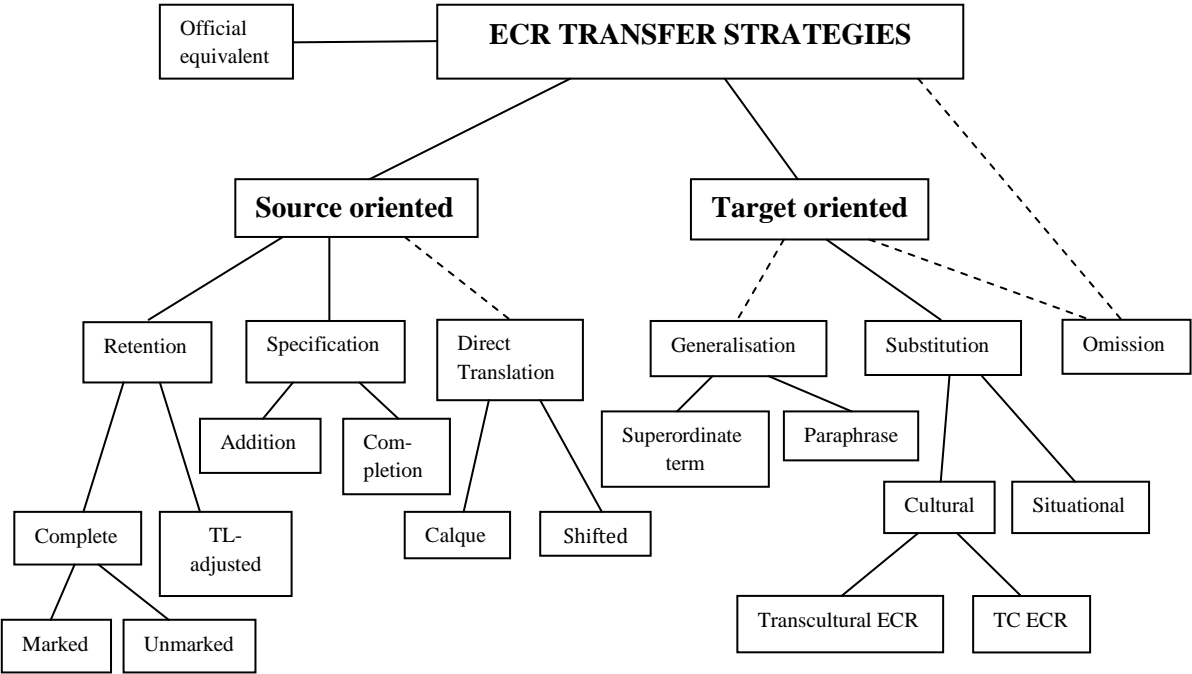
Moreover, the model is built upon the scrutiny of 14 previous taxonomies, which range from general translation taxonomies (*Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/2000 and Chesterman 1997*) and general subtitling taxonomies (*Gottlieb 1997 & Tveit 2004*), to more specialised taxonomies for rendering different forms of cultural items (*Newmark 1988; Hermans 1988; Harvey & Higgins 1992; Florin 1993; Leppihalme 1994 & 2001 and Katan 2004*) and subtitling taxonomies for rendering culture (*Nedergaard-Larsen 1993; Karamitroglou 1998 and Gottlieb 2009*) (Pedersen, 2011, p. 72).

As compared to those earlier taxonomies, the model in question qualifies as methodologically appropriate, since it includes a felicitous degree of elaboration and sub-categorisation. It revolves along six baseline categories that take in the most essential options,

and a number of subcategories that explain the basic differences between them. The baseline categories are organised by type, from source-oriented strategies to target-oriented ones (see Figure 7). As a result, it is possible to determine, in numbers, which global method of translation has been followed.

Furthermore, the taxonomy is mainly derived from semantic operations through which the translation processes are indirectly detected based on the analysis of the end results of these translation actions. Thus, it can be seen from both product-oriented and process-oriented perspectives. The process-oriented prospective provides empirical support to ‘norm theory’ and bridges the gap between theory and practice. As a consequence, norms can be formulated from practical observations of translation behaviour, and more insight into the underlying factors that influenced the translator’s decision-making can be obtained.

Figure 7. Taxonomy of ECR Transfer Strategies



5.3.1. Description of the Strategies

As shown in Figure 7, there are six baseline strategies to the taxonomy presented by Pedersen's (2011), namely: *Retention*, *Specification*, *Direct Translation*, *Generalisation*, *Substitution* and *Omission*. *Official Equivalent* is placed outside the baseline, due to its very special status as a preformed equivalent rather than a strategy per se. The dashed lines indicate that there is a lower degree of affiliation to the *Source oriented* and the *Target oriented* groupings. Most of the strategies have subcategories, which may consecutively be further segmented.

Pedersen (2011) describes the strategies as follows:

Retention. Here the ST ECR is retained in the subtitle unchanged, or slightly adapted to meet TL requirements. It could be marked off from the rest of the text, e.g. by the use of italics.

Specification. More information is added, making the subtitled ECR more specific than the ST ECR. This is done by completing or fleshing out a name or an acronym (Completion) or by adding more semantic content, such as an adding someone's occupation or an evaluative adjective (Addition).

Direct Translation. The only thing that gets changed using this strategy is the language; no semantic alteration is made.

Generalisation. This strategy makes the TT rendering less specific than the ST ECR. It can be done either by using a Superordinate Term or a Paraphrase.

Substitution. The ST ECR is replaced by another ECR, either from the SC or the TC. Alternatively, the ECR could be replaced by something completely different.

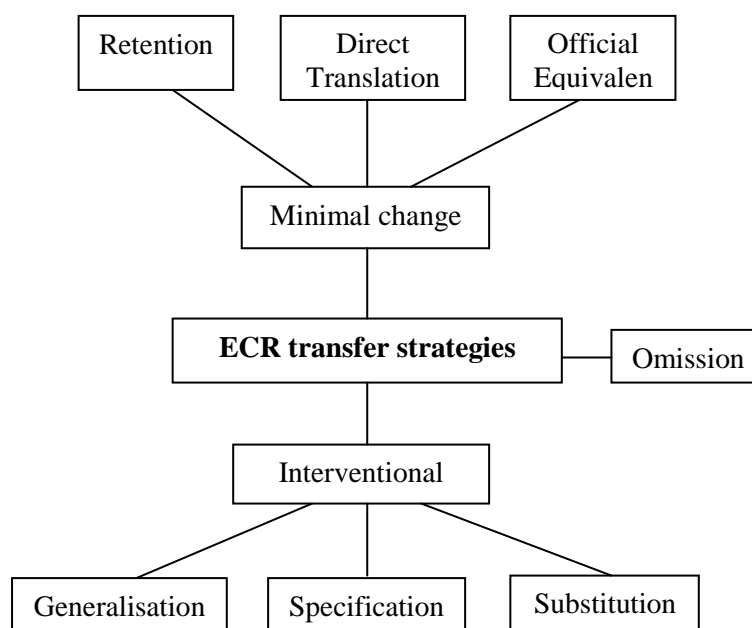
Omission. The ST ECR is not reproduced in any way in the TT.

Official Equivalent. Either through common usage or by some administrative decision, a SC ECR may have a ready-made Official TL Equivalent. (p. 76)

From the perspective of the translation process, Pedersen (2011) categorises these strategies into ‘*minimal change strategies*’ and ‘*interventional strategies*’, as shown in Figure 8. ‘Minimal change strategies’ involve ‘Retention’, ‘Direct Translation’ and ‘Official Equivalent’, since, in most cases, the SC ECRs are maintained without any further additions to their TT renderings. On the other hand, ‘interventional strategies’ involve ‘Generalisation’, ‘Specification’ and ‘Substitution’, as they add up new information to make the SC ERCs more accessible to the viewers. ‘Omission’ is placed as neither interventional nor minimal change, because it does not fulfil either function in the above categories. However, it holds an interventional dimension, as the subtitler intervenes to eliminate a troublesome ECR.

This distinction helps to understand the processes of translation and discover at which points the subtitler decided to assist the viewers to access an ECR and clarify its meaning. If the viewers access an ECR ‘*encyclopaedically*’, ‘*intertextually*’ (through knowledge of the world or other texts) or ‘*deictically*’ (through the co-text or context), minimal change strategies are employed. However, if they access it ‘*extra-diegetically*’, interventional strategies are used.

Figure 8. Simplified Process-Oriented Taxonomy of ECR Transfer Strategies



5.3.2. Influencing Parameters

Pedersen (2011) indicates that the strategies outlined in his model are often constrained by special circumstances that can directly influence subtitlers' decision-making when dealing with ECRs. He identified seven influencing parameters that are generally highly interactive.

These parameters are briefly described below:

- *Transculturality*: accounts for the concept of cultural distance and to what extent an ECR is familiar in the TC. Therefore, three kinds of ECRs are discerned: Transcultural ECRs, Monocultural ECRs and Infracultural ECRs (more details are found in the next section).
- *Extratextuality*: indicates that an ECR can either exist outside the ST or not. Thus, it is Text External if it truly exists in a culture, as opposed to a Text Internal one which is only created for the text.
- *Centrality*: designates how important an ECR is according to two main scales: macro-level and micro-level.
- *Polysemiotics*: describes the interplay between the various channels of the audiovisual text.
- *The Co-text*: the rest of the dialogue.
- *Media-specific constraints*: time and space constraints and the shift from speech to writing.
- *The effects of the Subtitling Situation*: has to do with conditions outside the text that influence global strategies, and consecutively local strategies. Such conditions may include the Source Text (skopos, genre, style, register and production norms), the TT audience (age group, general level of education and special knowledge) and pragmatic considerations (deadlines, financial remunerations and subtitler's experience and competence).

According to Pedersen (2011), "the parameters all apply to operational norms: the first six apply to textual-linguistic norms, whereas the last one applies to matricial norms" (p.106). (cf. Section 3.4.2).

5.4. Procedure

The process of gathering and analysing the necessary information in the present investigation took different steps, and the same procedure was followed so as to extract ECRs from the two films selected. Both of them were repeatedly scrutinised, from beginning to end, in order to detect all the possibly Monocultural ECRs. These ECRs were manually extracted from the subtitled films and taken down, along with their context and renderings in the TT, on paper sheets. It is worth noting that all the extracted ECRs are regarded as belonging to the Algerian culture as a whole, regardless of the diverse regional cultures that exist within its national borders. They are, at the same time, familiar to all the Algerian population.

The extraction process complies with the selection criteria laid down by Pedersen (2011). The references need to be 'Extralinguistic' and 'Cultural' at the same time, in order to be included in the sample selection. The 'Extralinguistic' criterion determines linguistic references that relate to matters outside language; while, the 'Cultural' criterion determines references that relate to a certain culture and require a certain amount of cultural knowledge to be accessible.

In order to avoid missing out any Monocultural ECR, the initial extraction comprised a larger number of ECRs than the one that formed the final sample of the main investigation. They were first categorised either as 'Text Internal' or 'Text External', depending on whether the ECR exists outside the ST or not. Unlike Text External ECRs, which truly exist in a culture, Text Internal ECRs are merely referential and have no further meaning or connotation outside the text at hand. Thus, they are not prototypical ECRs and they cause no problem to the subtitler in his/her choice of translation strategy, which is why they were discarded from the main investigation.

The remaining Text External ECRs were, in turn, classified either as Infra-, Trans- or Monocultural. Only Monocultural ECRs were kept in the main investigation because they are

familiar to the SC audience but not to the TC one, and would consequently cause translation problems. Conversely, Transcultural ECRs and Infracultural ECRs were not included, because Transcultural ECRs are known to both SC and TC audiences, and are enough accessible to understand the text and remove any potential impediments to the process of translation; whereas, Infracultural ECRs are too specific and too limited to be recognised by the majority of the SC audience itself, and feature the same characteristics and treatment of Text Internal ECRs. The separation between the preceding types of ECRs required internet searches and consultation of reliable sources of information, especially for the most challenging ones.

The renderings of all the ECRs from the final extraction were individually analysed according the previously explained model, and ascribed to one of the local translation strategies within the taxonomy provided. Afterward, each ECR was organised by type into a specific ‘domain’, i.e. the “semantic field, or network, an ECR belongs to, such as the domains ‘geographical names’, ‘government’ or ‘proper names’ ” (Pedersen, 2011, p. 58).

The list of domains employed in the present investigation does not pertain to a specific classification. It is rather representative of the most common ones, as found in the texts. The purpose behind this further categorisation is to see whether the type of ECR has any effects on the subtitler’s choice of strategy and decision-making. In some instances, a great overlap can be noticed, particularly for ECRs which belong to the domains of ‘history’, ‘society’ and ‘religion’. Hence, these references were classified in the domains to which they are more relevant in context.

Within each text, only types and not *tokens* (the number of occurrences of the same ECRs) were extracted, that is, unless an ECR was rendered in a different way, it was only extracted once. For example, if the same ECR was rendered in two distinct ways, it was counted twice. In addition, each film is treated separately as a single text, and the same ECR may appear in both texts. As a result, it is counted more than once in the final extraction.

In the subsequent sections, all the ECRs from the final extraction are presented following the same method. A table is devised in order to include the ECR, its rendering in the TT, the local-level strategy adopted and the exact timing in which it occurs in the film. Some tables may contain more than one ECR, if certain similarities are noticed. All ECRs are chronologically arranged under each category of domains. Beneath each table a descriptive comment is purposely provided to emphasise the cultural value of the references and acquire a shared perception of the degree of culturality of the sample selection, with respect to the guidelines presented in the model. In addition, critical and speculative remarks are made concerning the motivational reasons behind the translator's local choice of strategy and its appropriateness to the situation.

After this first step, the data are analysed so as to establish global-level strategies and explore regular patterns of translation behaviour. Toury (1995) states that "Inasmuch as a norm is really active and effective, one can ... distinguish **regularity of behaviour** in recurrent situations of the same type" (p. 55). As a result, the study will identify the potential existence of norms and reveal possible tendencies in the subtitling practice. Finally, Pedersen (2011) specifies that the last step in the application of his model would be that "tentative generalisations and norms are formulated and discussed" (p. 27). This latter part of the study is hence presented in the final sections of this chapter.

5.5. Product-Oriented Analysis of the First Film *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'*

5.5.1. Proper Names

5.5.1.1. Geographical Names

Table 17

Translation Unit N° 1

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
01	الأوراس	AURES	Official equivalent based on Retention (TL-adjusted)	07:33

الأوراس *Awrās* is the term designating the mountainous area in eastern Algeria and the home of the Chaoui people. Known for a long time as a Berber-speaking region, it is no surprise that the name originates from Berber to mean 'red'/'ochre' in reference to the colour of its soil (Leveau et al., 1990). Retention here seems to be the most plausible strategy to adopt, given the absolute centrality of the name to the general events of the film. In fact, it marks the birthplace of the Algerian War of Independence as a major historical reference.

Table 18

Translation Unit N° 2

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
02	بلاد لقبائل	Kabylie	Official equivalent based on Retention (TL-adjusted)	07:46

بلاد لقبائل *Blād laqbāyal*, i.e. 'the country of the tribes' is the Arabic name for the region inhabited by the Kabyle people. The name was Frenchified during the French occupation into 'Kabylie', and became the standard referent of the area and its people in the modern historical and geographical literature of Algeria. It is retained in the subtitle, because the place was specifically mentioned in the dialogue to acclaim its rich historic and ethnolinguistic heritage.

Table 19*Translation Unit N° 3*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
03	جرجرة	Djurdjura	Retention (TL-adjusted)	07:56

Within the same context of Table 18, جرجرة *Jurjra* is pointed out in the text as a distinctive feature of the Kabylie. The name of the large mountain range originates from Berber ('Adrar n'Jerjera') to describe its sharp peaks and gigantic walls. It is retained because it is central to the dialogue at the micro-level.

Table 20*Translation Unit N° 4*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
04	سطيف	Sétif	Official equivalent based on Retention (TL-adjusted)	13:26

سطيف *Sṭīf* is an important Algerian city, situated in the north east part of the country. It features a significant historical background, being part of the ancient Berber kingdom of 'Numidia' and a colony for the Romans. It derives its name from Berber to mean the colour 'black', as an allusion to its fertile lands (Haddadou, 2012). The name of the city is retained because it is where an important meeting between the militants was held. The French spelling of Sétif is kept in English.

Table 21*Translation Unit N° 5*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
05	باتنة	Batna	Official equivalent based on Retention (Complete)	20:14

The word باتنة *Bātna* designates a city that is principally populated by the chaoui people. Its history and geographical location mark it as the capital of the Aures. One theory concerning the origin of this name suggests that it is taken from the Arabic word بطن *Batn* ('belly', 'middle' or 'interior'), which corresponds to the city being surrounded by mountains

(Haddadou, 2011). Batna is retained because the translator could deduce that it was intentionally stated in the original dialogue in order to relate important personal information about Ben Boulaid, the city being his hometown and him being a chaoui person.

Table 22

Translation Unit N° 6

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
06	وهران	Oran	Official equivalent based on Retention (TL-adjusted)	22:41

The coastal city of وهران Wahrān occupies a significant place in Algeria thanks to its geographical location and long history. The name of the city took varying forms, which were subtracted from different languages and adapted across time into multiple appellations: Wahran, Wihran, Ouaharan, Oued el-Haran, Ouaran, Ouarân, Ouadadaharan, Horan, and Oran. The etymology of the name suggests that it derives from Berber to mean ‘lions’ (w-ahar-an), or from Arabic to mean ‘two lions’ (Wihrân). The French spelling ‘Oran’ comes from the touareg form ‘Ouaran’ (Benramdane, 2004). This spelling is retained in English as well. It was brought in the dialogue to show that the people of this great city participated in the revolution.

Table 23

Translation Unit N° 7

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
07	قسنطينة	Constantine	Official equivalent based on Retention (TL-adjusted)	22:43

The city of قسنطينة Qsantīna has a history of more than 2000 years, which is plainly seen in its architecture and strategic location. It witnessed a succession of invaders across time and was named so for the Roman Emperor Constantine 1 the Great. The name remained since and the Arabs rendered it as قسنطينة Qasantīna. Constantine is retained in the subtitle because it constitutes a major Algerian city where important historical events have taken place.

Table 24*Translation Unit N° 8*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
08	السلمبي	Salambier	Retention (TL-adjusted)	22:55

السلمبي *Salambi*, ‘Salambier’ or ‘Clos-Salambier’ is the name of a popular district in Algiers during the French colonisation. The area earned a place in history, since it witnessed a series of events during the Algerian War of Independence, specifically the famous ‘meeting of the 22’. Retention is the best solution here because the name is purposely mentioned in the text, so as to narrate important details about the historic occurrence.

Table 25*Translation Unit N° 9*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
09	دزاير	Algiers	Official equivalent based on Retention (TL-adjusted)	32:06

دزاير *Dzāyar* is the word designating the capital city of Algiers. The etymology of the name is based on a number of theories which have to do with the history and the occupants of the region. According to Farhat (2016), the name ‘Djezair’ or ‘Djzèyèr’ was given by Boloughine Ibn Ziri, founder of the Zirides dynasty to refer to the islands facing the port of Algiers at that time. The Arabic version adds ‘El’ to the word ‘Jazair’ to mean *the islands* as well. The word Algiers is found in bilingual dictionaries, as it specifically and commonly distinguishes the Algerian capital, which makes it the most suitable subtitling choice of equivalent.

Table 26*Translation Unit N° 10*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
10	ولاد موسى	Oulad Musa	Retention (Complete)	01:04:17

ولاد موسى *Wlād Mūsa* is the name of some town around the Aures. The literal translation of the name would be ‘the Sons of Musa’, which indicates that the town is/was the place

inhabited by the extended family of a man called ‘Musa’. The Algerian society was formed by an aggregation of tribes, which, in turn, are formed by a group of extended families or clans, (in Arabic: ‘أعراش’ العرش). *Al’arsh* or *the clan* constitutes the smallest social structure after the nuclear family. All members of the clan preserve their common interests and solve all their problems by respecting the authority of the group, which usually consists of the wisest and most respected men of the clan. This system lasted for centuries in Algeria and is gradually disappearing since independence, especially in urban areas. Although retention is the most source oriented strategy, the semantic load that the name holds is still inaccessible to the target audience.

Table 27

Translation Unit N° 11

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
11	الحج	Mecca	Specification (Addition)	01:08:59

الحج *Hajj* is the Islamic pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca. The subtitler prefers to mention the traveler’s destination than the purpose of performing the hajj duty. Probably to avoid confusing the viewers who are not acquainted with the religious practice.

5.5.1.2. Institutional Names

Table 28

Translation Unit N° 12

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
12	جمعية العلماء	Ulémas association	Direct translation (Calque)	18:57

This reference denotes the *Association of Algerian Muslim Ulamas*, which is a religious and a cultural organisation that was founded under the leadership of Shaykh Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis in French Algeria to reform Muslim values and affirm the Arab and national Identity of Algerians. It claimed freedom of religious practice and the recognition of Arabic as an official language.

Table 29*Translation Unit N° 13*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
13	حركة الوحدة و العمل	CRUA / Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action	Direct translation (Calque)	45:00/ 45:16

The subtitler here retained the French acronym CRUA, which stands for ‘*Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action*’ or ‘*Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action*’ in English (Arabic, ‘اللجنة الثورية للوحدة و العمل’ *Allajna Thawriya Lil Wihda Wa L'amal*). The latter was a group of young Algerian activists resisting French colonialism.

Table 30*Translation Units N° 14, 15*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
14	جبهة التحرير الوطني	The National Liberation Front	Direct translation (Calque)	46:42
15	جيش التحرير الوطني	The National Liberation Army	Direct translation (Calque)	47:03

The National Liberation Front is a socialist political party in Algeria. It was set up in 1 November 1954 by the CRUA to gain independence from France. The FLN was the unique legal party in Algeria until the late 1980s. The National Liberation Army, ALN acted as the military arm of the FLN during the Algerian war for independence. The sequences of the film Set out the debuts of this party and its role in the revolution.

Note: In the category at hand, all institutional names are rendered using ‘direct translation’; probably because of their relevance in the text and the compositional nature of their meanings.

5.5.1.3. Personal Names

Table 31

Translation Units N° 16 to N° 38

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
16	سي مصطفى / مصطفى	Mostefa/ Mostefa	Retention	05:49/ 12:53
17	لمين دباغين/ سي لمين	Lamine/ Lamine Debaghine	Retention	13:26/ 41:41
18	سي فرحات عباس	Farhat Abbas	Retention	13:32
19	الحاج مصالي	El Hadj Messali	Retention	17:55
20	سي بن بولعيد	Mr Benboulaïd	Retention	18:20
21	سي براهيم حشاني	Brahim Hachani	Retention	20:12
22	زوبير (بوعجاج)	Zoubir (<i>Bouadjadj</i>)	Retention	23:40
23	سويداني بوجمعة/سي سويداني	Souidani/Souidani Boudjemaï	Retention	23:55/29:26
24	الحاج بن علا	El Hadj Ben Alla	Retention	23:55
25	-محمد بوضياف	-Mohamed Boudiaf	Retention	-25:42
26	-سي الطيب الوطني	-Mr Tayeb El Watani	Retention	-25:48
27	ديدوش مراد	Didouche Mourad	Retention	31:28
28	سي كريم (يلقاسم)	Krim (<i>Belkacem</i>)	Retention	32:27
29	بن مهدي (عربي)	Ben M'hidi (<i>Larbi</i>)	Retention	48:04
30	بشير (شيهاني)	Bachir (<i>Chihani</i>)	Retention	52:13
31	الحاج لخضر (شليحي)	Hadj Lakhdar (<i>Chelihi</i>)	Retention	54:12
32	علي (بن شايبة)	Ali (<i>Benchaïba</i>)	Retention	01:00:15
33	عبد الله (أومزيتي)	Abdellah (<i>Oumeziti</i>)	Retention	01:00:15
34	عجول (عاجل)	Adjoul (<i>Adjel</i>)	Retention	01:00:27
35	عباس (لغور)	Abbas (<i>Laghrou</i>)	Retention	01:00:44
36	عز الدين الفراتي	Azzedine El Fourati	Retention	01:12:08
37	الطاهر (زبيري)	Tahar (<i>Zbiri</i>)	Retention	01:25:43
38	العيفة (محمد)	El Aïfa (<i>Mohamed</i>)	Retention	01:26:22

Note: all the ECRs in Table 31 are **Unmarked** in the subtitles.

The large number of references in this subsection is mainly due to the type of film under consideration. Since the film relates true events, many of the personal names used are real. A total of twenty three references are kept out of forty eight, because only these were identified as Text External. Moreover, the full names of some of the selected characters are constructed after a thorough search, taking into account all the available co-text and context information. All the names refer to well-know figures of the Algerian War, who have had varying degrees of importance within the text. The meaning and origin of some of these names can be

understood to derive from the Arabic language and culture, while the others are more or less obscure. Furthermore, using the subcategory of ‘Unmarked Complete Retention’, all the personal names are retained in the subtitles, most likely because the subtitler is aware of their relevance to the dialogue and that he is taking into consideration the general intention of the film. The subtitler may also base his choices of strategy on a set of prescribed norms, the honorific title سي *Si*, short for سيدي *Sīdi* (Arb. For master, or mister), which preceded a number of references, was rendered in the subtitles only twice as ‘Mr’. The reason could, also, be for space constraints or to avoid distracting the viewers, as these names were repeated many times all through the film and adding this title would seem out of context in the target culture.

5.5.2. Professional Titles

Table 32

Translation Unit N° 39

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
39	الخببيث تاع القايد	<u>Caïd</u> , that traitor	Direct translation (Calque)	02:20:51

In Algeria, the word Caïd (Arabic: قائد *Qāid* = Commander) corresponds to the title of an important administrative figure during the French occupation. The Caïd is chosen from the native population to work as a local chief, a judge or a tax collector. During the War of Independence, most Caïds remained loyal to the French administration as they formed part of its structure and were firmly attached to their social status. However, they did not enjoy a good reputation among the indigenous population who qualified them as traitors and corrupt. The word ‘caid’ entered the English dictionary to describe the main features of this professional title. The use of direct translation in this situation is presumably successful, since the target audience is expected to have some notions about the term.

5.5.3. History

Table 33

Translation Unit N° 40

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
40	زوج ملايين و ثلاث مئة	Two million, three hundred	Direct translation (Shifted)	10 : 47

During the French occupation, the French franc was the currency of Algeria. The franc was subdivided into 100 centimes. If the sum described in the scene is counted in francs, the amount would be too much exaggerated and would not fit the time frame in which the scene takes place. Thus, the most logical interpretation would be that the money raised to supply the revolutionists with arms is counted in centimes. Therefore, despite the use of ‘Direct translation’, the subtitle lacks precision and its meaning is not fully rendered, since it would be hard for the audience to estimate it correctly, without specifying which type of currency is being used. Specification, in this case, would have been a better alternative.

5.5.4. Society

5.5.4.1. Social Expressions

Table 34

Translation Unit N° 41

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
41	بلادنا شحال شابة	How beautiful our country is	Direct translation (Shifted)	06:55

The word شابة *Shabba* in Standard Arabic means ‘young woman’. However, in the Algerian dialect, especially in the city of Algiers, the feminine word is used to describe anything that looks beautiful and attractive. This connotation is perhaps derived from beauty, being a distinctive characteristic of youth. The masculine word of شابة *Shabba* in Algerian Arabic is شباب *shbab*, which means ‘young men’ in Standard Arabic. The direct translation conveys the same meaning of the original.

Table 35*Translation Unit N° 42*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
42	اتهلا في روحك	Take care of yourself	Substitution (Cultural –TC ECR)	08:25

اتهلا في روحك *Thalla Fi Ruhak* is an expression that is basically used in Algeria, when saying goodbye to someone or in other contexts, meaning ‘take care’. It is difficult to decide on the origin of this expression, as some hypotheses suggest that it derives from the Berber language, and others imply that it is closer in meaning and form to the Arabic word ‘التهل’ *Ittahala*, or phrase ‘اتخذ أهلا’ *Ittakhada Ahlan*. The neighbouring Moroccan Dialect uses the same expression by replacing, however, the word روحك *Ruhak* (*def.* your soul) with the word رأسك *Rāsak* (*def.* your head). The use of cultural substitution removes haziness and ensures a good result, as compared to some other translation strategies.

Table 36*Translation Unit N° 43*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
43	فحلة فاطمة فحلة	Always sprightly, Fatma!	Direct translation (Shifted)	13 : 02

According to Hans Wehr’s Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1976), the word فحل *Fhal* has different meanings. The first one corresponds to ‘a male’ (of large animals), stallion. This definition has sexual connotations and is linked to virility and maleness. This sense is more popular in Eastern Arab countries and does not gain a deep appreciation if it is used to describe a person. The second definition characterises an outstanding personality, a master, a paragon (of); and فحولة *Fuhula* as a symbol of excellence and perfection. Conversely, this sense represents the common usage of the word in Algeria, and is often employed to express feelings of satisfaction and admiration of a person. Therefore, the adjective employed conveys, to a great extent, the overall significance of the original. In addition, the other semiotic channels serve as strong backup to clarify the message.

Table 37*Translation Unit N° 44*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
44	قلوبكم حارة	Your hearts passionate	Direct translation (Shifted)	21:59

This expression is exceptionally used in Algeria to express passion, eagerness and enthusiasm about something. Generally in Standard Arabic the adjective حار *Hārr* (*def.* very hot) is used to describe the weather, a substance, a meeting, a reception or a prayer; and the noun قلب *Qalb* (*def.* heart) is combined with other adjectives. For example, the adjective دافئ *Dafi'* (*def.* warm), which is closer in meaning to حار *Hārr*, but presents a different meaning that corresponds to 'warm heart' in English, which entails kindness, sympathy and affection. The chosen adjective provides a correct rendering of the cultural reference; yet, certain shades of meaning are still missing and the two words cannot be said to form complete equivalents.

Table 38*Translation Unit N° 45*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
45	خليت مورايا رجالا	I leave <u>the brave</u> behind me	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:06:24

The literal translation of خليت مورايا رجالا *Khallīt Murāya Rajjāla* would be 'I leave men behind me'. راجل *Rājal*, i.e. a man, in the Algerian dialect, holds many connotations of strength, bravery and resistance to difficulty. The subtitle portrays an accurate interpretation of the original, which takes into consideration the contextual confines of the utterance.

Table 39*Translation Unit N° 46*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
46	النسخة	Koran	Specification (Addition)	01:31:54

النسخة *Naskha* means 'copy' or 'transcript' in Standard Arabic. In the Algerian dialect, however, the word refers to the Holy Koran only. The subtitler removed any confusion a

literal translation would cause, by using the specification strategy and rendering the exact intention of the speaker.

Table 40

Translation Unit N° 47

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
47	اربح اربح	Come closer	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	02:20:11

The literal translation of اربح اربح *Arbah* *Arbah* is ‘win win’. It is an expression that is mostly used in the rural areas and villages of Algeria to ask a person to come closer, in order to say something important. The paraphrase is correctly employed and produces the desired effect.

5.5.4.2. Customs and Traditions

Table 41

Translation Unit N° 48

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
48	نزغرت	This deserves a loud « hurrah »!	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	02:22:46

To manifest their joy, Algerian women utter very loud and long cries, called زغارييت *Zgharīt* (SA. زغاريد *Zagharīd*). They are familiar to the Arab culture in general, and can be produced at different occasions, such as wedding celebrations and during the times of war. Their absence in the Target Culture presents a problem to the subtitler, who decides to employ a cultural substituent that is used at similar events with which the target audience is more familiar. The word was only mentioned in the dialogue, without being actually performed on the visual channel. This helps the translator to take this option, keeping the audience somewhat oblivious of the real significance of the cultural reference.

5.5.4.3. Social ECRs of Religious Origin

Table 42

Translation Units N° 49, 50, 51

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
49	هيا الخاوة	Come on	Omission	06:15
50	عمار خويا	Dear brother Amar	Specification (Addition)	09:26
51	خوك خوك	I'm a brother	Direct translation (Shifted)	02:15:06

أخ *Akh* literally means 'brother'. In the Algerian society, the meaning of brotherhood holds strong connotations of fraternity, trustworthiness and reliability, especially when it is used outside the circle of family relationships. During the Algerian War, this concept united the Algerian population against the French, and was basically inspired from the principles of Islamic brotherhood and the common aspiration for independence. The references were rendered differently, depending on their centrality in the dialogue and the context in which they occur. Furthermore, the polysemiotic interplay observably exerts a direct influence on the choice of strategy.

Table 43

Translation Unit N° 52

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
52	الله الله	How beautiful!	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	07 :05

الله *Allāh* is the name of God in Islam. In this expression, the name is repeated twice usually when people want to show their amazement and great pleasure when seeing or hearing something very beautiful. Reformulating the general sense of the phrase is necessary in this case to eliminate any confusion for the target audience.

Table 44*Translation Unit N° 53*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
53	في الأمان	Goodbye	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	08 :19

Fi Lamān is a shortened version of 'في أمان الله'. It literally means '[may you stay] in Allah's safety'. It constitutes a prayer that is said when someone is travelling far; or just to mean goodbye at the end of a conversation. In this example, the level of transculturality is very low, and a cultural substitution seems to be a proper alternative.

Table 45*Translation Units N° 54, 55, 56, 57*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
54	أحمد ربي	Think yourself lucky	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	06 :44
55	الحمد لله	God be praised	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	06 :48
56	نحمدو ربي	Thanks heavens	Direct translation (Shifted)	09 :14
57	الحمد لله تعشيت	Thank you	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	10 :36

The Arabic phrase of الحمد لله *Al-Hamdu Lillāh* is commonly stated by all Muslims in diverse contexts, whenever they want to praise God. Either at ease or hardship, Algerians use it very often during their daily social interactions to convey different meanings. Hence, different strategies are used by the subtitler, depending on the context in which the phrase occurs.

Table 46*Translation Units N° 58, 59*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
58	السلام عليكم	See you soon	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	09:34
59	- السلام عليكم -السلام	-Hello -Welcome	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	10:29

Assalāmu Alaykum is the standard greeting among Muslims. Literally, it is a prayer that means 'may peace be upon you'. It is used in everyday social interactions and within other contexts. The salutation is said upon arriving and while leaving. *Salām* (def.

Peace) is the shorter version of the greeting. The salaam greeting is replaced by its equivalent greetings in the TC, to achieve the same effect on the TT audience.

Table 47

Translation Units N° 60, 61, 62

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
60	فيهم البركة	//	Omission	10 :52
61	بارك الله فيك	//	Omission	13:05
62	البركة فيكم	You still here	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01 :05 :40

The concept of بركة *Baraka* is deeply entrenched in the Islamic culture. It is equivalent to blessing and benediction in English. The word in Algerian Arabic is often used in different contexts to recognise the blessings of Allah, or under the form of prayer for success and happiness. No translation was provided to the ECRs at hand, probably for technical constraints or for their secondary importance in the dialogue. فيهم البركة *Fihum Lbaraka*, in this context, means ‘that is enough’; and بارك الله فيك *Baraka Allāhu Fīk* means ‘bless you’.

Table 48

Translation Unit N° 63

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
63	يعطيك الصحة	Thank you	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	10:53

In the Algerian dialect, people tend to use يعطيك الصحة *Ya ‘tīk Aṣaha* to express thanks and gratefulness, instead of شكرا *Shukran* in Standard Arabic. The expression is a prayer, meaning ‘may Allah grant you good health’. It is often abridged to simply one word: صحيت *Sahīt* or صحة *Sahah* (*def.* health). The subtitler uses the corresponding equivalent from the Target Culture, to convey the same meaning and reach the same effect.

Table 49*Translation Units N° 64, 65, 66, 67, 68*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
64	-بسم الله	- enjoy your meal	-Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	- 10:20
65	- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	- in the name of God, the mercy-giving and merciful	-Direct translation (Calque)	- 24:06
66	- سبحان الله	- it's foolish	-Generalisation (Paraphrase)	- 19:43
67	- نتوكلو على ربي	- it's time to act	-Generalisation (Paraphrase)	- 24:31
68	-ان شاء الله	-Let's hope so !	-Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:27:25

All the expressions mentioned above are extensively used by all Muslims in their daily life, each depending on the situation. *Basmillah* بسم الله is said at the opening of each action, *Subhānallah* سبحان الله to show amazement and surprise, *Tawakkul* توكل is done whenever a Muslim decides to do something important and *Inshāllah* ان شاء الله is uttered by all Muslims when they talk about future event, because they believe that anything happens only if God wills it.

All the expressions mentioned in the table above are translated each according to the context in which they occur. Their religious provenance and their divergent meanings make it hard to decide on a direct equivalent without taking the situation into consideration.

Table 50*Translation Unit N° 69*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
69	صليو على النبي	Listen to me	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:53:49

In this scene, Mustapha Ben Boulaid is asking his comrades to say *Aṣalātu 'la Nabi*, that is to say, respond by the phrase of 'peace be upon him', as a sign of respect for the prophet Muhammed. In this situation, Mostapha purposely brings up the name of the prophet and asks for 'salawat', in order to cease a heated conversation and to be given the chance to be heard by everyone present. It is very common for Algerians to talk this way in situations of anger or disagreement.

The subtitler successfully captures the intended meaning from Ben Boulaid’s statement. The paraphrase transmits the right information; while a literal translation would have been ambiguous and meaningless.

Table 51

Translation Unit N° 70

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
70	ضياف ربي	Just passing through	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	02:20:21

ضياف ربي *Dyāf Rabbi* literally means ‘God-sent guests’. It is said about unexpected guests, who, in the Algerian culture, are treated with great honour and hospitality.

Certain shades of meaning are missing from the subtitle, as the original expression implies that the people, who are identified as God-sent, will automatically receive a proper treatment from the host.

5.5.5. Religion

Table 52

Translation Unit N° 71

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
71	الله اكبر	God is great	Direct translation (Shifted)	54:00

الله اكبر *Allāhu Akbar* is an Islamic expression that, literally and more accurately than in the subtitle, translates into ‘Allah is greater’ or ‘Allah is [the] greatest’. It is frequently used by Muslims in different contexts, such as the call for prayer, in times of suffering or at war, to express firm determination and resistance. The use of strategy suggests the more common equivalent to the expression in the TL.

Table 53*Translation Unit N° 72*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
72	لا اله إلا الله محمد رسول الله	There's only one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.	Direct translation (Calque)	01:00:47

لا اله إلا الله محمد رسول الله *Lā Ilāha Illa Llāh, Muḥammadun Rassūlu Llāh* is a formal statement in the Islamic religion, called 'shahada'. The shahada is one of the five pillars of Islam and is recited by Muslims to confess their sincere faith that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah. If the shahada was the last thing said before death, the person will enter paradise. This is why the rebel is reciting it in this scene, moments before the ambush, in case he dies.

Even though there is no semantic alteration, the translation lacks precision, mainly, in the first part of the creed, as it emphasises, in Arabic, that there is only one God and his name is Allah. The direct translation uses a more generic reference to the deity, that is, God. A more accurate translation would be 'there is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet'.

Table 54*Translation Units N° 73, 74*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
73	سورة الفاتحة	Koran	Generalisation (Superordiante)	01:19:39
74	الفاتحة	This sura	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:19:59

سورة الفاتحة *Sūrat Al Fātiḥah* is the first chapter or sura of the Holy Koran, as its name indicates (Al-Fatiha means 'the Opening'). It contains a prayer for guidance and serves an important role in Muslim prayer and everyday life.

In both references, the subtitler did not retain the name of the sura, which is *Al Fātiḥah*, and saw it better not to precise this bit of information. Maybe, because he sought to avoid ambiguity of meaning from the audience, or that he skipped the underlying relevance of the sura in question to the dialogue.

5.5.6. Food and Beverages

Table 55

Translation Unit N° 75

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
75	العيش	flat bread	Substitution (Situational)	07 :38

العيش *'aysh/ 'īsh* is a very popular meal in the Algerian traditional cuisine. It is also called بركوكس *Barkūkas*. It is served at different occasions depending on the region, especially in wintertime. The food preparation consists of relatively big balls of semolina -as compared to that in couscous- together with cured meat, beans and vegetables. Moreover, Algerian *'aysh* is totally different from the Egyptian one, as the latter corresponds to the flat bread that Egyptians usually consume. This explains the present translation, as the subtitler has clearly mistaken and substituted the Cultural Reference with a completely different one. Retention would have been the perfect strategy to adopt in this situation.

Table 56

Translation Unit N° 76

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
76	الطعام	Couscous	Substitution (Cultural-Transcultural ECR)	07 :39

الطعام *T'ām* is an Arabic word, meaning 'food', that is alternatively used in certain places in Algeria to refer to the very famous North African dish, 'couscous'. The name 'couscous' originates from Berber language. It is derived from the word 'keskes', which is the main cooking pot that is used to steam the small balls of semolina, which make up the basic ingredient of this dish. The other ingredients vary across the regions. The toppings generally consist of different vegetables and some meat. The subtitler's choice to designate couscous as the type of food in question, rather than retaining the less common name or translating it literally, is quite effective, because couscous has become an internationally recognised recipe and there is a high chance that the term would be more accessible to the viewers.

Table 57*Translation Unit N° 77*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
77	الرفيس	<i>Rfiss</i>	Retention (Complete-Marked)	07 :39

الرفيس *Rfīs* is another popular traditional Algerian dish that is generally served at weddings and religious celebrations. The preparation is sweet, based on a crumbled wafer. There exist different local varieties of rfiss in Algeria, which take varying ingredients and shapes. The word is retained and marked by italics, to indicate its foreignness to the TT.

Table 58*Translation Unit N° 78*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
78	ناي بالنعناع	Mint tea	Direct translation (Shifted)	09: 11

التاي *Tāy* is the dialectal version of the Arabic word شاي *Shāy*, denoting ‘tea’. The beverage is commonly prepared in the Maghreb region using green tea, fresh mint leaves, sugar and boiling water. Mint tea is a traditional drink that is deeply rooted in Algeria’s social life. It generally represents a symbol of hospitality for guests, more specifically for the Sahrawi and Touareg people. The direct translation provides sufficient clues about the drink; still, not much about its cultural profile.

Table 59*Translation Unit N° 79*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
79	كسرة	flat bread	Generalisation (Superordinate term)	01 :07 :40

كسرة *Kasra* is the typical bread that most Algerians have traditionally consumed on a daily basis and still do until now. It is homemade and includes certain local varieties, basically كسرة رخسيس *Kasra Rakhsīs* and كسرة خميرة *Kasra Khmīra* or مطلوع *Matlū*. It takes the shape of rounded flat bread and includes semolina as a main ingredient. Kesra is cooked over fire using a ‘tajin’ which can be described as a flat clay griddle. The subtitler preferred to use a generic

term that is more target oriented better than retaining the original word. Flat bread gives a clear idea about the type of food; nonetheless, its cultural specificity is lost.

5.6. Product - Oriented Analysis of the Second Film ‘Chronicles of the Smoldering Years’

5.6.1. Proper Names

5.6.1.1. Geographical Names

Table 60

Translation Units N° 1, 2

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
01	ولاد سيدي مبارك	The Sidi Embarek creek	Specification (Completion)	14:55
02	ولاد عبد الله	Wadi Abdellah	Specification (Completion)	41:35

ولاد سيدي مبارك *Wlād Sīdi Mbāarak* and ولاد عبد الله *Wlād ‘abdalla* literally translate into the ‘sons of Sidi Embarek’ and ‘the sons of Abdellah’. These names symbolise the places where the extended families or clans of (Arabic: ‘أعراش’ *A rāsh*) ‘Abdellah’ and ‘Sidi Embarek’ live. The subtitler used specification in dealing with both references to make the information more accessible to the target audience. In the second reference, only the name ‘Abdellah’ is retained and not ‘ولاد’ *Wlād*, which is replaced in the subtitle by the word ‘wadi’, i.e. valley.

Table 61

Translation Unit N° 3

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
03	السلالات	Sellat	Retention (Complete)	19:14

The name السلالات *Sallāt* is retained in the subtitle. It designates an area that is relatively close to the village where the main events of the film are taking place.

Table 62*Translation Unit N° 4*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
04	ننفيك لبلادك	I'll send you back to <u>Kabylia</u>	Specification (Addition)	02:20:52

Kabylia designates a region of Algeria; known as بلاد القبائل *Blād Laqbāyal* in the dialect (cf. Table 18/ *Translation Unit N° 2*). Only بلاد *Blād* appears in the original, and a reference to olive tree cultivation, being a distinctive feature of this area, is made. The choice of strategy adds better clarity to the subtitle and makes the information more intelligible to the viewers.

5.6.1.2. Names of Buildings

Table 63*Translation Unit N° 5*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
05	جامع النصارى	church	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	01 :13 :20

جامع *Jāma* ' is the place where congregations gather for prayer. The word is routinely used in Algerian Arabic to designate the masjid or the mosque. On the other hand, جامع النصارى *Jāma* ' *Nṣāra* specifies that it is the place where people from the Christian faith gather for prayer.

Table 64*Translation Unit N° 6*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
06	دار الكوميسار	Police station	Direct translation (Shifted)	01 :55 :39

دار الكوميسار *Dār Al Kūmisār* is a reference that has a compositional meaning, since it combines the word دار *Dār* (*def.* House) and الكوميسار *Al Kūmisār* (*def.* police commissioner) to designate the police station. The police commissioner is pointed out as the one who has the highest authority at this place in particular. The use of strategy offers the right meaning.

Table 65*Translation Units N° 7, 8, 9*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
07	الحَمَّام	the hotel	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	01 :56 :37
08	الحَمَّام	//	Omission	01 :56 :57
09	الحَمَّام	the Bath house	Direct translation (Shifted)	01 :57 :15

The hammam (الحَمَّام, *Hammām*) is a bathing establishment that symbolises an important Arabic tradition. In Algeria, bath houses can, also, serve as a place where people stay in at night, because it charges a lower price as compared to the hotel.

The subtitler used different strategies in dealing with the reference, depending on the context. Substitution is used the first time, because the scene shows a man who has just arrived to town enquiring about the hammam, which would not make much sense to the target audience if direct translation is used. Omission is probably employed to avoid repetition; while, the last strategy gives the right equivalent to the word, since the dialogue considers the fact of sleeping at the bath house something ‘suspicious’. Nonetheless, the choice of strategy sends mixed signals to the viewers, who will wonder why the stranger, who was enquiring about the whereabouts of the hotel, is sleeping at the bath house.

5.6.1.3. Personal Names

Table 66*Translation Unit N° 10*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
10	سي الحاج	Si Hadj	Retention (Complete)	02:07:33

Only one out of twenty four names in the film is classified as an ECR. The others are mostly Text Internal, since they do not truly exist; yet, they represent a group of names that are commonly used in real settings. It can be noted that these names were mostly omitted and given a minor importance in the subtitles. Moreover, two names are discarded from the investigation, because they are Infracultural: ‘الحاج’ *Al Hāj* as a reference to ‘Hitler’ and ‘قمير’

Qamīr as a reference to ‘France’. In addition, the name of ‘Churchill’ occurred in the text; but is not retained despite the fact that it is real, because it constitutes a Transcultural reference. Finally, only ‘Si Hadj’ is sorted out as an ECR, since it is easily deduced from the text that the characters were referring to Masali Hadj, who is a historic political figure in Algeria. This name is kept as it is in the subtitle.

5.6.2. Professional Titles

Table 67

Translation Unit N° 11

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
11	القايد	Caïd	Direct translation (Calque)	37:34

‘Caïd’ is a professional title that existed during the French occupation (cf. Table 32/ Translation Unit N° 39). The fact that the word is expected to be familiar to the target audience might explain the choice of strategy.

Table 68

Translation Unit N° 12

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
12	الشومبيط	//	Omission	37:37

شومبيط *Shūmbīt* is originally a French word that was both morphologically and phonologically adjusted to become part of the Algerian dialect. It designates the French title of ‘garde champêtre’, which was very common to the Algerian rural population during the occupation. The ‘garde champêtre’ is a rural guard whose main function is to report to the local mayor. As a consequence, the word شومبيط *Shūmbīt* connotes a person who is always invigilating and looking for information. The word was not rendered in the subtitle, possibly for time constraints or negligence from the subtitler.

Table 69*Translation Units N°13, 14*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
13	سيدي الخوجة	//	Omission	01:05:38
14	الخوجة	masters	Direct translation (Shifted)	01:53:00

خوجة *Khūja* or خواجه *Khawāja* is a Turkish word that entered the Arabic language to mean ‘sir’ or ‘Mr.’, as a title and form of address, principally, for Christians and Westerners (Hans Wehr’s Dictionary, 1976). It entails that the addressee is rich and educated. In addition, in the history of Algeria, the word خوجة *Khūja* stands for the title of ‘secretary’ (Ben Cheneb, 2012). It, also, represents a common Algerian family name.

ECR N° 13 is not rendered in the subtitle, because it seems that the subtitler relied on the visual channel, which pictures the character’s obsequious behaviour in the presence of the *Khūja*, in an attempt to win his favour. Moreover, the second occurrence of the word is correctly rendered, because the meaning of the original designates the ruling westerners.

Table 70*Translation Units N° 15, 16*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
15	الباشاغا	//	Omission	02:20:01
16	الباشاغا	Bachaga	Retention (Complete)	02:23:37

الباشاغا *Bash Āgha* is a Turkish word that designates an Arabic chief who has a lot of aghas under his command (Ben Cheneb, 2012). In Algerian Arabic, the loan-word is simplified into باشاغا *Bashāgha* to identify the persons who held this administrative title during the Ottoman and the French rule of Algeria. The reference is not rendered many times in the subtitles, because it is probably unknown to the target audience. However, Bachaga appears only once, as it seemed so central to the dialogue to be neglected or treated differently.

5.6.3. History

Table 71

Translation Unit N° 17

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
17	راك رايح تقطع لحبل	You'll cut the umbilical cord	Specification (Addition)	32:17

In rural areas, the pre-independence Algerian society was chiefly organised according to kinship ties. Clan or tribe members shared a common territory and followed the same way of life. Abandoning the tribe means cutting every tie and relinquishing the land. In this case, Specification helps the audience to get a clearer representation of this life pattern.

Table 72

Translation Units N° 18, 19, 20, 21, 22

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
18	البلاد	City	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:11:48
19	القرية	Tribe	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:24:37
20	الرومي	Settlers	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:32:33
21	لعراش	Villages	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:50:26
22	هذا بلدي	He's not from here	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:54:46

Specific to the Algerian dialect, the Arabic word بلاد *Blād* designates a city, and its inhabitant is called بلدي *Baldī*. This labelling reflects the early social organisation of the Algerian population which was mainly settled outside the few existing cities and followed a tribal pattern of livelihood. The choice of strategy is noticeably dependent of the co-text, because the subtitler is primarily seeking to deliver the same overall meaning of the original.

5.6.4. Society

5.6.4.1. Social Expressions

All the social expressions in this sub-section are analogical. They contrast some behavioural patterns to animals or to elements from the speakers' immediate surroundings and cultural heritage.

Table 73*Translation Unit N° 23*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
23	وليتنا عتروس	Playing <u>Indian scout</u> ?	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	20: 58

عتروس 'atrūs is a word in Algerian Arabic that refers to a male goat. Goats are known for their nimble and inquisitive behaviour. The character in the scene is called so, because he was observably acting in the same way. The use of Substitution here indicates that the original expression is irrelevant to the target audience.

Table 74*Translation Unit N° 24*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
24	يا فرعون	You <u>despot</u>	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	23:58

فرعون *Far 'ūn* is the Arabic word for 'pharaoh'. The word is used in the original to highlight the tyrannical conduct of the character in the scene, as an inference to the story of pharaoh in the holy Quran. Generalisation is clearly employed to avoid ambiguity of meaning.

Table 75*Translation Units N° 25, 26*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
25	الحيين اللي مازالو كي الغنم سارحين	They're still lost <u>sheep</u>	Direct translation (Shifted)	01:52:53
26	نطلب ربي يفيقكم يا غنم	//	Omission	01:56:12

Comparing people to sheep (غنم *Ghnam*), in the original text, entails that they are foolish and lacking in perception. The strategies adopted kept the reference as it is in its first occurrence; while it was omitted the second time, probably because it is not central to the dialogue.

Table 76*Translation Unit N° 27*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
27	السبوعة	The brave	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:53: 11

السبوعة is plural of سبع *Sba'* (def. Lion). The subtitle determines the general quality of lions, that is bravery, to deliver the intended meaning; and adopts the strategy of 'Generalisation', to keep the meaning clear.

Table 77*Translation Unit N° 28*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
28	ما يكون غير حنش	He has to be a <u>cop</u>	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:55:49

حنش *Hnash* literally translates into snake. In Algerian Arabic, the word metaphorically describes someone who is predatory, ruthless and mistrusted. It is, also, known to designate cops, because they show the same traits. Through 'Paraphrase' the subtitle captures the right meaning; still, the translation does not have the pejorative connotation of the original.

Table 78*Translation Units N° 29, 30*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
29	ليوم راه لحق بوزنزل لي شوفتو ما تنزل	Today it brought you a <u>man of destiny!</u>	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	01:56:09
30	بوزنزل	//	Omission	01:56:21

بوزنزل *Buzanzal* in the Algerian dialect refers to the wasp, as characterised by stinging. The people who are described so are dangerous and one should pay heed of them. The subtitle depicts a somewhat similar meaning to the original that is well-known in the target culture. It employs the title of a play written by George Bernard Shaw, entitled 'a Man of Destiny', which is an epithet of its main character: 'Napoleon Bonaparte'.

Table 79*Translation Unit N° 31*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
31	الراس معمر بالعجين	your brain's rusted.	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	02:03:12

Wheat cultivation is the basic means of subsistence for the villagers in the film, who use it as a main ingredient to prepare different types of meals. Thus, it is no coincidence that the word *عجين jīn* (*def.* paste) is employed to illustrate a stupid state of mind. Conversely, Substitution is used to capture the same meaning in the target culture.

Table 80*Translation Units N° 32, 33*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
32	كلاب	bastards	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	02:05:21
33	الكلب تاعهم	Their puppet	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	02:24:26

Depending on the context, the ECR is rendered differently in the subtitle; using Cultural Substitution. *كلاب Klāb* Arabic plural of *كلب Kalb* (*def.* dog) is offensive in both instances.

Table 81*Translation Unit N° 34*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
34	هذا الذيب	This jackal	Substitution (Cultural-TC ECR)	02:20:08

The wolf (*الذيب Dīb/ Dhīb*) and the jackal are two distinct animals which have different behavioural patterns. Calling someone a wolf in the Algerian dialect means that they are dangerous and can trick you to obtain what they want. It is different from the meaning of jackal in English, which describes a person who performs menial tasks for another.

Table 82*Translation Unit N° 35*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
35	زادو جاوالعسكري الدود	More soldiers have come!	Omission	02:40:37

الدود *Dūd* (*def.* Warms) is used to describe something that appears in large quantities. The subtitle is less specific about the number of soldiers, probably for space constraints and reliance on the visual channel.

5.6.4.2. Customs and Traditions

Table 83*Translation Unit N° 36*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
36	إذا طرطفت على السالات نهىء للضيف وين بيات	If it's (thunder) coming from there (Sellat), it'll rain tomorrow	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	19:18

The reference states that if it rains nearby (at Sellat); the character in the scene will host guests and prepare places for them to sleep. The rain, to the inhabitants of the village, means prosperity and welfare and the possibility to be generously hospitable. Extending good hospitality is an ingrained feature of the Arab culture; however, the subtitle rephrases the information and retains only the part that indicates that it will probably rain tomorrow.

Table 84*Translation Units N° 37, 38*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
37	نذ بخلو فرد	I'll sacrifice a bull for him	Direct translation (Shifted)	50:32
38	أنا نديرلو زردة	I'll have a party for him	Generalisation (Superordinate)	50:38

The word زردة *Zarda* originates from Turkish and designates a meal that is served cold and which basic ingredients are rice and saffron. The plural form of this word (زرد *Zrad*) means: meal, treat, agape, and feast (Ben Cheneb, 2012). During the timeframe depicted in the film, *Zarda* was a sort of celebration done by the common people, at different locations in

Algeria, to ask for wealth and good fortune. It includes food offerings and sacrifices, as a way of approaching the owner of a shrine. This practice has practically disappeared, since it is against the teachings of the Islamic religion. The translating procedures convey a full meaning, as regards the ‘Direct translation’; while ‘Generalisation’ provides a rather vague interpretation to the viewers.

5.6.4.3. Social ECRs of Religious Origin

Table 85

Translation Unit N° 39

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
39	بالحرام والثلاث و الستين ثلاث	I swear.	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	00:20

The reference at hand (*Bal Hram Wa Thalath Wa Sattin Thalath*) is an oath that binds the speaker in the film to divorce his wife for good, according to the Islamic principles, if he does not leave the village. This type of declaration affirms an intense determination to do something. The subtitle, on the other hand, gives a less explicit rendering of the overall meaning.

Table 86

Translation Units N° 40, 41, 42

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
40	انعل الشيطان	//	Omission	00 :38
41	انعل ابليس	//	Omission	00: 41
42	الله ينعلو و يخزيه	//	Omission	01:44

The references in the table above introduce a basic notion in the Islamic theology that considers إبليس *Iblīs* or شيطان *Shaytān* (def. devil) the origin of wrong and evil to humankind. The subtitler rearranged the original dialogue without going into much detail, most likely for time constraints and cultural distance.

Table 87*Translation Unit N° 43*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
43	اذا كان ربي مرحمناش	If it doesn't rain	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	12:22

Muslims, in general, consider rain a mercy of Allah because of all the blessings and benefits that it offers. The characters in the film are suffering from a severe drought and are waiting for Allah's *Rahmah* رحمة (*Def.* mercy), that is to say 'rain', to save their crops. The subtitle retains the main information without taking into account the religious connotation.

Table 88*Translation Units N° 44, 45, 46, 47*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
45	خلي شوية لخواونك	Leave <u>us</u> some water !	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	14:36
46	خواونك لي مشاو معاك	And your friends?	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:46:25
47	يا الخاوة	//	Omission	01:56:56
48	اسمحننا يا بين عمي	Forgive us.	Omission	01 :59:50

The concept of social fraternity and kinship is treated either by deletion or paraphrase, which considerably reduces the cultural relevance of the references. Alternatively, the basic meaning is retained.

Table 89*Translation Units N° 48, 49, 50, 51, 52*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
48	يرحم والديكم	//	Omission	20:24
49	امشي في حالك.. الله يسهل عليك	Scram!	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	46:35
50	الله يحفظك.. الله يسترك	God bless you!	Direct translation (Shifted)	01:06:00
51	بارك الله فيكم	//	Omission	12:57
52	بارك الله فيك	God bless you	Direct translation (Shifted)	02:13:08

Algerians' daily conversations are filled with prayers to God to bless parents' souls (يرحم والديكم *Yarham Wāldikum*), to ease hardships (الله يسهل *Allāh Ysahhal*) or with prayers for protection and safety (الله يحفظك *Allāh Yahfdak* – الله يسترك *Allāh Yustrak*), etc. These prayers are

offered in order to accomplish different speech acts which may not necessarily convey their underlying intention. They can be used to express thanks, requests or displeasure, depending on the situation. The subtitles in the film render this type of reference based on their centrality to the dialogue and their relevance to the target culture.

Table 90

Translation Units N° 53, 54

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
53	السلام عليكم	//	Omission	54:22
54	توكلو على الله	//	Omission	01:29 :10

The salutations as well as the ‘*tawakkul*’ are not rendered several times in the subtitle. It seems that the subtitler is deliberately appointing these expressions a secondary importance in the dialogue and chooses to delete them out of laziness or confusion over which strategy to follow.

Table 91

Translation Units N° 55, 56, 57

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
55	(الله لا اله الا الله.. الله لا اله الا الله..)	//	Omission	59:22
56	(و الصلاة على محمد و الصلاة عليه و سلم..)	//	Omission	01:25:49
57	(الأذان)	//	Omission	01:58:16

The scenes show indigenous peasants harvesting the crops and chanting ‘*tahlil*’ and ‘*salawat*’. This form of musical expression is deeply-rooted in the Islamic culture, since it eulogises God and his prophet Muhammad. In addition, ‘*adhan*’, the Islamic call for prayer, is clearly heard in the background. All these references interpret the cultural heritage of the characters; however, they are enough peripheral for the subtitler to pass over.

Table 92*Translation Units N° 58, 59*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
58	خلينا في هذا رمضان يرحم والديك	Stop it!	Omission	01:57:40
59	شهر رمضان	The month of <u>Ramadan</u>	Retention(Complete)	02:00:52

Fasting the month of Ramadan is one of the five pillars of Islam. Ramadan holds a special religious and spiritual significance to Muslims worldwide. The purpose behind fasting is to learn self-control and to break all the bad habits. This explains the character's mention of the holy month and why he did not want to listen to his friend's gossip. The reference may be omitted for time constraints and for its minor importance in the text as compared to its second occurrence, where it is retained.

5.6.5. Religion

Table 93*Translation Unit N° 60*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
60	أستغفر الله	//	Omission	01:27

To seek forgiveness from Allah, Muslims say الله أستغفر الله *Astaghfirullāh*. Omitting this phrase from the subtitle removes an essential bit of meaning that opposes the wrong statement that has just been uttered by the character in this scene.

Table 94*Translation Unit N° 61*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
61	سورة الفاتحة (قراءة)	//	Omission	12:49

The aim behind reciting سورة الفاتحة *Sūrat Al Fātiḥah* in this scene is to ask God for his favour and blessings. The reference is not rendered in the subtitle and the viewers can only deduce from the picture that the sheikh is saying a prayer.

Table 95*Translation Unit N° 62*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
62	الله أكبر	Only God is eternal.	Generalisation (Paraphrase)	01:21:07

Allāhu Akbar in this prospect means Allah is greater than the plague that struck the city. It is substituted by ‘Only God is eternal’, because the character intends to ease his friend’s pain about the death of many people, including members of his family.

Table 96*Translation Units N° 63, 64, 65*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
63	أعوذ بالله	//	Omission	01:55: 30
64	أعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم	Muslims! Faithful!	Substitution (Situational)	02:00: 28
65	باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	//	Omission	02:00: 30

Whenever the Qur’an is recited, these two expressions are always said right before. The first literally translates into ‘I seek refuge with Allah from the accursed chaytan’; and the second ‘In the name of Allah the most Compassionate, the most Merciful’. The translator clearly avoids bringing them up in the subtitle and gives them a peripheral importance. With ECR N° 64, the decision may be influenced by media-specific constraints.

Table 97*Translation Units N° 66, 67, 68, 69, 70*

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
66	'و لا تنس نصيبك في هذه (من) الدنيا'	‘never forget why you’re in this world’	Direct trans. (Shifted)	01:30:32
67	'وأطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم'	‘Obey God’! ‘Obey his prophet’! ‘And those in power.’	Direct trans. (Shifted)	02:00:37
68	'قل للذين كفروا ستغلبون و تحشرون الى جهنم.'	Tell the impious: You will be vanquished and gathered in Hell.	Direct trans. (Shifted)	02:01:38
69	'و بسئ المصير (المهاد)'	‘You despicable breed!’	Substitution (Situational)	02:01:45
70	'و الطور وكتاب مسطور في رق منشور' ' فويل يومئذ'	‘By the mountain..By writing on parchment.. 'woe unto you!	Direct trans. (Shifted)	02:01:52

All the references in Table 81 are verses from the holy Qur'an. They constitute central information to the dialogue, since the characters are using them to support their arguments. To convey the exact meaning, 'Direct translation' is the main strategy being adopted, except for reference N° 69, in which the meaning is completely changed. It is important to mention that verses N° 66 and N° 69 are mistakenly recited and that the translation provided to all the verses is not taken from a reliable source, as it seems that the subtitler did not do enough research to establish the right equivalents.

Table 98

Translation Unit N° 71

N°	ECR	Subtitle	Strategy	Timing
71	صلى الله عليه و سلم	Praise be to Him!	Substitution (Situational)	02:02:06

The rendering of the ECR is incorrect, since source and target expressions pass on different connotations, which the subtitler fails to capture, maybe for lack of insight into their basic meanings.

5.7. ECRs in the Films under Study

All the ECRs that were extracted in this study hold special characteristics that make it possible to arrange them by type into different categories or 'domains'. The lists of domains suggested are not based on a specific taxonomy of ECR, like the ones provided by Newmak (1988) and Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), nor do they constitute one. They mainly represent the most common properties of these ECRs, as found in the source texts. The reason for this is that domains do not receive a prime concern in this investigation, but are only taken into account to help explain subtitling regularities.

The two resulting lists of domains show great similarity in their top and sub-divisions. All ECRs within each list are classified into the domains of *'Proper Names'*, *'Professional*

Titles, *History*, *Society* and *Religion*, except for *Food and Beverages* which includes references from only one film, i.e. ‘Mostefa Ben Boulaid’. The domains of *Proper names* and *Society* are each further segmented into three sub-divisions, with matching titles. The parallel lists of domains allow comparison between the different types of ECRs, and make it possible to give general descriptions about the cultural profile of each film. Hence, some conclusions can be drawn about the relation between the nature of ECRs and choice of translation strategy.

Table 99 provides numerical data about the numbers and percentages of ECRs within each domain. Only the main domains, for each film, are listed in the table. The source texts are, henceforth, referred to as F1 for ‘Mostefa Ben Boulaid’ and F2 for ‘Chronicles of the Smoldering Years’.

Table 99
Domains of ECRs in the Films

Domains of ECRs	F1		F2	
	N°	%	N°	%
Proper Names	38	48.1	10	14
Professional Titles	1	1.3	6	8.5
History	1	1.3	6	8.5
Society	30	38	37	52
Religion	4	5	12	17
Food and Beverages	5	6.3	0	0
TOTAL	79	100.0	71	100.0

The total number of ECRs in F1 is 79 and 71 in F2. They are approximate, probably because both films have about the same running time and a high level of verbosity. The numbers are judged sufficient enough to carry out the present investigation and obtain tangible results, since they measure up to those obtained in Pedersen’s (2011) and Salumahaleh and Mirzayi’s (2014) experimental results. The distribution of ECRs across the main domains appears to have a somewhat comparable pattern. The highest numbers of ECRs

are grouped within the domains of ‘Society’, ‘Proper names’ and ‘religion’; while, the domains of ‘Professional titles’ and ‘History’ include the lowest numbers.

Throughout these percentages, it can be said that both films clearly reflect the social environment of the Algerian population at some points in time where real events have taken place. In fact, all along the different scenes of the films, elements of everyday life and social relations are observed. The geographical locations where these scenes were set and the way people dressed and lived simulate reality to a great extent. This is mainly due to the historical category of both films, which essentially aims to report factual information and reproduce past events. Thanks to all these ECRs, the viewers are immersed in an authentic and a culturally rich Algerian setting.

To provide a more detailed description of the different types of ECRs, the statistical results for each domain are discussed in the following:

5.7.1. Proper Names

Table 100 presents the absolute numbers of ECRs that belong to the domain of ‘Proper Names’ and their distribution within each of its three sub-divisions.

Table 100
Proper Names in the Films

Proper Names	F1	F2
	N°	N°
- Geographical Names	11	4
- Institutional/ Buildings Names	4	5
- Personal Names	23	1
TOTAL	38	10

This domain is the largest in F1, given that it contains 38 ECRs, as opposed to 10 in F2. The reason goes to the comparatively elevated number of personal names in F1. On the basis of the selection criteria, only those which exist outside the text are kept in this study. They are

names of real people who are relevant to the historical events being related, which explains their relatively high number. The others are characterised as text-internal, despite the fact that they represent familiar names in the Algerian culture. A few geographical names were troublesome, in that it was almost impossible to identify their true existence. It was, therefore, decided to include them in the investigation, since they are so close to reality and reflect important cultural connotations. The real names add more credibility to the texts and ascertain the informative value of the films; whereas the proper names all together give the texts a particular flavour that is characteristic of the Algerian culture.

5.7.2. Professional Titles

The professional titles mentioned in F2 provide insightful information about the social organisation of rural areas during the occupation. Their numbers are higher as compared to F1, since the plot of the story in F2 gives special focus to social inequalities and highlights people's resentment toward the persons who hold these titles.

5.7.3. History

F2 gives a broader mention of historical details rather than F1. It is mainly due to the general atmosphere of F2, which contrasts between rural and urban life and explains the strong bonds between the members of the tribe and their ancestral origin. This type of reference is not frequent in both texts, probably because the films already portray events that took place in the past and present them to the viewers in a linear narrative way.

5.7.4. Society

The domain of 'Society' is divided into the sub-domains of '*Social Expressions*', '*Customs and traditions*' and '*Social ECRs of Religious origin*'. The first includes ECRs

which are common to everyday language and which hold a cultural undertone. The second consists of ECRs that refer to the customs and traditions of the source culture, and the third is specifically created to group ECRs which derive from religion and are, at the same time, deeply instilled in the daily interactions of the Algerian people. Table 101 provides the total numbers of ECRs pertaining to each one of these sub-divisions.

Table 101
Social ECRs in the Films

Society	F1	F2
	N°	N°
- Social Expressions	7	13
- Customs and traditions	1	3
- Social ECRs of Religious origin	22	21
TOTAL	30	37

Social ECRs in both films occur in large and approximate numbers, 30 in F1 and 37 in F2. Most of them are concentrated in the third subgroup, most likely because religion has a direct influence on people's daily life and social interactions. In the first sub-category, the ECRs from F2 are almost double the number of those in F1. They are mainly inspired from the speakers' natural environment, and some of them are taken from the dialogue in sequences where popular folk poetry is being recited. Miloud, a central character in F2, uses this form of expression almost every time he speaks to transmit messages with a double meaning. This type of poetry is deeply anchored in the Algerian tradition, as it represents both a means of entertainment and way to express frustration against the coloniser during the time of war. Recitation of folk poetry was specifically common in rural areas, which explains its presence in this film and reinforces its cultural value. As regards the remaining sub-division, a little number of ECRs is found in both texts. As opposed to the actual events in the stories that mainly reflect profound hardship, most of these ECRs are hypothetically used to refer to

practices and celebrations that would be held in times of joy and welfare, which may explain their scarcity in the texts. Nonetheless, through the visual channel different aspect of social life and tradition can be observed even though they are not verbally expressed.

5. 7. 5. Religion

All the references in this section are taken from the Islamic religion, since it is the basic one that Algerians follow. Their number is higher in F2 in comparison to F1, possibly because the characters in some scenes have directly invoked religion as a means of consolation for their sufferings and a way to gather their forces against the occupants. The clear presence of such ECRs in the texts indicates that religion has a strong influence on Algerians' social behaviour and character, and increases the viewers' familiarity with the Algerian mores.

5.7.6. Food and Beverages

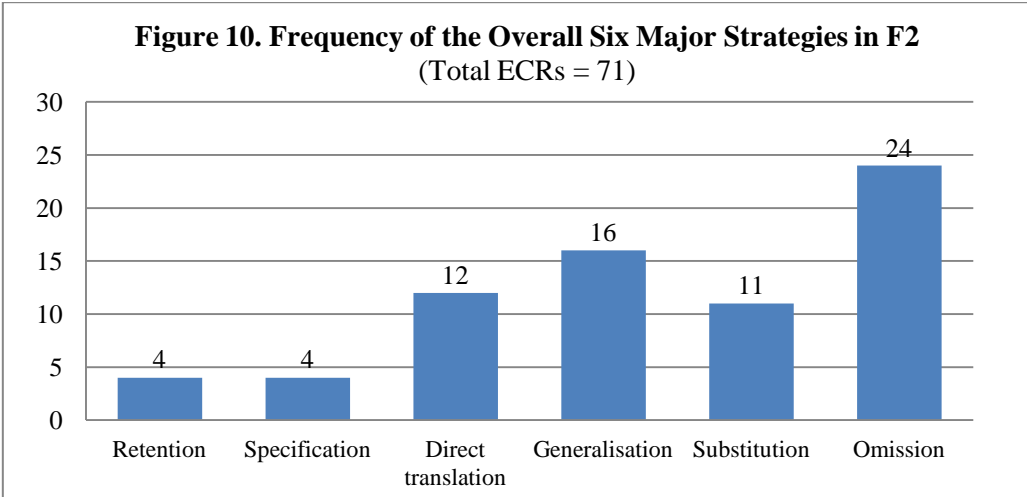
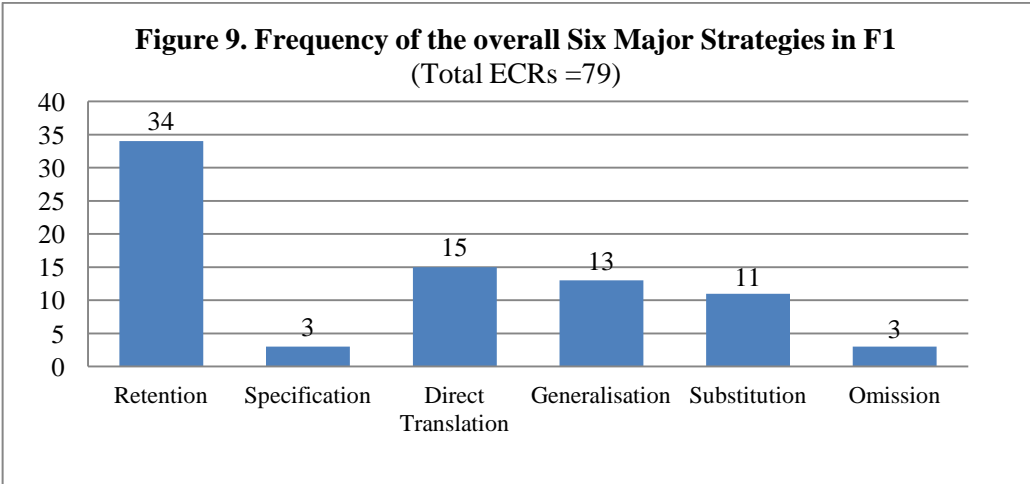
This last category of ECRs groups only five from F2 and none from F1. Their occurrence in the text is related to the context. Some foods are intentionally brought into the discussion to cast light on their cultural significance in certain regions of Algeria, while others come naturally as part of everyday eating habits. These ECRs add local colour to the text and offer a brief glimpse at this important component of culture. Their nonexistence in F2 may be due to a great focus on the harsh conditions people were having, as they were struggling to obtain the basic ingredients to prepare such meals.

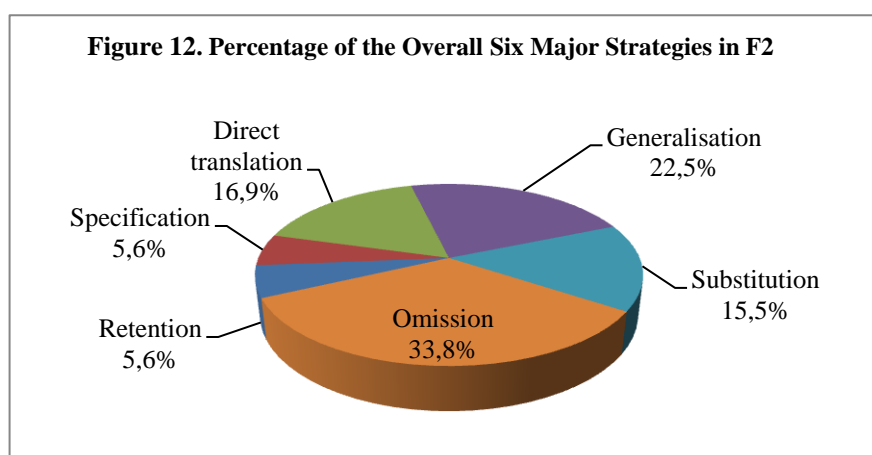
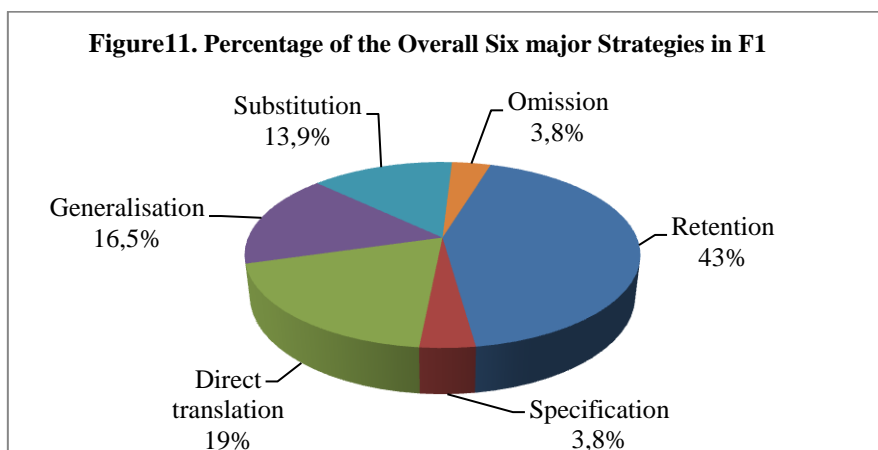
5.8. The Process-Oriented Analysis of the Rendering of ECRs in the Films

The micro-level analysis of the rendering of ECRs in the previous sections shows that all the major strategies suggested in Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy, along with their subcategories, are adopted in both translations (except for 'Official Equivalent' in F2). It was

sometimes hard to determine which local strategy is used, especially when cases of combination were suspected. Nevertheless, a small number of specific combinations of strategies is resolved. They all combine the strategies of ‘Official Equivalent’ and ‘Retention’; however, these instances are counted among those of ‘Retention’ and no count of ‘Official Equivalent’ is considered (more details are later provided in Section 5.8.7.). Thus, for each translation unit a precise strategy is followed and only the six baseline strategies of the model are included in the investigation.

In this section, numerical data are provided in an attempt to explain general trends in the subtitling process and describe regular patterns of translation behaviour. Empirical observations are given for each type of strategy and the results from both films are contrasted to meet the above objectives.





The results in the preceding figures show that Monocultural ECRs are treated differently in each film. Retention is predominantly used in 43 % of the cases in F1, as opposed to Omission with a percentage of 33.8 % in F2. Thus, minimal change strategies (i.e. Retention and Direct Translation) are employed in a much higher percentage in F1 (62 %) than in F2 (22.5 %). On the other hand, interventional strategies (i.e. Specification, Generalisation and Substitution) amount to 34.2 % in F1 and 43.6 % in F2. The latter percentages indicate that Monocultural ECRs are enough complex to require intervention from the translator to make them more accessible to the viewers. To note, more interventional strategies are counted in

F2, with a difference of 9.4 %. It is clearly due to the small percentage of the minimal change strategies that were employed in this film.

To better understand the translation process and reveal general trends, all the strategies are subsequently examined on an individual level, together with their subcategories. The case analyses of the subtitles from the previous sections (cf. 5.5. & 5.6) are given central consideration.

5.8.1. Retention

As explained in section (5.3.1.), the strategy of Retention includes three subcategories:

- Complete Retention: the ST ECR is kept as it is in the TT. It can be Marked (with quotations or the use of italics) or Unmarked (no distinguishing features).
- TL-adjusted Retention: the ST ECR is somewhat adjusted to meet TL standards.

Table 102 groups the absolute numbers and percentages of these subcategories in F1 and F2.

Table 102
Occurrence of Retention by Subcategory

	F1		F2	
	N°	%	N°	%
Complete -Marked	1	2.9	0	0
Complete -Unmarked	25	73.5	4	100
TL-adjusted	8	23.5	0	0
Total	34	99.9	4	100

The figures indicate that Unmarked Complete Retention receives the highest percentages in F1 with 73.5 % and with 100 % in F2. Its marked form is insignificant in both texts; while its TL-adjustment occurs in a somewhat reduced percentage in F1 (23.5 %) and absolutely no such amount is observed in F2.

As shown in Figure 9, a large number of ECRs is rendered using Retention in F1. They mostly consist of Proper Names (10 Geographical names and 23 Personal names), in addition to one example from the domain of Food and Beverages. In F2, Figure 10 shows that only four ECRs are rendered using this strategy, two Proper Names (1 Geographical and 1 Personal), one Professional Title and one Social ECR of Religious Origin.

According to Pedersen (2011), Retention is the most source-oriented strategy, as it keeps the most degree of foreignness of the ST and requires minimum effort from the subtitler. Therefore, he argues that it is “not the most felicitous way of solving a translation problem that involves a Monocultural ECR, as it offers no guidance whatsoever to the TT audience” (p. 78). Even with these facts, the use of Retention in F1 is observably related to the type of film in question; given that its underlying skopos is to recreate real events and report historical information. Consequently, personal and geographical names can manifestly be only treated using this strategy. This does not, however, hinder the understanding capacity of the viewers because they can infer their nature from the co-text. Their connotations are also peripheral enough to be given much consideration, as they mainly add local colour to the texts. As a result, unless these ECRs are not relevant at the macro-level, they can pretty much be omitted, as in the case of F2 where most text-internal ECRs from ‘Personal Names’ were not brought in the subtitle.

The other examples from both films exhibit a central importance at the micro-level (central to the local discourse). They are retained because they hold no valid equivalent in the TC. Consequently, their meanings are not supposed to be accessible to the target audience because of their deep culturality; still, it does not pose a big problem because they occur in very limited numbers in the STs. To note, it is difficult to judge whether the concept of ‘Ramadan’ (cf. Table 92, Translation Unit N° 59) was recognised at the time when F2 was released. If so, adopting the strategy of Retention would be considered felicitous in this case.

5.8.2. Specification

Within each film, the strategy of Specification forms one of the lowest percentages, as it makes 3.8% in F1 and 5.6% in F2. Pedersen (2011) justifies that this strategy is demanding both in the amount of effort that it requires from the subtitler to be more precise and in the space needed to write further information in the subtitle.

Specification is adopted to treat ECRs from the sub-domain of Geographical Names in both films and from the domains of Society, in F1, and History, in F2. As much as these references required more clarification vis-à-vis their meanings, no regular pattern is observed between the choice of strategy and the type of ECR.

As previously explained in section (5.3.1.), Specification aims at disambiguating meaning for the TC audience, based on two main subcategories:

- Completion: Generally when the added information is part of the linguistic expression of the ST ECR, i.e. in most cases, abbreviated names or acronyms.
- Addition: involves adding information that is part of the ST ECR's sense. It is based either on meronymy, polysemy or hyponymy, through the use of an evaluative adjective or by adding semantic elements that do not alter the linguistic surface-structure of the ST ECR.

Table 103 presents the statistical data concerning the use of this strategy in the films under study.

Table 103

Occurrence of Specification by Subcategory

	F1		F2	
	N°	%	N°	%
Completion	0	0	2	50
Addition	3	100	2	50
Total	3	100	4	100

Table 103 reveals that both strategies occur in even amounts in F2; while only Addition is employed in F1. All of them are central at the micro-level. The use of subordination within the subcategory of Addition is more often observed in the examples because it does not take much space in the subtitle. On the other hand, Completion and Addition (by adding an evaluative adjective) are opted for when the subtitler is not constrained by space.

5.8.3. Direct Translation

The overall occurrence of this strategy is almost the same in both films. As shown in Figures 11 and 12, Direct Translation appears in a slightly higher percentage in F1 (19 %) than in F2 (16.9 %). Regarding the distribution of the relevant subcategories, the forthcoming table (Table 104) indicates that the use of Shifted Direct Translation accounts for a leading percentage in F2, as opposed to F1 in which both subcategories are almost equally employed. The reason is that Calque is more often required to deal with a certain category of ECRs in F1, whose lexical features make them a candidate for borrowing in the TL. To note, Calque is a subcategory that is also referred to as ‘loan translation’; while Shifted Direct Translation is identified as ‘literal translation’ in which no obligatory shifts in the rendering of the ST ECR are necessary.

As regards the relation between the use of this particular strategy and the list of domains, no specific regularities are noticed in both films. Direct Translation is employed with different ECRs from all the domains. Nonetheless, it is more frequent in the domain of Proper Names. Pedersen (2011) asserts that “it is not uncommon for rendering the names that are constructed of common nouns, and which thus have compositional sense which can be translated” (p. 83), as in the sub-domain of Professional Titles in F1.

Table 104*Occurrence of Direct Translation by Subcategory*

	F1		F2	
	N	%	N	%
Calque	7	46.7	1	8.3
Shifted	8	53.3	11	91.7
Total	15	100	12	100

5.8.4. Generalisation

As shown in Figures 11 and 12, Generalisation is the highest rated strategy among the interventional strategies in either film, with 13 occurrences in F1 and 16 in F2. Its general percentages show that it takes place in a more significant number in F2 (22.5 %) than in F1 (16.5 %). This strategy gives an alternative for cumbersome material because it can condense long ST ECRs and render them in less detail using one of its two major subcategories:

- Paraphrase: offers a reformulation of the original and avoids certain circumlocutions.
- Use of Superordinate Term: to substitute cases of hyponymy, meronymy or metonymy.

Table 105 outlines the findings about the frequencies of occurrence of these subcategories.

Table 105*Occurrence of Generalisation by Subcategory*

	F1		F2	
	N	%	N	%
Paraphrase	11	84.6	15	93.8
Superordinate Term	2	15.4	1	6.2
Total	13	100	16	100

The figures in the table reveal that Paraphrase is far more commonly employed in both texts than Superordinate Terms. No differences are noted in the application of these

subcategories. The renderings using Paraphrase are mostly motivated by the intention to make the original references accessible to the TC audience, rather than being concerned by media-specific constraints. Moreover, the use of Generalisation chiefly removes cultural precisions and, in some cases, avoids redundancy.

Generalisation is essentially followed with references that hold explicit cultural information. It is considerably used with ECRs from the domain of Society, more specifically with Social ECRs of Religious Origin. It is not dealt with in the domains of Proper Names and Institutional Titles; and is also found in those of History, Religion and Food and beverages.

5.8.5. Substitution

Substitution is the interventional strategy that involves complete replacement of the SC ECR. It appears in comparable numbers in the films. Figures 11 and 12 show that Substitution is employed in a relatively smaller degree in F1 (13.9 %) than in F2 (15.5 %). As described earlier in section (5.3.1.), this strategy is divided into two main subcategories:

- *Cultural Substitution*: is, consecutively, subdivided into:
 - TC ECR: the SC ECR is replaced by another ECR from the TC.
 - Transcultural ECR: the SC ECR is replaced by an ECR from the SC or a third culture that would be recognised in both source and target cultures.
- *Situational Substitution*: the SC ECR is replaced by something totally different that matches the situation, as any connection between the two is dismissed.

The next table offers more detail about the numerical findings on the use of these subcategories in F1 and F2.

Table 106
Occurrence of Substitution by Subcategory

	F1		F2	
	N	%	N	%
Transcultural ECR	1	9.1	0	0
Target Culture ECR	9	81.8	8	72.7
Situational	1	9.1	3	27.3
Total	11	100	11	100

Table 106 demonstrates that Cultural Substitution with a TC ECR is predominantly applied in both films, while only one instance from F1 marks the use of a Transcultural ECR. The reason goes to the large distance between the source and target cultures. Transcultural ECRs from the SC are, consequently, very rare. In addition, Situational substitution is, in most cases, not based on a conscious decision, as the translators in both films seem to miss the real meaning of the SC ECRs. As regards Substitution and domains, no clear link is identified in both films; however, higher rates are found in the domain of Society, probably because social ECRs carry deep cultural connotations that have counter representations in the TC, and which would be more accessible to the target audience by the use of this strategy.

5.8.6. Omission

Using this strategy entails that the SC ECR is not rendered in any way in the subtitle. The statistical results show a significant quantitative difference in the occurrence of this strategy between the investigated subtitles. Figures 11 and 12 indicate that omission is employed only 3 times in F1, as opposed to 24 times in F2. The general percentages of this strategy attribute the highest figure to F2 (33.8 %) and lowest one to F1 (3.8 %).

The use of this strategy is mainly concentrated in the domain of Society, more specifically in Social ECRs of Religious Origin, where all instances from F1 are found. In F2, However, Omission is employed within other domains, such as Religion and Professional

Titles. Thus, no clear pattern is identified, as the principal reasons behind the deletion seem to be motivated by time and space constraints and ECRs' peripheral status in the texts. The centrality of the references is only judged by the subtitler, who, in F2, seems to delete every SC ECR that does not convey essential information in the original discourse, especially if it designates unknown concepts in the TC or at times subjects to media-specific constraints.

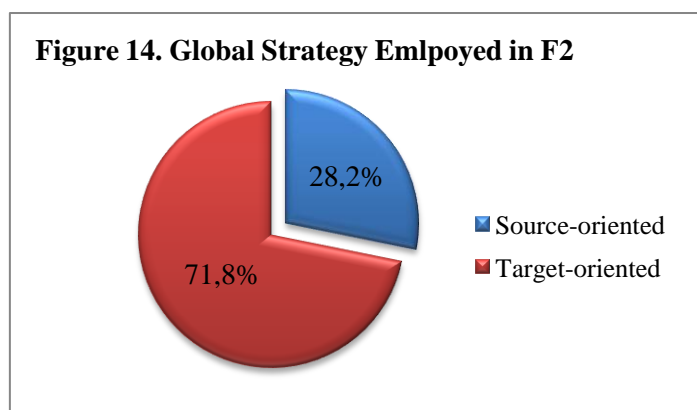
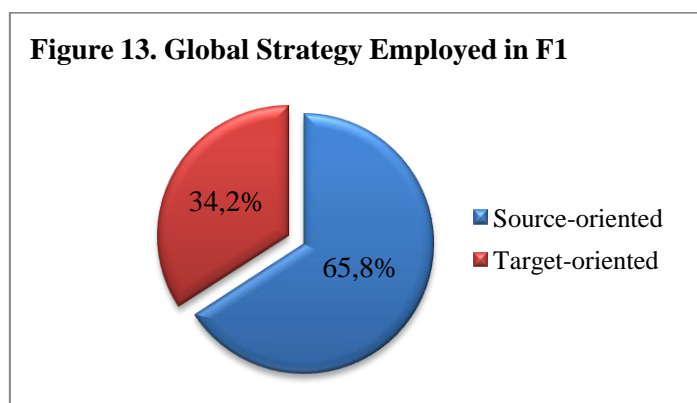
5.8.7. Official Equivalent

As already defined in section (5.3.1.), this last strategy is of a different kind because a ready-made TL equivalent for the SC ECR exists by means of an official decision or through entrenchment (standard translation). For this reason, it is judged to be neither a source nor a target-oriented strategy. It can, also, be based on any other translation strategy.

The results, in the present investigation, indicate that seven potential cases of Official Equivalent are found in F1; while none is observed in F2. All the examples in F1 belong to the subcategory of Geographical Names and are all based on Retention because some of the names are rendered using the exact same spelling of the original, such as 'Aures' and 'Batna'. The others present slight orthographical changes, such as 'Constantine' and 'Oran'. Apart from 'Kabylie', all these proper names were given by the French administration to the departments of French Algeria during the occupation. Nonetheless, as Pedersen (2011) argues, it is difficult to verify that these solutions are really based on Official Equivalent or are simply Retention solutions. This is why it is decided that as long as they are both minimal change strategies that preserve the original ECR, no distinction between them is made and they are all considered cases of Retention. Therefore, these examples are marked out, in section (5.5.1.1), as ECRs rendered using 'Official Equivalent based on Retention' just to distinguish them from other cases of Retention.

5.9. Global Translation Strategies in the Films

This section aims to determine the overall strategy that is applied to each text as a whole and identify its occurrence within each domain of ECRs. As already explained in section 5.3, Pedersen's (2011) model includes six baseline strategies that are ordered from source to target orientation: the first three are source-oriented (Retention-Specification-Direct Translation) and the three others are target-oriented (Generalisation-Substitution-Omission). The calculation of the percentage occurrence of these strategies in each film is illustrated in the following figures.



The percentages in Figure 13 show that the subtitler in F1 adopted a foreignising method, as the proportion of source-oriented strategies (65.8%) is about two times the one of target-oriented strategies (34.2%). Conversely, Figure 14 indicates that the domesticating global

method is prevalent in F2 with a significant percentage of source-oriented strategies (71.8%) as compared to that of target-oriented ones (28.2%). Therefore, it is clear that the global strategy in each film influenced the choice of strategy at a local level and that the choice of global strategy is, in turn, governed by a set of norms that show certain dissimilarities.

When it comes to global strategy and domains, the occurrence of strategies within each domain is illustrated in the subsequent graphs according to their source or target orientation.

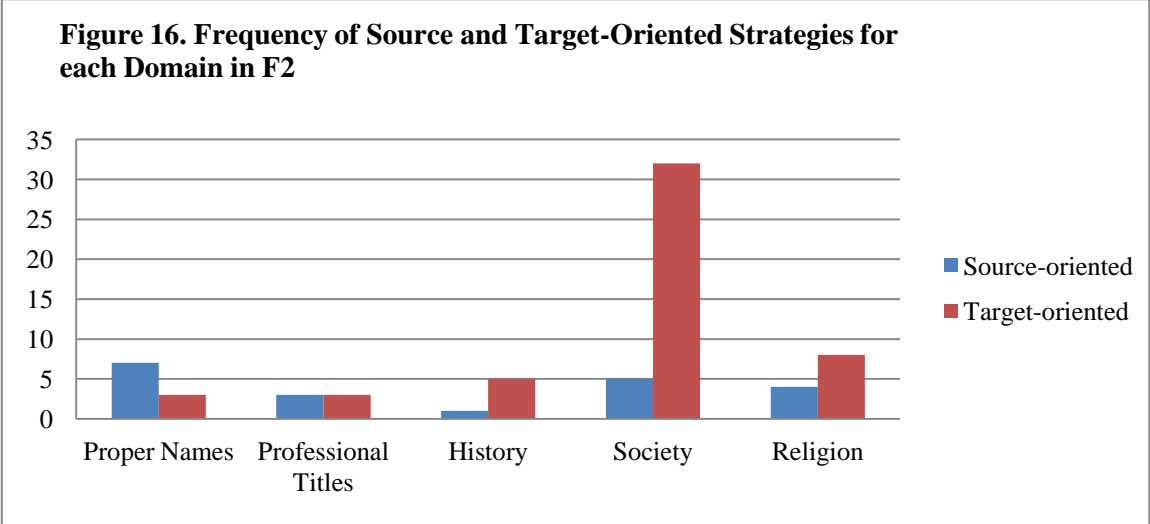
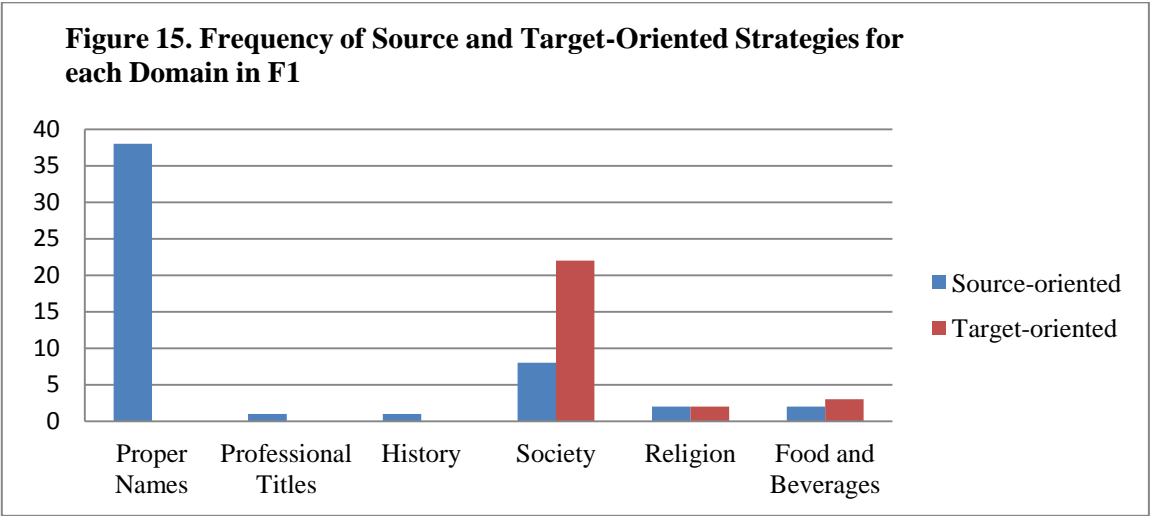


Figure 15 shows that source-oriented strategies are used in all the domains; while target-oriented ones are restricted to only three domains: ‘Society’, ‘Religion’ and ‘Food and beverages’. They are followed in equal numbers with religious ECRs, a relatively higher number of target-oriented strategies is employed with ECRs from the domain of ‘Food and beverages’; while source-oriented strategies are exclusively employed in the domains of ‘Proper Names’, ‘Professional Titles’ and ‘History’. In addition, target-oriented strategies are used in three times the number of source-oriented ones in the domain of ‘Society’.

Figure 16 shows that both source and target-oriented strategies are present in all the domains. They are equally used in ‘Professional Titles’, double the number of source-oriented strategies is used in ‘Proper Names’; while double the number of target-oriented ones is found in ‘Religion’. In addition, the number of target-oriented strategies is five times higher than the source-oriented ones in ‘History’ and six times higher in ‘Society’.

The varying occurrence of global strategies within each domain reveals that the ECRs in the investigated subtitles are treated differently, except for the domain of ‘Society’ where a certain similarity is noticed. The subtitling situation and the number of ECRs within each domain make it difficult to draw any conclusions in this regard.

5.10. Summary of the Results

This section provides a full summary of the empirical findings in the study at hand. The analysis of the two film subtitles resulted in a total of 79 ECRs in F1 and 71 ECRs in F2. These numbers are approximate and high enough to carry out a proper investigation. Both groups of ECRs are organised according to their types into different domains. The ensuing lists of domains are similar, as they equally include the domains of ‘Proper Names’, ‘Professional Titles’, ‘History’, ‘Society’ and ‘Religion’. Only F1 takes in ‘Food and Beverages’ as a further domain. The numbers of ECRs within each domain vary according to

their significance in the original dialogues. Nonetheless, they present a comparable pattern and provide altogether a rich assortment of elements proper to the Algerian culture.

As regards translation strategies, the six baseline strategies in Pedersen's (2011) model were utilised in order to render all the extracted ECRs. The seventh strategy, i.e. Official Equivalent, was not employed at all in F2; while F1 consisted of a few potential cases that were exclusively based on Retention. The latter were eventually counted among those of Retention, as they offer the same solution. Thus, Official Equivalent can be said to be also excluded in F1.

Statistical differences are observed in the use of minimal change and interventional strategies in the two translations. Minimal change strategies are significantly higher in F1; while interventional strategies form important percentages in both films, which are relatively higher in F2. The use of the latter type of strategies indicates that Monocultural ECRs are enough problematic for the translator to get involved.

Concerning regularities in strategic behaviour, both similarities and differences are detected. No clear pattern is identified between the choice of strategy and the type of ECR in both films, as all local strategies are employed with ECRs from different domains. However, there are some strategies that are more common when dealing with specific types of references. For example, Retention is mostly used in its Complete Unmarked form with ECRs pertaining to the domain of Proper Names, more specifically Personal Names; and Direct Translation is also more frequent with Proper Names that hold a compositional sense. In addition, the strategies of Generalisation, Substitution and Omission are seen to be more generally adopted with ECRs from the domain of Society, more specifically with ECRs of Religious Origin.

Moreover, the results confirm that the choice of strategy is influenced by all the parameters put forward by Pedersen (2011) (cf. section 5.3.2). Accordingly, Retention is used

when ECRs are central at the marco-level, since they serve the genre of the films and their underlying objective to transmit historical information. Retention is also applied if the ECRs are important at the micro-level, come in limited numbers in the original and have no equivalent in the TT. The strategy of Specification occurs in reduced figures in both translations because it is restricted by media-specific constraints and demands skilfulness and effort from the subtitler. In addition, Direct Translation is mostly used when the meaning of an ECR is clear in the TC or supported by polysemiotics and the rest of the dialogue. Conversely, when the meaning is both culturally distant and central, the subtitler resorts to interventional strategies of Generalisation or Substitution to make it more accessible. Paraphrase offers a reformulation of the original, especially when media-specific constraints are weak; while Cultural Substitution is employed when there is an ECR in the TC that has an equivalent effect to the original. Furthermore, Omission is frequently adopted in cases when media-specific constraints are strong and ECRs are culturally distant and peripheral. The use of this strategy depends on the subtitler's personal decision over the degree of importance of ECRs in the text, which may be influenced by the subtitling situation.

In addition, the results revealed that the global strategies employed in each film are different. F1 adopted a foreignising approach because more source-oriented strategies were used (65.8%), as compared with F2 which opted for a domesticating method and significantly employed more target-oriented strategies (71.8%). Retention is the most common strategy in F1, with 43%; while, Omission constitutes the most common one in F2, with 33.8%. The strategies in-between presented more or less approximate figures, which occur in gradual figures following source to target orientation. The choice of global strategy seems to have a direct effect on local strategic behaviour and to be simultaneously influenced by further considerations related to the subtitling situation.

5.11. Discussion of the Results

This section aims to provide a general discussion of the results and tries to offer tentative explanations of the reasons that might have motivated the choice of strategy and the translation behaviour in the films, when dealing with ECRs. Special focus is given to norms, since they constitute a fundamental concept in the study of translation that “seeks to explain why a particular equivalence has been reached and what this means in the historical context in which the translation took place” (Cintas, 2004, p. 26). Hence, it is possible to verify the claim that norms change over time and spot the differences between the two translations. The discussion is more specifically based on the initial norms that make up the translator’s basic decision whether to subscribe to the norms embodied in the source text’s language and culture (adequacy) or to those of the target culture (acceptability) (Toury, 1995). In other words, the reasons behind the choice of global strategy are at the heart of this discussion.

In the present investigation, it is not possible to make any broad generalisations based on only two translations because they present restricted bodies of data. Toury (1995) suggests that the formulation of valid explanations requires extending the corpus either directly or indirectly, using explanations from previous studies. Despite the limitation concerning the availability of potential texts for analysis, including a larger corpus falls beyond the scope of this study in terms of time and effort. In addition, relying on previous studies that dealt with the same object of analysis is presumably not viable because such works could not be found.

It is also not possible to extend the corpus based on works that follow the same axis of research, yet from a different language and culture, as this does not serve the basic aims of the research. Even so, the study at hand contributes in gaining better insight into some possible tendencies in translating cultural specificity from Algerian Arabic into English and draws tentative conclusions, based on the two films, which can be verified in subsequent studies.

The findings show that the global approach is different in each film. F1 adopts a foreignising method as opposed to F2, which is basically domesticated. This is reflected in the choice of local level strategies and the tendency to apply one type of strategy more than the other. This distinction may be due to a temporal change in evaluating the degree of transculturality of an ECR. The effect of the globalisation process and the development of information technology seem to have a direct impact on the assimilation of foreign cultural items and their recognition by the target audience.

In fact, public access to mass media and easy interaction between the members of different communities allowed cultures to circulate globally and people to acquire shared knowledge about the values and lifestyles that exist around the world. In this regard, Zojer (2011) points out that “regardless of any geographical and/or national border, cultures have become ever more inextricably interconnected and entangled” (p. 409). From a translational point of view, she adds that this specific form of globalisation “allows subtitlers to leave cultural references untouched, not because they are difficult to translate but because they have become (or are on the way to become) their own generally recognised, and therefore untranslated, cultural items” (p. 408). Thus, this might explain why the translator in F1 had recourse to a high frequency of source-oriented strategies as opposed to the one in F2 who depended on Omission in 33.8% of the cases.

Moreover, although non-normative behaviour may be adopted by certain translators -something that is unlikely in real practice-, the reasons that have effected altered instances of behaviour may be linked to the characteristic features of norms as being socio-cultural and instable (Toury, 1995). The fact that certain norms apply to a particular society does not mean that they are accepted in another. This has to do with Hermans’ (2013) translation poetics which “may be understood as made up of a body of mostly normative textual expectations together with a set of canonical models and practices” (p. 5).

Viewed from this angle, a translation poetics decides what should be retained or rejected from another culture in accordance with the level of public acceptance in the target culture, and determines the way the latter perceives itself in comparison with other cultures. Thus, some cultural components are discarded since they would not produce a positive response among the viewers; while some are embraced because of a need to learn or out of curiosity. Consequently, this might constitute a potential explanation for the increased inclusion of certain cultural elements in the analysed subtitles, as acceptability and public expectations are prone to change over time.

Another potential reason for the growing tendency to foreignise is the raised awareness about the cultural domination that certain countries exert over others, due to power imbalance. This trend is particularly observed by postcolonial theorists of translation to occur between the cultures that have been subjugated to others as a result of colonial rule, that is to say first-world versus third-world countries. In this sense, Robinson (2007) points out that “when a hegemonic culture does translate works produced by the dominated culture, those works will be perceived and presented as difficult, mysterious, inscrutable, esoteric, and in need of a small cadre of intellectuals to interpret them” (p. 197). This is the case of F2 which not only does it depict colonialism from the perception of the dominated Algerian population, it was released in France at a time when the shred between the two countries was still fresh. Consequently, the overall domestication in this film is a clear indicator that the source cultural dimension is faced with refutation and denial. On the other hand, foreignisation in F1 signifies that political manipulation of audiovisual products is losing ground in the global market as, to Robinson (2007), “silenced and peripheralized populations all over the world find a voice, and begin to tell their stories so that the hegemonic cultures that had silenced and peripheralized them can hear” (p. 190).

Following the same line of thought, Venuti (1995) claims that translation into English is specifically characterised by domestication, since the large volume of audiovisual productions in English created a significant asymmetry in terms of cultural exchange, and imposed the language's culture by controlling the translation into other languages (Cintas, 2004). Domestication in F2 can, thus, be understood to conform to this norm; while foreignisation in F1 can be seen as a sign of diversion and resistance to this common trend.

The fact that both films in the present analysis were subtitled abroad by the same multilingual subtitling company (Titra Film) may, additionally, demonstrate that the changing global approach to subtitling this type of film is influenced by the shifting standards and new developments in the European industry. Technological advances in the field helped translators to cover all the subtitling steps, using simple equipment. At the same time, the high demand for film consumption and the advent of the DVD affected the professional practice of such companies. Diaz Cintas (2004) reports that they “are starting to ask for ‘Literal’ translations which hardly move away from the original, even at the risk of the final translation being devoid of meaning in the TL” (p. 198).

Furthermore, the increasing size of academic research on the field and its inclusion at university level in Europe changed the professional requirements of people who translate audiovisual material, with the aim to improve translation quality (Janecová, 2012). As a result, new professionals have studied at university and are assumed to be more systematic in their translation of different film genres and their choice of global strategy. Accordingly, foreignisation in F1 may have to do with its underlying informative function. Since “documentaries may be considered informative genres, with narrative, descriptive, persuasive and expository functions, according to the classification by Rosa Agost for the translation of audiovisual genres (1999: 30, 40)” (Espasa, 2004, p. 192), orienting the translation towards the original means that maintaining local colour as part of the informative situation would

provide the same desired effect on the target audience and ensure a better understanding of the film's sequences.

In sum, from the data obtained in this study, it is possible to assume that there is a tendency to foreignise Algerian films that belong to the historical genre in their translation from Algerian Arabic into English. The large time gap between the dates of release of the two films under analysis shows that different factors contributed to the changing general approach in subtitling this type of film. They mainly have to do with social and political issues of power imbalance, the effects of globalisation on the circulation of audiovisual products worldwide, film genre, public familiarity with different cultural components, and the developments of the professional practice of subtitling. On the other hand, it is impossible to provide any certain generalisations based on a limited corpus, as more extensive and varied research is further required to validate these observations.

Conclusion

The analysis of the whole subtitles of the film selection indicated that culture is deeply rooted and undetachable from language. Its rendering requires careful manipulation from the translators who seem to apply varying strategies to cope with all sorts of related problems and limitations. The results revealed striking information about the way these Algerian films were subtitled into English using opposite general approaches, and offered a clear insight into the many possible reasons that affected the choice of such strategies, as shaped by different timeframes. The study also unveiled significant dimensions concerning the crucial importance of studying this type of language transfer and the way culture is transmitted across international borders.

Limitations of the Study

Although the main objectives of the study have been fulfilled, some limitations were unavoidable. First, finding a theoretical basis was very time-consuming because almost no relevant document was found at the level of our university libraries, which directed the entire search toward the internet. A significant number of downloaded books and articles were gathered across time; however, not having the most pertinent documentation, at times, had a negative impact on supporting and structuring some important areas in the theoretical part.

Second, irrespective of the time limit, the size of the sample was restricted to two films in order to carry out the empirical investigation. Despite the fact that they perfectly fit the basic requirements of this study, the choice was very limited because it was hard to find more films that hold the same comparable patterns, even within other genres. After many attempts to contact the Cinematheque of Algiers and the CNCA (*Centre National de la Cinématographie et de l'Audiovisuel*), a long list of Algerian films that were subtitled into English was provided; nonetheless, they are not digitised and are kept in their old format. This is why they suggested that they could only show them once at the level of their establishment in Algiers. Unfortunately, such a condition makes it impossible to successfully extract all the ECRs in each film because this operation requires repeated scrutiny, especially if the sound and the writing quality are bad.

Third, although the questionnaire elicited insightful information, the data gathered from the teachers' responses cannot be generalised for two reasons. The first lies in the tool of investigation itself as the answers cannot be judged to be all comprehensive and informative. The respondents may have been restrained by time or any other condition, principally when it came to open answer questions to which not everyone provided an elaborate reply. The second reason has to do with the number of respondents which shrunk to twelve. Probably because the questionnaire was administered online, not all the teachers to whom it was sent

felt motivated to fill it in. This operation was, consequently, impeded and it was hard to find the contacts of more teachers with the same profile. At the same time, the feedback obtained met the necessary requirements and was enough informative and convincing.

CONCLUSION AND PEDAGOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Culture is projected in audiovisual texts through different channels. This study brings into focus verbally expressed cultural references in order to underline the intricate relation between language and culture. It specifically aims to gain insight into how cultural specificity is rendered in Algerian film subtitles and tries to unveil the basic reasons behind the varying choices of translation strategy at both local and global levels. With regard to issues of power differentials and cultural asymmetry, the research also attempts to explore whether these choices are norm-governed and whether translating into English implies the use of domesticating strategies. Time change gives an extra dimension to the study, as it constitutes a potential variable that has a direct effect on the translation behaviour.

The empirical data were gathered based on two major methods. First, a questionnaire administered to teachers of subtitling at European universities. It received a total of twelve responses from universities situated mainly in Spain and the UK. Second, a contrastive analysis between the English subtitles of two Algerian films, following Pedersen's (2011) model of analysis. The films, namely *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'* and *'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'*, hold multiple comparable patterns and a time gap of thirty three years that served the comparative study in terms of diachronic change and in the number and type of ECRs extracted from the subtitles.

The obtained results revealed that the total number of ECRs in the first film is 79, as opposed to 71 in the second. They were rendered in the subtitles using different strategies. The product-oriented analysis observably revealed that the translators in both films were generally conscious of their decision-making as to which type of translation strategy is better suited to each situation. The numerical results have shown that a high degree of regularity characterised the translators' choice of strategy, as they both conformed to all the operational

norms generalised by Pedersen (2011). Certain regularity was also observed between the choice of strategy and the type of ECR in both films, given that some strategies were often employed with particular types of ECRs. In addition, these findings are defended by teachers' responses to the questionnaire concerning the strategies adopted and their influencing parameters when rendering ECRs. Therefore, based on these results, the first hypothesis in this research is confirmed and the analysed subtitles can be said to be governed by norms.

The second hypothesis predicts that a change in time might influence the translation behaviour that is adopted in the films under investigation. The findings show that a clear distinction exists between the total numbers of source and target-oriented strategies in the two translations. *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'* is statistically foreignised, while *'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'* is domesticated. A change is also sustained by teachers' responses, in chapter four, about the subtitling practice in connection to time difference. The hypothesis is validated because there are different reasons that can possibly explain this change. They are mainly categorised into social and political issues of power differentials, as well as other issues of globalisation and development in the field of audiovisual translation, particularly subtitling.

The third hypothesis attempts to verify the claim that domesticating is the norm when translating into English and the dominant 'Anglo-American culture'. The same findings regarding the global method followed in each one of the films indicate that the translator in *'Chronicle of the Smoldering Years'* was more keen on complying with the norms of the target language and culture and applied more domesticating strategies in the subtitles. On the other hand, the translator in *'Mostefa Ben Boulaid'* opted for adequacy rather than acceptability and employed foreignisation, as it conforms to the norms embedded in the source text's language and culture. The hypothesis is confirmed and the claim is invalidated,

since using domestication in the past can be said to support this claim; however, using foreignisation rejects it and shows a sign of opposition and change.

Considering all the obtained results, a change in the general rendering of the cultural specificity and a tendency to foreignise Algerian films that belong to the historical genre in their translation from Algerian Arabic into English is supposed to have occurred. Nonetheless, further research based on a more extensive corpus is required to make any broad generalisations. In this prospect, carrying out several contrastive analyses of this kind seems to be, according to Cintas (2004) “an overly demanding enterprise, apparently only feasible for researchers with lots of spare time and energy. For those without the time, this research requires a group effort” (p. 27).

Taking the translation of ECRs as a measuring tool, the analyses demonstrated that Pedersen’s (2011) taxonomy was adequate, as all the strategies provided matched the renderings of these references in both translations. Using the same model of analysis is, consequently, recommended for future studies that deal with the same type of text. It can be also employed in analytical examinations of films from different genres rather than just historical ones, in order to check whether the previous assumption applies to other types of film and whether the norms that regulate the translator’s behaviour can actually bear any similarity.

In addition, more focused research should be specifically dedicated to Algerian culture and its components from interdisciplinary perspectives, in order to gain better understanding into its characteristic features and highlight its importance on many levels. More consideration should be particularly given to Algerian Arabic because it is given a lower status as compared to Standard Arabic, although it is the language of Algerians’ daily communication and the one that truly expresses natural settings and various aspects of the

Algerian culture on television and cinema screens. The same applies to Berber language varieties that are spoken in many parts of the Algerian territory.

As far as academic training is concerned, the Algerian university in general is requested to invest in educational systems that take into consideration the need for specialisation in the field of translation studies and respond to the market's demand, specifically in terms of real professionals in the translation for audiovisual media. In fact, most, if not all, the Algerian cinematic productions have always been translated abroad, at European subtitling companies. Not much is known about the national identity of the people who are in charge of the translation. However, past research as well as the responses to the questionnaire survey in chapter four emphasise the importance of a good mastery of both source and target languages and cultures for translators and the relevance of cultural awareness to the quality of the translated material. They also highlight the importance of academic education in this particular field.

Among the different possibilities for preparing trainees in the field of translation studies in general and audiovisual translation in particular, integrating culture as a significant competence area in the field is necessary, in order to shift from normative behaviours that come at the expense of proper cultural communication and constrain translators' interpretative skills. Relying on previous research activities, combined with practical experiences, can lead to positive improvement in the training approaches in the field and eventually fulfil both the academic and professional requirements for translators of audiovisual texts.

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Appendix 1
Teachers' Questionnaire

We would be extremely grateful if you could fill out the following questionnaire as part of a doctoral research. Your thoughtful answers will provide an invaluable insight into how culture specificity is rendered in film subtitling and how it is approached at the academic level. Accordingly, this questionnaire aims at gathering direct information about teachers' experience and perception of the importance of culture, strategies of cultural transfer and teaching methods.

Be certain that your responses will remain strictly confidential and will not serve any other purpose than the one stated above. Thank you for your cooperation.

Guidance: for each item, please tick the right box or write in the space provided.

Personal Information

1. Name of university/ college where you teach subtitling:

.....

2. a. Academic degree(s) held:

BA (licence)

MA (master/ magister)

PHD (doctorate)

- b. In:

Translation

AVT

Other (please specify)

.....

3. Work experience (number of years as a teacher):

.....

4. Have you ever worked at a subtitling company?

Yes

No

5. If your answer is 'yes', for how long?

.....

Teaching Practice

6. What modules have you taught so far?

.....
.....
.....

7. What is the source language (s) of your subtitles?

.....

8. Into what target language (s) do you train to subtitle?

.....

9. Which of the following is the mother tongue of the teacher?

Source Language

Target Language

None of them

10. How would you define the concept of 'culture'?

a. *The sum total of the learned behaviors of a people which are transmitted from generation to generation, which are generally considered to constitute their tradition, and which serve them as potential guides for action*

b. *The totality of intellectual products, artistic achievements and the general mode of human refinement that is associated with civilisation*

c. Other (please specify).

.....
.....

11. How do you evaluate your mastery of both Source and Target cultures?

	Weak	average	good	very good
a. Source culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Target culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. In your teaching practice of subtitling, to which degree are the students exposed to:

	Small	average	high
a. Subtitling workshops (practice)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Theory	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
.....			
.....			

13. How is the significance of culture to your training program?

- a. Very significant
- b. Significant
- c. Insignificant

14. If you selected (a) or (b), how do you approach the teaching of culture in your lectures?

- a. Teaching culture through the target language literature
- b. By providing a body of knowledge about the history, geography and institutions of the target language
- c. Focusing on culture as shared behaviors and values among target language members
- d. Culture as a set of practices and a necessary tool of communication
- e. Other, (please elaborate)
-
-
-

15. In film subtitling, how do you describe the impact of proper cultural transfer (including cultural references) on the appreciation of a film?

- a. Strong
- b. Moderate
- c. Slight

16. In film subtitling, do you think that it is more difficult to transfer culture-specific references from dialect?

Yes

No

17. a. Which general method do you think is more recommended in film subtitling?

- Foreignisation (TL oriented translation)
- Domestication (SL oriented translation)
- None of them

b. Please, explain why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. What strategy(s) is/are adopted when dealing with cultural references in film subtitling?

- a. Omission
- b. Literal Translation
- c. Borrowing
- d. Equivalence
- e. Adaptation
- f. Replacement of the cultural term with deictics
- g. Generalisation
- h. Explication
- i. All of them
- j. Other, (please elaborate)

.....
.....
.....

19. Do these reasons influence the choice of certain strategies?

- a. The type of the cultural reference itself
- b. Degree of distance between cultures (Transculturality)
- c. The targeted audience (categories of viewers)
- d. The type of film (Genre)
- e. Technical interferences
- f. Motivation on the part of the subtitler
- g. Subtitling norms
- h. budget
- i. deadlines
- j. All of them
- k. Other, (please elaborate)

.....
.....
.....

20. According to you, what are the factors that affect the quality of subtitles?

- a. Cultural
- b. technological
- c. Professional (subtitler's skillfulness)
- d. other, (please elaborate)

.....
.....
.....

21. Do you believe that an academic degree in subtitling is necessary to produce high quality subtitles?

Yes No

22. a. According to you, did the quality and the practice of subtitling develop over the years?

Yes No

b. If your answer is 'yes', in which way?

.....
.....
.....

23. a. Are you pedagogically satisfied with the teaching of culture in university?

Yes

No

b. Please, provide some reasons to justify your choice

.....
.....

24. Additional comments. *Please feel free to add any further comments.*

.....
.....
.....

Thank You

Résumé

Le présent travail de recherche vise à examiner la manière dont la spécificité culturelle est rendue dans les sous-titres de films algériens et tente de découvrir les raisons derrière le choix de stratégies de traduction, tant au niveau local que global. En ce qui concerne les questions de déséquilibre des pouvoirs et de domination culturelle dans le monde, le travail vise également à déterminer si le comportement de la traduction est régi par des normes et si les stratégies ciblistes sont appliquées comme norme lors de la traduction en anglais. Le changement de temps est un autre facteur d'influence que cette étude se propose d'examiner. On suppose donc que des régularités dans le comportement de la traduction prouveraient l'existence de normes et justifieraient la prise de décision du traducteur, que celle-ci soit influencée par le contexte socio-historique dans laquelle elle a eu lieu et que l'utilisation d'une traduction sourcière invaliderait l'affirmation que la traduction cibliste serait la norme lorsque qu'elle est faite en anglais. Pour tester ces hypothèses, une étude comparative des sous-titres en anglais d'une sélection de deux films algériens ('*Mostefa Ben Boulaid*' et '*Chronique des Années de Braise*'), est réalisée à partir du modèle d'analyse proposé par Pedersen (2011). En outre, un questionnaire est administré aux enseignants de sous-titrage dans des universités européennes, afin de mieux comprendre les préoccupations antérieures et de renforcer les conclusions de l'enquête empirique principale. Les résultats obtenus supportent toutes les hypothèses présentées. L'analyse révèle que les deux traductions se conforment à un comportement normatif, car on observe des modèles réguliers dans le rendement de la spécificité culturelle. Elles sont également influencées par les variables socio-historiques parce qu'elles sont abordées en utilisant des approches de traduction opposées. L'emploi d'une traduction sourcière dans l'une d'elles prouve aussi l'invalidité de l'affirmation qui dit que la traduction en anglais favorise la traduction cibliste comme norme. A la lumière de ces constats, on suppose que les films algériens appartenant au genre historique commencent à se pencher vers l'approche sourcière dans leur traduction de l'arabe algérien vers l'anglais. Cependant, d'autres recherches basées sur un corpus plus étendu et plus varié sont recommandées pour faire des généralisations plus sûres.

ملخص

يحاول هذا البحث النظر في الطريقة التي يتم بها نقل الخصوصية الثقافية في ترجمة الأفلام الجزائرية، كما يحاول الكشف عن الأسباب الكامنة وراء اختيار منهجيات معينة في الترجمة، وذلك على المستويين الموضوعي والكلي. وفيما يتعلق بمسائل الهيمنة الثقافية و اختلال موازين القوى يهدف العمل أيضا إلى استكشاف ما إذا كان سلوك الترجمة محكوما بمعايير خاصة وما إذا كان مفهوم 'تقريب الترجمة' يطبق كقاعدة عندما تترجم هذه الأفلام إلى اللغة الإنكليزية. ويعد التغيير الزمني عاملا مؤثرا آخر تهدف هذه الدراسة الى تناوله. لذلك يفترض أن الأنماط المنتظمة في الترجمة سوف تثبت وجود قواعد سلوكية وتبرر عملية اتخاذ القرار لدى المترجم، وأن عملية الترجمة تتأثر بالسياق الاجتماعي و التاريخي الذي حدثت فيه، وأن اتباع مفهوم 'التغريب' سيبطل الادعاء بأن التقريب هو القاعدة عندما تكون الترجمة موجهة نحو اللغة الإنكليزية. ولإختبار هذه الفرضيات، أجريت دراسة مقارنة للترجمة الإنكليزية لمجموعة مختارة متكونة من فيلمين جزائريين هما 'مصطفى بن بولعيد' و 'وقائع سنين الجمر'، استنادا إلى نموذج تحليل بيدرسن (2011). بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تم تقديم استبيان لأساتذة مختصين في الترجمة السمعية البصرية تابعين لجامعات أوروبية، من أجل الحصول على نظرة أوضح فيما يخص الاهتمامات السابقة وتعزيز نتائج الدراسة التطبيقية الرئيسية. النتائج التي تم الحصول عليها تدعم جميع الفرضيات المطروحة. حيث كشفت الدراسة التحليلية أن كلا من الترجمات تتبع قواعد سلوكية و تتخذ أنماط منتظمة في نقل الخصوصية الثقافية. كما ثبت أيضا أن هذه الترجمات متأثرة بالمتغيرات الاجتماعية والتاريخية لأنها اعتمدت على استخدام منهجيات عامة متعكسة؛ و أن استخدام التغريب في إحداها يلغي الادعاء بأن الترجمة إلى اللغة الإنكليزية تفضل إضفاء الطابع المحلي كقاعدة. وعلى ضوء هذه النتائج يفترض أن الأفلام الجزائرية التي تنتمي إلى النوع التاريخي في ترجمتها من اللهجة الجزائرية إلى اللغة الإنكليزية تشهد توجها نحو أسلوب التغريب. ومع ذلك فمن المستحسن إجراء مزيد من البحوث المبنية على مجموعات أكثر اتساعا وتنوعا للتمكن من تقديم تعميمات مؤكدة.