



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Translation and Interpreting

**A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY ON CENSORSHIP IN THE TRANSLATION OF
*SOUTH PARK***

Master's Thesis

Cihan Alan

Ankara, 2011

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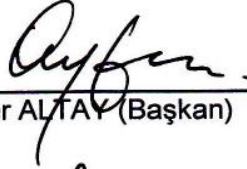
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KABUL VE ONAY

Cihan ALAN tarafından hazırlanan "A Descriptive Study on Censorship in the Translation of *South Park*" başlıklı bu çalışma, 27.06.2011 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.



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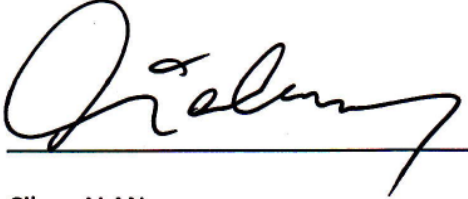
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27.06.2011



Cihan ALAN

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my thesis adviser Assist. Prof. Dr. Orhun Yakın for his guidance and motivation, critical comments on the whole of the dissertation and, above all, his self-devotion to the completion of this thesis in his busiest times.

I am also deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Ayfer Altay who helped me to have contact with CNBC-e channel in order to obtain the subtitles of *South Park* for this research. I am also thankful to her for her thoughtfulness and her pretty gifts such as a jar of honey and organic pollen which gave me energy to cope with the difficulties in this very process.

I owe very special thanks to Assist. Prof. Dr. Elif Ersözlü who acted as a second adviser to me in academic issues and a guide in all kinds of life issues. I am also thankful to her because she never turned me down in my most stressed-out moments and encouraged me with her wisdom in human relations. She never hesitated to take me to Bilkent University Library to study on Sundays and to Starbucks and shopping malls whenever I needed some relief.

I must also thank all of my colleagues at the Department of Translation and Interpreting, namely Dr. Sinem Bozkurt Sancataroğlu and Research Assistants Sezen Ergin Zengin, Duygu Çurum and Özlem Demirci who always motivated me positively and helped me in technical problems encountered in this thesis.

Doğuş Broadcasting Group has had a remarkable contribution to this study. In this respect, I must acknowledge Aziz Acar, NTV Dubbing and Translations Department Manager; dubbing operator Nadir Demirel and Deputy General Manager Görkem Yaşayan for their sensible approach to my thesis and belief in scientific research.

I would like to specially thank my dearest room mate Özer Bakar who kept me company and motivated me with his presence in this process. I also offer my

heartfelt thanks to my sidekick Gülden Taner who shared the same whining with me and always encouraged me on completion of this thesis.

The last but not the least, I would like to thank my parents who patiently waited for my accomplishments not even seeing my face for months. Their faith in me provided an extra motivation throughout this dire process.

ÖZET

ALAN, Cihan. *South Park Çevirisinde Sansür Üzerine Betimleyici Bir Çalışma*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2011.

Bu tez, Görsel-işitsel Çeviri’de sansür sorununu incelemeyi ve bu konudaki çözüm stratejilerini bir diziyi ve bunun Türkçe çevirilerini ele almak kaydıyla ortaya koymayı amaç edinmiştir. Bu amaca uygun olarak, bir Amerikan yapımı durum komedyası olan *South Park* içerdiği küfür ve argo kullanımları bakımından değerlendirilmiştir. Altyazılama, Görsel-işitsel gereksinimlerinden kaynaklanan kısıtlı doğasının yanında sosyo-kültürel, siyasi ve dini sebeplerle çoğunlukla yayıncı kuruluşların ve devlet kuruluşlarının müdahalesine maruz kalmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, altyazı çevirmenleri tabu kavramlara, küfür ve argo kullanımlarına karşılık bulmada sorunlar yaşamaktadırlar.

Bu çalışmada, *South Park*’taki küfür ve argo kullanımlarının analizi için üç yönlü bir yöntem bilim benimsenmiştir. İlk olarak Anton Popovic’in ortaya attığı ‘deyiş kay(dır)ması’ irdelenmiştir. Çeviri kaymaları yalnızca kaynak ve erek dilsel unsurların uyumsuzluğundan kaynaklanmaz, aynı zamanda erek kültür normları tarafından da yönlendirilebilmektedir. Geleneksel anlamda zorunlu ve tercihsel ayrımının yanında, bir başka tür olan ‘yüklenilmiş kay(dır)ma’ da çeviri sürecine dahil olmaktadır. Bu çalışmada bir uygulama yaklaşımı olarak Dirk Delabastita’nın sözcük oyunları üzerine geliştirdiği stratejiler küfür ve argo çevirisine uyarlanmıştır. Yöntembilimsel çerçevenin son bileşeni Gideon Toury’nin çeviri normlarına dayandırılmıştır.

Sansür ve görsel-işitsel çeviriyi kurumsal müdahale bağlamında bir arada ele alan bu çalışmanın daha sonra yapılacak çalışmalara örnek oluşturacağına inanılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: görsel-işitsel çeviri, altyazılama, küfür, argo, *South Park*, sansür.

ABSTRACT

ALAN, Cihan. *A Descriptive Study on Censorship in the Translation of South Park*. Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2011.

This thesis aims at investigating the problem of censorship in Audiovisual Translation and to express overcoming strategies by taking a particular series and its translation into Turkish as the object of the study. To this end, the American animated sitcom *South Park* has been evaluated in terms of translation of swearwords and slang. Beyond its constrained nature deriving from the audiovisual requirements, subtitling is mostly exposed to intervention by broadcasting companies and governmental institutions due to socio-cultural, political and religious factors. In this context, subtitlers face difficulties in finding adequate equivalents to the taboo concepts, swearwords and slang within the target language.

In this study, a three-faceted methodological framework has been adopted for analysing translation of swearwords and slang in *South Park*. In the first place, 'shift of expression' by Anton Popovic has been examined. Translation shifts do not only stem from incompatibilities between source and target linguistic units but they are also governed by norms of the target culture. Besides the traditional distinction between obligatory and optional shifts, a further one called 'imposed shift' takes part in the process of translation. As a practical approach to this study, Dirk Delabastita's strategies for translation of wordplay have been adapted into the translation of swearwords and slang. The last component of the methodological framework has been based Gideon Toury's translation norms.

This study which has jointly dealt with censorship and AVT in the aspect of institutional intervention is believed to set an example for further studies on similar issues.

Key Words: audiovisual translation, subtitling, swearword, slang, *South Park*, censorship.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Source Language:	SL
Target Language:	TL
Source Text:	ST
Target Text:	TT
Swearword:	Sw
Slang:	S
Audiovisual Translation:	AVT
Translation Studies:	TS
Descriptive Translation Studies:	DTS

INTRODUCTION

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is by far the most evolving field of study within Translation Studies (TS) due to its parallel position to technological advances that took place especially in the latter part of the 20th century. Being an ever-developing and relatively new field of research, compared to other fields of TS, AVT has proved to be a separate discipline within TS with its multimodal and constrained nature. Although AVT is believed by some circles to be an adaptation rather than a specialized field of translation yet, it has gained a uniform position thanks to its interdisciplinary structure, multimodality and to the strategies followed during translation process. Beyond its interdisciplinary structure, AVT requires the translator to be equipped with multifaceted scientific knowledge, and to be competent to match the visual and sound codes within the constraints of audiovisual texts and to find practical solutions to macro-linguistic and micro-linguistic problems, which show that AVT is a distinctive field of study within TS.

AVT is a subfield in TS which has most benefited from technological opportunities along with the effect of globalization. The non-stop advances in information and communication technology and media issues as well as incrementally multiplying audiovisual products correspondingly increase the need for modern ways of language transfer. The huge quantity of audiovisual products such as documentaries, films, series, sitcoms, news, concerts, etc. and the ever-expanding size of audience explain the reason behind this overwhelming demand for audiovisual translation.

It is not a surprise that globalization, as in almost all parts of our lives, has a great effect on media issues and audiovisual translation. As an indication to the effect of globalization, technological innovations in this type of medium have facilitated and expedited the distribution of audiovisual products globally. Being more durable, higher-capacity, easier-to-use compared to video cassette, DVD

has eliminated the technical difficulties in circulating the audiovisual products as well as the reluctance in the study of audiovisual translation (Kayahara, 2005, p. 65). With its higher storage capacity, a DVD can include multiple audio tracks and subtitles, which enables the audiovisual product be widely distributed in a considerably short period of time. Thanks to this feature it is easier to study on several dubbed versions and/or subtitles at once.

Being the easiest way to reach all kinds of audiovisual programmes and films, television has also evolved to a great extent especially in the last two decades. Today, most of the television companies in the world keep up with the new productions. Larger and principle companies, particularly in the USA and the UK, have a leading role in taking the pulse of the viewers over new productions. Those programmes that attract the desired attention in such prominent countries have the opportunity to be broadcasted in other countries, too. Also, new technologies such as HD and 3D broadcastings paved the way for multiplying the number of channels, which means more and more translators.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the problem of censorship encountered in subtitling and to express overcoming strategies by taking a particular series and its translation into Turkish as the object of the study. Censorship is one of the major problems a translator faces while translating an audiovisual material. In many cases, translations of TV programmes are toned down to a great extent, and even some episodes of series are occasionally aired off due to socio-cultural, religious and political constraints.

Apart from the problem situation related to the above-mentioned primary objective of the thesis, this study will also,

- offer a methodology for translation of slang and swearword,
- try to find out methods for translation of taboo words in lexical level,
- investigate what actually is censored in the TV series,
- try to find out which translation shifts are applied in translation of slang and swearwords,
- determine if translations are source-oriented or target-oriented,

- draw conclusion on translation policy of TV channels and higher supervisory state institutions in Turkey.

In this thesis, translation of taboo words in the American animated sitcom *South Park* will be analysed within the scope of a three-faceted methodological framework. The reason for selecting *South Park* as a research material is that it is a television series with a satirical, surreal and dark humour using a vulgar and obscene language through which it deals with a wide range of topics specific to American daily life and global issues. Thus, fifty critical episodes which were taken from the Department of Subtitling and Dubbing in the CNBC-e channel to be analysed in this study. Fifty episodes constitute approximately a quarter of the show which is considered to be substantial for the aim of this study.

Created by Trey Parker and Matt Stone, *South Park* has been broadcasted on Comedy Central channel in the USA since 1997. The controversial show was first started to be broadcasted on Kanal-e in 2000; afterwards, the name of the channel changed into CNBC-e and later another channel called e2 was established; since then it has been broadcasted on the two channels. Scripts of *South Park* were translated into Turkish by Rüyam Olunçay and Zeynep Akkuş. Despite the fact that animation is not a canonized genre in Turkish culture, *South Park* proves to be a unique example with its content, stylistic features, and use of language. It is also a good example in order to observe how audiovisual products play a role in the changing dynamics of taboo and institutional rules governing the use of taboo words on television.

This thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, theoretical information on AVT which enlightens its development as a research field will be presented and types of AVT in general sense will be introduced with their advantages and disadvantages. In addition, the second section of the first chapter will provide information about censorship which forms a specific problem in AVT and the concepts such as taboo, jargon, slang, swearword and insult be presented in detail.

In the second chapter, a three-faceted theoretical background will be laid out. One of the components of the theoretical issues will be 'Shifts of Translation' which constituted once one of the most challenging issues within TS. In addition to the existing types of shifts in translation, a new approach will be set forth in accordance with Anton Popovic's concept term called 'shift of expression'. The practical component of the theoretical framework will be based on Dirk Delabastita's word play strategies which will be adapted into translation of slang and swearword. In the last component of the theoretical framework, Gideon Toury's norms of translation will be presented as a descriptive component.

The third chapter will cover the case study. In the beginning of the chapter, *South Park* will be introduced in terms of its brief history, theme and style, setting and characterization, and reception of the show in American and Turkish cultures. Then, after a brief explanation on the methodological framework, slang and swearword translations extracted from fifty episodes of *South Park* will be analysed according to the translation strategies and methods. Finally, the percentage data showing the distribution of strategies and methods will be evaluated descriptively.

To sum up, this study is believed to provide an understanding for translators dealing with audiovisual translation. It will also shed light upon the effect of censorship on audiovisual materials in Turkey.

CHAPTER I - AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION AND CENSORSHIP

1. 1. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

Audiovisual Translation (AVT) has become a respected area of Translation Studies (TS), a relatively young field of research, thanks to the developments in media and entertainment industry and the undeniable effects of globalization. It is a surprising fact that recognition of TS as a new research area and a sub-field of social sciences is far later than the commencement of research activities in the field of AVT. For centuries, many translational arguments have been made since Cicero put his ideas forward on differentiation of “ut interpres” and “ut orator” (1993, p. 16). With this in mind, it is not untrue to say that problem-oriented or text-type-oriented TS have always existed.

Compared to the other fields of translation, AVT has developed parallel to the emergence of TS. Since 1930s when silent films were on air, AVT has recorded a gradual progress along with the technological advances and opportunities regardless of the absence of a systematic research guide which would supposedly be the theoretical groundings for the very field. With the recognition of TS as a separate discipline, AVT, as other sub-fields of translation, has had the opportunity to grow its theoretical groundings parallel to the translation approaches developed since 1960s.

Despite the fact that evolving periods of AVT and TS coincide, the former has challenged much to be involved in the rightful place within the discipline. Many scholars and researchers on translation looked down on the idea of incorporating film studies into TS due to discrepancies in modalities. Any audiovisual material has two codes: image and sound. Transferring these codes into the target code is constrained due to concern of catching the synchrony. In addition to the constrained nature of the activity, the compulsory change of mode from oral to written causes omissions of many lexical items from the

original material. These two are considered as two reasons for accepting transfer of audiovisual material as 'adaptation' rather than 'translation' (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 9).

The concise evolution of the field in theoretical terms can be said to have been compressed into a period less than a half century. Although the pioneering problem-oriented study in AVT is considered Fodor's (1976) analysis on lip-synchronization in dubbing, it is a rightful inference that it was the systematic arguments on translation -particularly the linguistics-oriented theories of 1960s and 1970s- that led the way to the emergence of the research field.

The Russian linguist, Roman Jakobson can be accepted as one of the first theoreticians who led the way to the recognition of the field of AVT. Jakobson classified translation into three: intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic (1959, p. 114). Intralingual translation, also called 'rewording', is defined by Jakobson as "interpretation of verbal signs by means of the other signs of the same language" (1959, p. 114).

Intralingual translation is far more frequently applied in AVT than in other fields of translation. Particularly, subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing within the same language exemplifies the way intralingual translation is applied in AVT. Conforming to Jakobson's explanation, the auditory sign of an audiovisual material is transmitted into verbal signs within the same language.

In interlingual translation, 'translation proper' in other words, verbal signs are interpreted by means of some other language (Jakobson, 1959, p. 114). Jakobson handled the three types of translation in terms of the ever-lasting problem of 'equivalence'. Especially in the case of interlingual translation, he asserted that there cannot be full equivalence between the code-units of two different language systems. If the translation material is an audiovisual one, it is always a problematic process to enable the adequate equivalence within the target language.

When subtitling is in concern, interlingual translation necessitates a change of mode while shifting from one language to another. In this diagonal way of

subtitling, the oral code is transferred into written, which puts on many linguistic constraints throughout the process (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 105). Only mentioning the challenge in limiting the subtitle length on the screen due to technical reasons proves the problematic nature of interlingual translation within AVT.

As for intersemiotic translation, the last component of Jakobson's general taxonomy of language, verbal signs are interpreted by means of signs of non-verbal sign systems. In this respect, intersemiotic translation is also called 'transmutation' (Jakobson, 1959, p. 114). Naturally, what is done in AVT is intersemiotic translation itself. Changing from the oral code into written or vice versa involves transmutation. Channels of communication used in translated texts differ from the ones used in the original text (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 39). That is, as in interlingual translation, there is no equivalence semiotically between source text and the target text due to this shift in mode.

It can easily be said that Jakobson's general typology of translation was a starting point for AVT as for other fields of translation. Nevertheless, as there has been a burst of written and oral materials, and semiotic fields has multiplied along with the advancement in technology in the new millennium, one cannot confine each translational act into one-dimensional task (spoken-to-spoken or written-to-written) or a unique type of translation (intralingual, interlingual or intersemiotic). Heidrun Geryzmisch-Arbogast (2005) explains the multi-dimensionality of translation within the formalities of AVT:

Modern translation tasks typically cut across the interlingual, intralingual and polysemiotic categorizations, potentially involving [...] spoken to written (e.g. subtitling or written interpreting), auditory to visual (subtitling for the hard-of-hearing), visual to auditory (audiodescription for blind audiences), spoken to manual symbols (sign language interpreting) (p. 3).

It can be concluded from these words that translation in modern sense cannot be confined to a unilateral task, i.e. what we simply call interlingual translation. It also involves intralingual and intersemiotic translations depending on the translation material. AVT is the most typical example of the subfields within TS which contains the formalities of the conventional three types of translation.

The second theoretical framework that can be considered to be a basis for AVT is Katherina Reiss's text-typology which was developed in 1970s. Adopting the basic language functions designed by psychologist Karl Bühler, Reiss presents three general text types: informative, expressive and operative (Munday, 2001, p. 73). She also indicates that written texts coexist with other sign systems and adds another term into her taxonomy called 'audio-medial text type' (p. 73). According to this new category, special characteristics of spoken language and oral communication are taken into account within the framework of three major text types. Although Reiss' categorisation is based either on function of the texts or their subject matter in a general sense, she is the first one who evaluates the texts such as 'songs, comic strips, advertisements, etc.' within the framework of translation as a text type (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 10). At first sight, these types may seem a bit different from the conventional audiovisual types such as movies, sitcoms, documentaries, etc., but this does not change the fact that she contributed to the research field of AVT in terms of functional modalities of TS.

A further study on AVT in the late 1980s was done by Dirk Delabastita, who based his research on the descriptive approach in TS. He rejects the traditional view asserting that the primary aim of TS is to develop "optimal" translation strategies, but rather opts for evaluating the real translation methods in a descriptive way which takes into account the target norms affecting the translation process (Delabastita, 1989, p. 195). According to this point of view, AVT is an act which should be conducted in line with the socio-cultural realities of the source and target system. In this context, Delabastita generally questions the issues such as the position of the target culture in the international context, relationship of target and source cultures, cultural constraints of the target culture upon the translator, intentions of the client (place and time of broadcast for instance), interest of the target culture regarding the genre, the degree of openness and linguistic policy of the target culture (Chaume, 2002, p. 7). Above all these factors, this descriptive research framework tries to determine if the genre of the source culture, the values expressed in it, stylistic, linguistic, cultural and filmic features, etc. exist in the target culture (p. 7).

AVT is not a modality only prescribing solutions to the problems deriving from linguistic and cultural incompatibilities between ST and TT or dealing only with semiotic issues such as the peculiarities of the construction of audiovisual texts such as the semiotic interaction between the text and image or its repercussions in the process of translation. AVT also deals with general translation problems of audiovisual texts. Literary aspects of novels adapted for the cinema, sociological and political aspects of audiovisual text excuse of its translation (Chaume, 2002, p. 3), or, more specifically, translation of slang, taboos and vulgar language, and so forth are some of the research topics within AVT.

Considering the vast and ever-evolving field of research, there has been an incessant discussion over nomenclature of the modality. The first researchers in the field called *film translation* (Gambier, 2003, p. 171), yet this term was only used for movies on cinema since TV and video was not popular then. The next term *language transfer*, on the other hand, focused on 'language' and supplemented by other elements such as pictures and sounds (p. 171). Before introduction of the term *audiovisual translation*, the field was called as 'constrained' or 'subordinate' translation in the 1980s and early 1990s, but soon the two terms lost their popularity because of their negative connotations (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 11). *Audiovisual translation*, which refers to translating products broadcasted on radio and television, shown as movie, and published as video media is the prevailing term for the field as it has included the multisemiotic dimension of broadcast programmes (Gambier, 2003, p. 171). Another term, *screen translation* encompasses all kinds of products distributed on television, cinema or computer screen (p. 171). *Multimedia translation* is another expression that has been frequently used but this term leads to a confusion since it refers to TV, cinema, video and products and services such as web pages, DVDs and computer games, and in some occasions involves theatre, comics, films as well (p. 172). Among all these terms, *audiovisual translation* proves to be the most fitting one as it includes both semiotic dimension to a certain extent and it is the most used on in academic circles. Throughout this study, the term will be adopted as the name of the field.

1. 2. TYPES OF AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

In the first years when *audiovisual translation* was recognized as a term in the field, it was only used to refer translation practices used in the audiovisual media namely in cinema, television and VHS in which a source product is transferred into a target language, which involves an interaction with sound and image. Today, a range of methods are known to be used in AVT. Among these methods, the major and the most popular types of AVT are dubbing, subtitling and voice-over.

1. 2. 1. Dubbing

The most widespread forms of audiovisual translation are subtitling and dubbing. Subtitling is the visual way of translation which involves a text written onto the text using special techniques. Dubbing, on the other hand, is the oral way of screen translation which makes use of the acoustic channel. Luyken *et al.* define the term as “the replacement of the original speech by a voice track which attempts to follow as closely as possible the timing, phrasing and lip movements of the original” (1991, p. 31). It is clear from the definition that dubbing is specific in AVT with its acoustic feature and lip-synchronization.

The method is mostly used in “German, French, Italian and Spanish-speaking countries in and outside Europe” (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 244). In Turkey, dubbing is preferred by television channels because of its availability to any linguistic intervention. That is, in countries like Turkey, where socio-cultural and political realities and norms do not allow audiovisual products with inconvenient content –such as sex, violence, vulgarity-, scripts of such products can be exposed to censorship, without the viewer’s knowledge.

Dubbing has on the whole been little studied when compared to subtitling because of the division of labour between the translator, the adapter and the actors as well as the responsibilities and partly because any analysis entails a

considerable initial effort of transcription (Gambier, 2009. p. 18). Nonetheless, it raises a number of theoretical and practical issues, such as “cultural appropriation, narrative manipulation, censorship, lip and temporal synchronization, reception and tolerance of dubbing, synchronization of verbal and non-verbal elements (gestures, facial expression, gaze, body movements, etc.)” (p. 18).

Dubbing have certain advantages and disadvantages. One of the advantages of dubbing is that it does not cover the image on the screen and the dialogue can be understood by the people with reading difficulties, children and illiterate people as well (Ivarsson, 1992, p. 17). Contrary to subtitling, dubbing requires less textual reduction because the time span to reproduce the target piece of speech is equal to the original one. It is also more professionalized than subtitling since it is not only the translator but also the adapter who handles the post-synchronization process and the actors who involve in the work. Watching a dubbed audiovisual material, “the viewer does not have to divide his/her attention between the images and the written translation” as in subtitle (Goris, 1993, p. 171). Moreover, the language of a dubbed product is more communicative than that of subtitling because the translator is not bound to the formal features of the text.

Disadvantages of dubbing overwhelm its advantages. First of all, the original text can change to a great extent. It can be censored by authorities on account of moral values and political reasons. For the sake of better lip-synchronization, radical changes in the text and even in the content may be observed (Ivarsson, 1992, p. 17). Also, the audience does not hear the voice of the original actors (p. 17), thus one cannot feel the authenticity of the original acting. The fact that different actors revoice the original text makes it impossible to maintain the same effect due to “visual reminders of foreignness of setting and characters” (Goris, 1993, p. 170). With its crew, studio, director, etc., dubbing is a costly method: Luyken *et al.* suggest that it is 15 times more expensive than subtitling (1991, p. 106).

The last but not the least, viewers are unable to listen to the foreign language. It is an undeniable fact that viewing an audiovisual product in its original language has an educative role. This explains the fact that English standard in Scandinavian countries is considerably higher than Germany, France, etc. so higher in subtitling countries such as Netherlands or Scandinavian countries than in Germany or France.

1. 2. 2. Subtitling

One of the two most popular translation methods –the other is *dubbing*-, used in audiovisual translation subtitling is the more problematic one due to its constraint nature. Diaz Cintas and Remael define subtitling,

... 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 (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off) (2007, p. 8).

As far as the definition is concerned, subtitling can be said to be made up of three components: the spoken word, the image and the subtitles. The basic characteristics of subtitling are the interaction of these three components, along with the viewer's ability to read both the images and the written text at a particular speed, and the size of the screen (p. 9). In this context, subtitles must appear in synchrony along with the image and dialogue, provide a semantically adequate account of the SL dialogue, and remain displayed on screen long enough so that the viewers could read them in a very short time.

Being used in many areas of our life, subtitling is divided into three: *intralingual*, *interlingual*, *bilingual*. In intralingual subtitling, there is a shift from oral to written channel within the same language (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 247), because of which it is most of the time not called as translation. Also known as (closed) captioning, the intralingual subtitling is used for various purposes such as producing

advanced texts for deaf and the people with hard-of-hearing, learning foreign languages, creating Karaoke effect in parties and shows, differentiating dialects of the same language in the monitor and for notices and announcements (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 14).

The initial purpose of intralingual subtitling deserves special attention. Subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing (SDH) aims at people who are deaf and people with hearing impairment in order “to ensure greater democratic access to audiovisual programming” (p. 14). The most important difference between interlingual and intralingual subtitling is that the latter involves all kinds of paralinguistic information which is crucial for the development plot or to create atmosphere which is not accessed by the deaf or people with hard-of-hearing through audio channel (p. 14). Besides the dialogues in the plot, this type of subtitling includes expansions in brackets for human acts such as crying, laughing and shouting, the irony of statement, or sound of a telephone ringing, rasp in the door, so forth.

Interlingual subtitling, ‘diagonal subtitling’ (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 247), in other words, refers to translation from source to target language which involves a shift from one language to another along with a change of mode –from oral into written. Interlingual subtitles are produced both for hearers and the deaf or people with hard-of-hearing (p. 247). For years, interlingual subtitling for the deaf and the hearing impaired was overlooked due to the fact that it differs from interlingual subtitling in terms of professional requirements. However, with DVD technology acquiring visibility thanks to DVD technology: interlingual subtitles for the deaf and the hearing impaired (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 17).

The third and the most rarely used type in subtitling categories is the bilingual subtitles which are produced in geographical areas where two languages are spoken. The typical examples of this type of subtitling are seen In Belgium, Finland and Israel. Bilingual subtitles are used to satisfy the two communities of the same country (Gambier, 2003, p. 172).

Subtitling is preferred in non-European speech communities as well as a number of small European communities with a high literacy rate (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 244). In Turkey, dubbing was in the forefront by the late 1990s. With the new millennium when there have been considerable advances in DVD technology and Internet, people, the young generation in particular, has begun to prefer subtitling to dubbing. This is because dubbed programmes are censored to a great extent, which does not appeal to the viewer. Instead, young generation today prefers to watch any kinds of audiovisual product with fansubbed subtitles.

Comparing pros and cons of subtitling, it can be said that it has a wide range of advantages and disadvantages the latter of which mostly overwhelm. One of the few advantages of the method is that the sound in the programme is the original sound. That is, the programme can be viewed with all the nuances intended by the director and realized by the actors including the rhythm of the words and the pauses and the intonation (Ivarsson, 1992, p. 18). In relation with the cost and time of the process, it can be said that subtitling is much cheaper than dubbing; and contrary to dubbing, it can be finished in a limited time span because the texts can be translated by even one translator and be time-coded either by the translator or another staff in the team. As language is more than speech, in subtitling; gestures, body language and facial expression are closely related to the words in the original dialogue, thus subtitling prevents different words in another language lay over these visual (p. 19). One last advantage of subtitling lies in educative role. The viewers can follow the subtitles on the screen while listening to the original language, which over time helps the viewers to develop their knowledge of languages.

The most obvious disadvantage of subtitling is that it causes a crowd on screen which ruins the composition and diverts the viewer's attention from the picture (p. 18). The more crowded the screen is, the faster the viewer need to read the subtitle. Considering the maximum number of characters should be 39 with spaces per line (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 84), it may not be suitable for children, old people and the visually impaired. Unlike the flexibility of dubbing

in terms of mode, one-third of the original text is omitted in subtitling. This may inevitably lead to losses and misunderstandings in the original speech. Also, as a requirement of constrained nature of subtitling, the subtitles should be long enough for the reader to read them before the scene or the speech turn changes. Moreover, in cases when more than one actor is involved in the speech, the viewer may not understand to whom the subtitle belongs at that moment. Worst of all, in case the translator is an ignorant one all mistakes are too obvious to the viewers with any knowledge of languages, since they hear the original.

1. 2. 3. Voice-over

Gambier defines voice-over, or ‘half-dubbing’ in his own words, as a method that “occurs when a documentary or interview is translated/adapted and broadcast approximately in synchrony by a journalist or an actor” (2003, p. 173). First, the original sound comes in a fully audible way. After a few seconds, the volume of the original sound is lowered and the voice of the actor who reads the translated text becomes prominent. The method in which the original sound remains available in the background and almost full the translation of the original text (Luyken *et al.* 1991) proves to be particularly suitable for programmes which do not require lip-synchronization such as interviews and documentaries. Voice-over is typically preferred namely in Russia and Poland where dubbing is unaffordable (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 244).

Voice-over has pros and cons, too. The most advantageous side of voice-over is that it is not as expensive as dubbing. It does not take a long time to make because there is no need to lip-synchronization. It is, on the other hand, seen disadvantageous on account of the fact that it contaminates the original soundtrack.

Two further AVT methods that have special use are *surtitling* and *simultaneous film interpreting*. ‘Surtitling’ is “one-line subtitling placed above a theatre stage or in the back of the seats, and displayed non-stop” (Gambier, 2003, p. 176). It

is a rapidly expanding field which enables the plays and operas to be understood by large audiences. Surtitles are used in live performances such as opera, theatre, concerts and conferences (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 25). ‘Simultaneous film interpreting’ is one of the rarely preferred methods used in international film festivals. In some countries, films are obtained just a few days before the festival starts due to the risk of copy-right infringement. Thus, usually there is not enough time for dubbing, even for subtitling. In such cases, the film is interpreted simultaneously by one person, which results in a monotonous revoicing.

1. 3. CENSORSHIP IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

As far as mentioned in the previous section, with its different modalities and considerations, AVT is a highly specific field within the wider discipline of TS, and as a consequence of this specificity it deals with many semiotic and linguistic problems specific to the field. Translation of taboo words is one of the most problematic issues in AVT due to the fact that translation of such words depends on the channel (oral or written) through which the viewer is expected to access, and more importantly the institutional rules which govern this accessibility. Before going through the practical issues on translation of vulgar and obscene language, the term ‘censorship’ and some other correlating terms should be explained.

Censorship is defined by Keith Allan and Kate Burridge as “the suppression or prohibition of speech or writing that is condemned as subversive of the common good” (2006, p. 13). As a matter of fact, this definition only makes clear that the act of censorship involves forbidding the oral or written expression. However, a further interpretation is needed to explain the phrase ‘subversive of the common good’. For instance, censorship of incitement to violence against anyone in the same community guards against his/her physical harm; or censorship of profanity or blasphemy supposedly guards against his/her moral harm (p. 13).

Consequently, censorship imposed over a community is thought to have a protective role over each individual of that community.

Censorship and *censoring* are different terms. The former is typically an 'institutionalized practice' carried out by someone with the job description of *censor* (p. 24) such as the institutions supervising all kinds of audiovisual media in a country, e.g. Radio and Television Supreme Council in Turkey. *Censoring*, on the other hand, refers both to institutionalized acts of the powerful and those of ordinary individuals (p. 24) such as our parents censoring us from using vulgar words or simply translators themselves. Therefore, any kind of tabooed behaviour are subject to censoring but not all kinds of tabooed actions are subject to censorship; for example *child pornography* is subject to both censorship and censoring (p. 24), but in Turkish culture for instance *burping* is subject only to censoring.

Setting out from these explanations on censorship as a definition and its distinctive use as an institutional and individual act, censorship can naturally be thought as a problematic phenomenon. Conforming to the distinctive use of the term, censorship in translation may be divided into two main categories: institutional and individual (Billiani, 2009, p. 29). When the institutional censorship is in concern, external sources such as governments, distribution companies or networks force the translators to replace certain parts of their translation in order to adhere to what they consider "politically correct" (Scandura, 2004, p. 125). It is also quite often that the translator himself/herself self-censors sexual connotations, puns on words, taboo elements, etc. in order to protect the audience. Self-censorships may include various forms of elimination, distortion, downgrading, misadjustment, infidelity, and so on (Santaemilia, 2008, p. 224). In the case of *South Park*, for instance, there is an undeniable effect of external sources in the censorship of original vulgarity. Also, the translator guided by the institutional norms self-censors the elements that she consider inconvenient to the Turkish culture.

1. 3. 1. What is censored?

In order to analyse censorship in the level of language and translation of taboo words in AVT, one should distinguish politeness and impoliteness and their interaction with dysphemism, euphemism and orthophemism. Briefly, dysphemism is the offensive use of language which is sometimes motivated by distaste, hatred or contempt (Allan and Burridge, 2006, p. 31). Speakers resort to dysphemism to talk about things or people that disapprove, humiliate or express frustration and annoyance. Orthophemisms and euphemisms, on the other hand, are alternative words or phrases that are used instead of “dispreferred” ones (p. 32). Orthophemisms can be thought as moderate, formal and straight expressions which usually refer to denotative meaning. Euphemism is the opposite of dysphemism in which milder and more innocent versions or connotations of words and expressions are used. For instance, the orthophemism *faeces* in English is used in euphemistic context as *poo* while in a dysphemistic way it is called as *shit*. Similarly, in Turkish the orthophemism *dışkı* is euphemised as *kaka*, and in dysphemistic contexts it is used as *bok*.

More specifically, taboo in general sense is censored. A taboo is “a proscription of behaviour for a specifiable community of people, for a specified context, at a given place and time” (p. 27). Taboo is more than a ritual prohibition and avoidance. They normally arise out of social constraints on the individual’s behaviour. They arise in cases where the individual’s acts can cause discomfort, harm or injury to himself/herself and to others (p. 27).

In language level, jargons, slang, swearwords and insults include taboos. *Jargon* is “the language peculiar to a trade, profession or other group; it is the language used in a body of spoken or written texts, dealing with a circumscribed domain in which speakers share a common specialized vocabulary, habits of word usage, and forms of expression” (p. 56). If a jargon includes dysphemism, then it is subject to censorship. For instance, *South Park* contains a jargon which is specific to elementary school students in the USA. In translation of the show jargon of the original is mostly euphemised or adapted into the Turkish way of expression.

One of the most specific uses of taboo is observable in slang. Allan and Burridge define slang as,

“[...] language of a highly colloquial and contemporary type, considered stylistically inferior to standard formal, or even polite informal, speech. It often uses metaphor and/or ellipsis, and often manifests verbal play in which current language is employed in some special sense and denotation [...]” (p. 70)

Since eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, slang has been known as ‘bad language’ that is disapproved on moral grounds and subjected to censoring due to profanity, swearing and obscenity it contains (p. 70). In *South Park*, the alternative words such as *nuts*, *cracks* used to refer craziness are simple examples to slang.

Swearing uses dysphemisms taken from the pool of dirty words as well as blasphemous and profane language. With this in mind, to *swear at someone or something* is to insult and deprecate the object of abuse, as well as to use other kinds of dysphemism (p. 76). Considering its content and the way it is used, they are usually subject to censorship. Swearing, just like slang, can act as an in-group solidarity marker within a shared colloquial style. Used when a higher style is expected, it is likely to cause offence and maybe specifically used to offend, but in both cases it reflects discredit on the speaker (p. 77).

To insult someone verbally is to abuse them by assailing them with contemptuous, perhaps insolent, language that may include an element of bragging. It is often directly addressed to the target (p. 79). Insults are normally intended to wound the addressee or bring a third party into disrepute, or both. They are therefore naturally dysphemistic, and so typically tabooed and subject to censorship. Insults typically pick on and debase a person’s physical appearance, mental ability, character, behaviour, beliefs and/or familial and social relations (p. 79). The words for bodily organs such as *penis*, *vagina*, *anus*, *etc.*; and the ones derived from these words such as *asshole*, *fucker*, *whore*, *etc.* are the most frequently used insults in *South Park*.

Returning to the translation of taboo words in AVT, it can be said that jargons, slang, swearwords, insults fulfil specific functions in the dialogic interaction and

the story of an audiovisual product. Taboo words are tied in with local traditions and are used differently by linguistic communities, depending on those communities' religious, cultural and political background (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 196). It is to say that obscene, blasphemous and vulgar concepts which are expressed via slang, swearwords, insults and jargons can have different connotations in different cultures. Therefore, subtitlers identify and evaluate the impact and emotional value of a word or expression in the source culture, then translate it into a target culture by the functionally equivalent terms.

Considering what has been mentioned in this chapter, translations of the American animated sitcom called *South Park* will be analysed in the case study chapter in terms of swearwords and slang. Because of the fact that slang and jargon are used interchangeably most of the time, slang will henceforth be used to refer both concepts. Identically, insults will be categorized under the name of swearword.

CHAPTER II

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This study aims primarily at investigating the strategies used in translating vulgar language, American slang and swearwords in the animated TV sitcom *South Park*. Subtitling an audiovisual material which involves a highly harsh and lampooning language full of swearwords and slang is far more complex than translating a work of fiction that contains taboo words and phrases or a simple movie for television. Beyond its translation-oriented audiovisual requirements such as adjusting the subtitle length and changing the oral text into a written one, this task necessitates practical and systematic solutions to overcome the difficulties in finding the most adequate correspondents or even equivalents to the taboo concepts, swearwords and slang within the target language. Apart from the linguistic nature of the task, an additional effect of authoritative agents such as governmental institutions and television companies in the target culture make this particular translation act even more restrictive. In this respect, finding alternative and milder correspondents to well-known swearwords or culture-specific slang terms becomes another issue. All in all, the translator of such an audiovisual material should be competent in the rules of 'constrained translation' (Tittford, 1982, p. 113), American and Turkish slang and swearwords, their alternative usage, in both cultures, and social and political factors affecting the translation directly.

Considering the multi-dimensional nature of subtitling *South Park* into Turkish, this study will be based on a three-faceted theoretical framework. In the first face, shifts of translation will be dealt according to Anton Popovic's (1970, pp. 78-87) 'translation shifts' approach based on his article titled *The concept 'shift of expression' in translation analysis*. It is also the place to explain how swearwords and slang force the translator to resort to translation shifts due to extra-textual factors.

The second face of the theoretical background will be based on the adaptation of Dirk Delabastita's (1987, p. 148) modes of wordplay translation into the translation of swearwords and slang. Wordplays which constitute an indispensable part of any language also bring out the problem of untranslatability and translation shifts as well. Considering the fact that socio-political norms affect the use of swearwords and slang in subtitles of audiovisual products that are broadcasted on TV or published as videos, it would be a correct decision to classify such words and concepts as units of shift within the act of translation. With this in mind, classifying the strategies of censorship applied on subtitles of *South Park* under such taxonomy may provide a general insight on how such audiovisual materials should be subtitled.

The last face of the theoretical framework of this dissertation will be based on the descriptive translation studies (DTS). The components of the above-mentioned process of translation act, i.e. socio-political and socio-cultural agents guiding the translator in producing an adequate translation, lexical and other linguistic restrictions in finding correspondents, and the decisions-taking process of the translator are all co-related to each other and should be evaluated as a whole. Such an evaluation can only be done through a problem-restricted descriptive translation analysis. The categorization shown in the 'Holmes' map of Translation Studies' (Toury, 1995, p. 10) proves that this study sets out from a problem, namely the shifting from a proper translation into a restricted and censored one.

One cannot restrict an individual study only to process-, product-, or function-oriented categorizations within DTS (Toury, 1995, p. 11). That is, analyzing a translational phenomenon which is, in particular, carried out on an institutional level can be product-oriented, process-oriented and function-oriented as a whole. When it comes to this problem-restricted study, it can surely be said that the three types of DTS directly or partially involve in the problem situation, which gains the study an interdependent nature.

2. 1. Shifts in Translational Phenomena

The concept of 'shift' in Translation Studies dates back to 1960s. The term was firstly defined by Catford as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (1965a, p. 141). He classifies the shifts into two: *level* and *category* shifts. For the former, he mentions the differences of SL and TL in the level of phonology, graphology, grammar and lexis. In level shifts, one of these items in an SL has an equivalent in the TL at a different level. He exemplifies this kind of shift with the incompatibilities of English versus Russian in terms of verbal aspects (uniqueness or completion versus perfective and imperfective aspects). Such a distinction causes a translator to change lexical or grammatical items to create the equivalent tense aspect (Catford, 1965a, p. 141-142).

With category shifts, on the other hand, Catford deals with the departures from formal correspondence in translation (1965a, p. 142). He divides these shifts into: *structure* shifts in which syntactic features vary in SL and TL as such S.V.O. (English) and S.O.V. (Turkish); *unit* shifts which refers to the change in ranks such as translating a verb as a clause, or a word as a morpheme; *class* shifts such as translating an adjective as a noun or verb; and *intra-system* shifts in which SL and TL correspond systematically to some extent, but translation might include a non-corresponding term in TL system (Catford, 1965a, p. 143-147) as shown in the semantic differences between English and French plurals (see Catford, "Translation Shifts" in *The Translation Studies Reader*, p. 141-147).

As the origin of the concept 'shifts in translation' refers to minor departures from SL in the level of lexical and grammatical items for the sake of enabling the formal correspondence, it is an undeniable fact that the break-through of the study of shifts in TS was first based on linguistic theory of translation. Nevertheless, confining the translation act into the challenge of finding equivalents to linguistic units, from sentence to morpheme, goes no further than the seek for an ideal 'machine translation'. Avoiding the factors such as socio-

cultural context and ideological norms which guide the way a text is translated does not conform to the nature of translation in modern sense.

In this respect, it is better to consider the concept of shift as an instrumental phenomenon within the process of translation (Bakker et al., 2001, p. 228). In other words, shifts are indispensable parts of a translation act through which the translator reaches functional-pragmatic equivalence rather than adopting a unit-to-unit formal correspondence at the utmost level of syntax.

2. 2. The Shift of Expression

After referring to the emergence of the term 'shift' and its linguistic-based nature, it is noteworthy to elaborate on Anton Popovic's 'shift of expression' (1970, p. 78-87) which helped the concept to gain a multi-dimensional structure.

First of all, it is necessary to indicate that Popovic handles the issue of shift within the literary context. However, as long as the material to be analyzed belongs to the expressive text type, whether it is a novel or a script of an audiovisual material, one can inevitably encounter certain formal or semantic departures from the original work. Thus, all formalities of 'shift of expression' are applicable on all kinds of expressive texts in spite of their medium.

According to Popovic, losses in translation which most of the time seem to shake our faith in translated works may bring gains to the process as a whole (1970, p. 78). In fact, losses and changes are inevitable when the translation of a literary work is in concern due to the distinctions of literary values in the two cultures. Adopting such an approach can indispensably save one from simply thinking of shifts as 'errors'. When it comes to the definition of 'shift' made by Popovic, it proves dramatic differences from the linguistic-based definitions:

All that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected, may be interpreted as a shift. The fact that the process of translation involves shifts in the semantic properties of the text does not mean that the translator wishes to underemphasize the semantic appeal of the original. The very opposite is true. He strives to preserve the "norm" of the original. He resorts to shifts precisely because he is endeavouring to convey the

semantic substance of the original in spite of the differences separating the system of original from that of the translation, in spite of the differences between two languages and between the two methods of presenting the subject matter (1970, p. 79-80).

We can infer from this statement that unintentional nature of shifts is determined according to their level of conformity between two systems. Notwithstanding the linguistic sphere of the issue, shifts can arise from further discrepancies in textual and literary conventions, cultural and socio-political aspects which can generally be called as “norms”. With this in mind, one can conclude that shifts are not simply the distortions stemming from the linguistic incompatibilities between two languages or just translation errors due to translator’s ignorance, but translators resort to shifts for the sake of being ‘faithful’ to the content of the original work (Gentzler, 1993, p. 86).

Reconsidering the definition proposed by Popovic, we can infer three relationships with respect to shifts: (a) a relationship between the source text and target text; (b) a relationship between the target text and its reception in the target system; and (c) a descriptive point of view (Bakker et al., 2001, p. 228). Conducting a product-oriented descriptive translation analysis requires a contemplation of SL and TL in terms of formal and functional differences. As in this present study, translating the conventional swearwords and slang, for instance, in an unfamiliar way –such as zero translating or euphemising the swearword or slang- proves that there are certain distinctions between the ST and TT. All such translation units are, in a sense, new with respect to the original (a). The reception of such an unconventional translation within target culture differs from the reception of the original work within the source culture. This is led by the decisions taken by the translator who is forced to obey the norms of the target culture (b). As for the (c) descriptive aspect of such an analysis, either (a) or (b) can be the reference point. Each swearword or slang term which is translated into target culture remaining faithful to the form and semantic content of the source system may be interpreted as a shift due to the fact that each translated unit may violate the expectations of the target system. The intentional removal or euphemism of a swearword or slang term, on the

other hand, may be called a shift since the target norms may force the translator to fulfil a different function than the original one does within the source culture.

Popovic says that “there is in fact an interpolar tension between two types of norms: one type derives from the original, the other from the translation ideal” (1970, p. 80). Accordingly, the term ‘norm’ used by Popovic is like a balance whose scales should be at equal level. It is not only the norms of the source system that governs the translation act, but also the text conventions and other cultural factors of the target system. The source norms requires to be faithful to the original with all its details, while the second type of norm allows the translator to define the author within the target system and even ‘surpass him in his own way’ (Popovic, 1970, p. 80). Thus, translator’s duty, on this axis of faithfulness-freedom, is to conform to the conventions of both systems in equal terms.

Translator’s freedom to create a translation ideal brings along the creativity of the translator in order to ‘surpass the author in his own way’:

The norm of the original, that is to say its style, is a constant factor, unchangeable, and binding for the translator. In contrast, the transubstantiation of that norm into the norm of the translation depends on the subjective view and creative initiative of the translator (Popovic, 1970, p. 82-83).

It is an undeniable fact that incorporating the above-mentioned constant and unchangeable factors into the target system; in other words, providing a formal equivalence in translation is nearly impossible due to linguistic constraints. Excluding the linguistic side of this incorporation process, if the tension between two norm systems is intensified with the institutional intervention within the target system, the challenge of providing a functional equivalence becomes more and more dependent on translator’s subjective choices and creativity.

At this point, process of the translation act reveals as an important sphere of the descriptive analysis of shifts. In order to evaluate the decisions taken by the translator, in other words, to discover the ‘little black box’ (Holmes, 1972, p. 177) of the process, one should bear in mind the socio-cultural and socio-political conditions of the target culture within the period of the translation act

takes place. In this respect, transubstantiating a source norm into the target system may turn out to be a vain effort due to social, political and cultural incompatibilities between the two systems. This may also be interpreted as the conflict across the expectations of source and target systems. In this very atmosphere of conflicts, it is not a surprise that the translator resorts to radical shifts.

Shifts are distinguished into **obligatory** and **optional** in a general sense. Obligatory shifts are governed by linguistic differences between two systems. The optional shifts, on the other hand, are formed by the translator's choices which are affected by the stylistic, ideological or cultural reasons (Bakker et al., 2001, p. 228).

More specifically, shifts are divided into two by Popovic: **constitutive** and **individual** shifts (1976). Different from the general distinction between obligatory and optional shifts, Popovic deals with the shifts in a broader sense. Obligatory shifts refer to the departures from the original in linguistic units, usually on lexical level. Popovic, on the other hand, setting out from his thought on style of 'expression', defines constitutive shift as 'an inevitable shift that takes place in the translation as a consequence of differences between the two languages, the two poetics and the two styles of original and translation (1976, p. 16). We can conclude from this definition that shifts which we call as obligatory are not only determined by the differences of linguistic items between SL and TL, but also by the differences of all components of language which renders the stylistic characteristics to the original and its translation within their own systems.

Individual shifts, or optional shifts in general sense, are personal preferences of the translator on finding correspondents to stylistic features of the original work conforming to the norms of target system. As mentioned before, because of the 'dual character' of a translation, that is to say, it has to comply with the norms of the original and the target language to create the 'translation ideal', the translator adopts an 'integrative principle' (Popovic, 1970, p. 79). In this respect, individual shifts are more common and frequently applied than constitutive ones

in the translation of an expressive text. That's why, individual shifts play a determinative role in the proximity of a translation to the target or source norms. This helps us to decide on whether the translation is an 'adequate' or 'acceptable' one [see 2. 3. 4. Toury's Norms in Audiovisual Translation].

The terms constitutive and individual shift are not always enough to explain the norm-governed nature of translation. In case of a translation act which is directed by institutions and supervisory agencies, the translator is mostly exposed to instructions on his/her choices in translation. Thus, beyond the linguistic or extra-linguistic incompatibilities in the process of translation, the translator has to face the restrictions of the governing bodies. Different from the linguistic-based and norm-governed differentiation of translation shifts, another type might be offered: **imposed shift**. This type of shift derives from the institutional intervention in the process of translation. Accordingly, the institution that employs the translator instructs him/her to create a target text which complies with the rules and ideology of the institution. This intervention, however, cannot be restricted to the institution that initiates the translation process. The institution, namely the publishing house, television company, etc., may also be under the control of a senior state agency who lays down certain rules on translating ideologically questionable works.

2. 3. Towards a Methodology for Translating Taboos, Swearwords and Slang

Until now, the concept of shift and its development process have been elaborated. It has also been mentioned that linguistic-specific approaches yielded to the more normative approaches within this process. Even a more specific type of shift (imposed shift) has been explicated as a further extra-linguistic factor that affects the translation process. However, any words on the theoretical groundings of translation shifts cannot lead us to solution of the problem of translating swearwords, slang or taboo concepts in practical terms.

One of the aims of this study is to suggest a methodology for translating swearwords, slang and taboo words for screen. It is difficult to say that there exists an established methodology for this task, except for numerous target-oriented studies which describe the way of translating such problematic items according to the certain target norm system. Therefore, Dirk Delabastita's methodology for translating wordplay will be adapted into the translation of swearwords, slang and taboos. Before dealing with this methodology adaptation, we should make the term 'translatability' more clear and the familiarity of wordplays with swearwords and slang in this context.

2. 3. 1. Translatability

The term 'translatability' –or 'untranslatability' depending on the situation– refers to the possibility of translation at word, phrase or text level. The discussions on translatability of a word, a phrase, or a text arise, just like in the issue of translation shifts, from the tension between two considerations. The first is that each language has a unique configuration of grammar, vocabulary and metaphor; and the second is that even so, translation takes place with an utmost high degree of success (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997, p. 179-180).

Jakobson is one of those theoreticians who handle the issue of 'translatability'. He is in favour of translatability depending on his accounts of language as a system of *signs* (Jakobson, 1959, p. 113). According to this approach, language is composed of *signs* each of which has its *signifier* (the acoustic or orthographic representation) and *signified* (the concept signified with the acoustic or orthographic representation). Furthermore, he states that 'there is ordinarily no full equivalence between code-units' (p. 114). He explains this relation with his classical example of 'cheese'. The concept of 'cheese' in English is not identical to *syr* in Russian, *käse* in German, or *queso* in Spanish because each code-unit has a unique denotation. Thus, *syr* in Russian is a kind of cheese which is specific to Russia and different from the English signified 'food made of pressed curds' (p. 114).

Concordantly, Jakobson describes the interlingual translation as ‘substituting’ messages in one language not for separate code-units but for entire messages in another language (Munday, 2001, p. 36). Thus, ‘in order for a message to be equivalent in ST and TT, the code-units will be different since they belong to two different sign systems (languages)’ (p. 37) as exemplified with *cheese/syr* above.

As for his thought on ‘translatability’, Jakobson prefers a loose rather than strict notion of translation which is called as ‘dynamic translatability’ (Pym and Turk, 2001, p. 275) and adopts paraphrasing as a legitimate procedure in interlingual translation. He points out that ‘languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey’ (1959, p. 116). We can infer from this expression that we cannot seek a full equivalence in conveying the formal structure of a language to another. The translator then resorts to obligatory shifts due to the discrepancies of code-units. For obtaining dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, the translator’s individuality plays a decisive role. Through various methods such as explication, paraphrasing; or, in case of a vulgar and taboo language, euphemising, omission, etc., the translator tries to create a dynamic equivalent text which conforms to the conventions of the target system. In this context, dynamic translatability of a text is a research field within descriptive translation studies rather than in linguistic-based translation studies.

2. 3. 2. Comparison of Translatability: Wordplays versus Swearwords and Slang

Translation of wordplay (or pun) has always been a highly specific field of interest within TS. Before more systematic studies were made on the field, the general insight had been that ‘wordplay is untranslatable’ (Delabastita, 1987, p. 143). Nevertheless, the truth is that the reason for thinking as such was the lack of more flexible translation strategies. Even Catford, who deals with translation on a linguistic basis, states that ‘linguistic untranslatability’ of wordplays that “occurs typically in cases where an ambiguity peculiar to the SL text is a

functionally relevant feature” (1965b, p. 94). Linguistically, it is a correct judgement that seeking full equivalence or even finding an ‘adequate correspondence’ to wordplay is nearly impossible due to the difference between code-units of SL and TL. However, a comprehensive analysis over type of the wordplay, the text-type in which the wordplay takes place, and the type of translation strategy provides a better understanding of the structure of wordplays and motivates the translator on the translatability of puns (Delabastita, 1987, p. 143).

Wordplay is a linguistic pattern in which ‘either two meanings are shown to reside within one single form, or conversely, two identical or similar forms produce divergent meanings’ (Delabastita, 1987, p. 143-144). Considering the brief definition of wordplay, conveying such a complex and embedded formal and semantic structure into a target form forces the translator to depart either from formal or semantic effect of the original pun. The linguistic features and functionality of wordplay is not the focal point of this study hence, they will not be dealt in detail. Yet, it is vital to emphasize that wordplay may include one or more than one of the features such as polysemy, homophony (homonymy), homograph, syntactical ambiguity, or metaphors which would bring many ‘constitutive’ and ‘individual’ shifts in translation (see Dirk Delabastita, “Translating Puns. Possibilities and Restraints”, *New Comparison* 3: 143-159). This is not to say that wordplay is by no means untranslatable, but it is open to many translation strategies through which an acceptable translation could be achieved.

As for the translatability of swearwords and slang, aesthetic, cultural, pragmatic and ideological factors maybe involve in the process of translation (Santaemilia, 2008, p. 222). As mentioned before, institutional intervention is one of the major normative factors that configure the translation policy as well as the translator’s individual choices. The problem in translation of swearwords and slang derives from such imposed shifts [see 2. 2. The Shift of Expression], rather than the linguistic constraints within TL. In spite of the cultural differences between two systems –that is, swearwords and slang are, in a sense, culture-specific terms

within a language- the translator can obtain a functional equivalence and create the same effect of the original within TL. However, when an imposed shift is in concern, he/she has to act as if there is not a suitable equivalent or correspondent to the original swearword or slang within TL. Therefore, he/she applies official censorship or self-censorship making use of a range of strategies.

Although the translatability of wordplays and that of swearwords/slang do not seem to be overlapping, the way they are exposed to shifts proves that in both cases the translator is under the effect of a linguistic or extra-linguistic compulsion. Thus, a methodology produced to be used in translation of wordplays can be used, with minor changes, in translation of swearwords and slang.

2. 3. 3. Adapting Delabastita's Methodology for Wordplay Translation into Translation of Swearwords and Slang

Dirk Delabastita sets forth eight strategies for translation of wordplays (1987, p. 148). These strategies will be adapted into translation of swearwords and slang, explicating the concordance of each strategy and the minor changes deriving from the differing characteristics between wordplays and swearwords/slang. It is necessary to state beforehand that Delabastita's methodology copes with the formal deviations in translation of wordplays in a dynamic sense. As for swearwords and slang, the strategies are proposed to overcome the difficulties in conveying the semantic content and finding alternative correspondent which is convenient to the target culture norms.

2. 3. 3. 1. From 'Pun Translated into Same Pun (Same Type)' to 'Swearword/Slang Translated into Same Swearword/Slang (Same Semantic Content)'

In the first and the neutral strategy, a SL pun is translated by a TL pun that differs more or less from the original one in terms of formal structure, semantic structure and textual function (Delabastita, 1996, p. 134). This strategy leads us to the most ideal translation in puns. That is, using this strategy, the translator applies translation shifts at the minimum level. Providing equivalence in the formal level is a must for the functionality of a pun in TL. However, seeking equivalence in formal structures between SL and TL swearwords and slang is not the primary goal of the translator. The message and the textual function are far more important in translation of swearwords and slang.

According to this proper way of translation, a SL swearword or a slang term is translated by a TL swearword or slang which corresponds to the semantic structure and textual function of the original one. In other words, using the first strategy for translating swearwords and slang, the translator should find a swearword or slang that stands for the same meaning and functional content. In this respect, we should bear in mind that this strategy may be applicable on slang rather than swearwords in case of audiovisual translation for television in particular. As in our case study, the socio-cultural perception of Turkish people over swearwords differs from the American society [see 3. 3. Descriptive Evaluation of Swearword and Slang Translations in *South Park*].

2. 3. 3. 2. From 'Pun Translated into Same Pun (other type)' to 'Swearword/Slang Translated into Similar Swearword/Slang (Approximate Semantic Content)'

This type of translation includes the same strategy with the first one; only there is a 'shift from one formal category to another' (Delabastita, 1987, p. 148). Wordplays are divided into two according to their linguistic structures: vertical and horizontal wordplays. In vertical wordplays, the listener or reader may be exposed to two meanings in a single glimpse, i.e. within the same portion of text. In horizontal wordplay, on the other hand, the two meanings are revealed through repetition in a context alluding to the 'other' meaning (Gottlieb, 1997, p. 209). Translating a SL vertical wordplay may often require a constitutive shift due to the non-existence of a similar punning structure within TL. This shift may most frequently be from a vertical wordplay into a horizontal one. Even so, the similar formal effect and a most approximate semantic content are acquired.

In line with this strategy, a SL swearword/slang is translated with minor semantic deviations. The formal category is again ignored as it has nothing to do with the functionality of swearword or slang within target text. The minor shift in the semantic level mostly stems from cultural incompatibilities between two systems. It is frequently a difficult task for a translator to find an equivalent or correspondent to highly culture-specific swearwords or slang. In such occasions, he/she prefers to use functionally most convenient term that would give the similar impression of the original piece of vulgar or taboo language. This strategy can be accepted as a transition to the more 'euphemistic' ways of translating a taboo concept and swearwords or slang as its linguistic referent. In this respect, this strategy can usually be used in milder slang terms and, in some rare occasions, in certain swearwords when in particular the translator is brave or free to use a blunt language.

These two strategies assume a translation which is faithful to the original text. The forthcoming strategies deal with alternative ways of translating swearword/slang in cases when the translator has to cope with translation shifts, the imposed shift in particular.

2. 3. 3. 3. From ‘Pun Translated into Other Pun’ to ‘Swearword/Slang Translated into Other Swearword/Slang’

According to this strategy, a source-text wordplay is changed into or simply replaced by another wordplay. While doing this, the formal structure of the original pun is completely dissolved. One of the two meanings the original wordplay includes is preserved or approximated (Delabastita, 1987, p. 148). Although there is a departure from the formal characteristic of the original wordplay, the translator can recreate the functional formal effect by means of a different wordplay. The extent of the loss on the semantic level, on the other hand, depends on the creativity of the translator. He/she either retains one of the meanings or approximates one or both meanings. Thus, the dynamic nature of the wordplay can be obtained within the target text.

As for the translation of swearwords or slang, with this strategy, the translator offers a new correspondent different from the established equivalent term within target culture. The most applicable method to achieve this is ‘conceptual substitution’. That is, the translator ignores the original swearword/slang and substitutes it with a completely different one usually regardless of its semantic content and usability within the specific context. The alternative swearword/slang is unsurprisingly a euphemised correspondent that is thought to be convenient to the receiver of the target text. All in all, this strategy aims at toning down the particular swearword/slang rather than recreating the same effect and bluntness in the TT.

2. 3. 3. 4. From ‘Pun Translated into Non-Pun’ to ‘Swearword/Slang Translated into Non-Swearword/Non-Slang’

Delabastita introduces the fourth strategy for the cases in which ‘lexical translation of two punning elements causes their formal relatedness dissolve’ (1987, p. 148); i.e., if it is impossible to constitute the formal relatedness of both lexical items, the translator resorts to translating one of the lexical items, or the whole punning structure in case of a vertical wordplay, into a ‘collocationally anomalous target-language phrase’ (p. 148). This situation completely derives from the non-existence of such formally matching lexical items in the TL. The result is a new form of witty expression which conveys the semantic content to some extent and whose formal structure is nearly beyond recognition.

The third strategy allows the translator to use a different swearword/slang in the TT. However, in the adaption of the fourth mode, the strategy only allows the translator to use an unusual lexical item or an expression which has not a slang connotation. One of the most typical methods to realize this strategy is to use lexical items that have never been heard of in the TL. The method is called as ‘Word Creation’ in this study. According to the method, the translator creates a lexical item which has not a specific semantic representation within TL. While doing this, he/she prefers phonetically attractive and eye-catching words, even rarely making use of simple wordplays. This strategy proves that the effect of the original swearword/slang is almost lost; only an unconventional and amusing style of wording remains, at least, to make the reader or the audience smile at the absurdity. In this respect, this strategy might be called as the most euphemistic way of translation.

2. 3. 3. 5. Non-translation

In the fifth strategy for translation of wordplay, a source-text pun is left in its original formulation and inserted within the target text without any translation (Delabastita, 1996, p. 134). The reason to use such a strategy is that the

wordplay in ST, whether a horizontal or vertical one, is by no means translatable. In other words, trying to carry out a normal way of translation causes dramatic departures from the formal appearance as well as the surface and underlying meaning of the wordplay. Thus, the punning structure is inserted in its untranslated form within TT so as to leave its comprehensibility to the reader rather than simply omitting the whole wordplay.

The applicability of non-translation on swearwords/slang depends on different conditions if compared to wordplay. One may bear in mind that alternative methods such as free translation or even expansion might be used in such cases. Nonetheless, as mentioned in the shifts of translation, translatability of swearwords/slang is mostly determined by publishing or broadcasting institutions and higher supervisory authorities. In a sense, using non-translation as a strategy in audiovisual translation for instance, the translator lets the audience guess the meaning of the swearword/slang. In this way, he/she does not opt for methods like expansion so as not to exceed the standard wording length in the screen and gets rid of the stress of avoiding from vulgar correspondence. This is somehow to say that only adult audience should grasp the meaning of the originally formulated swearword/slang.

In the non-translation strategy, 'borrowing' and 'calque' the well-known translation methods developed by Vinay and Darbelnet in the late 1950s may be used. Laying the grounds for shift approach in TS, the two components of the classical taxonomy may lead us to be aware that such methods can alternatively be used to censor swearwords and slang in subtitling.

2. 3. 3. 6. Zero-translation

As the wordplay gets more complex, it becomes more untranslatable. For this reason, the translator may sometimes be obliged to take radical decisions. One of the most unpleasant and harsh methods of translating wordplays is zero-

translation, i.e. entire omission of the pun and its context as a whole (Delabastita, 1987, p. 148-149).

In stylistic sense, zero-translating any piece of text or even a kind of language unit is just nothing more than corruption of the original work. In translation criticism, deletion of language unit due to constitutive shifts is acceptable to some extent. However, in case of an imposed shift, i.e. a higher authority instructs the translator not to include any language unit in TT that violates their ideology or institutional norms, omission of such items seem unacceptable. If the translated material is an audiovisual one, the audience particularly who are competent in foreign languages rightfully judges the translation as poor and automatically the translator as ignorant.

The problematic situation above is mostly seen in the translation of swearwords/slang. According to this method, the whole or a part of the source swearword/slang is simply omitted notwithstanding the function (such as intensifier, interjection, etc.) or meaning it includes. There are indeed two reasons for zero-translating swearwords/slang. The first reason is the direct intervention of the institution in line with the norms it is bound to, i.e. imposed shift; and the second is the individual decision of the translator to sacrifice these stylistic units for the sake of limiting the length of lines on the screen.

2. 3. 3. 7. From ‘Non-Pun Translated into Pun’ to ‘Non-Swearword/Slang into Swearword/Slang’

The seventh strategy for wordplay translation refers to the ‘introduction of a pun in textual positions where the original text has no wordplay’ (Delabastita, 1996, p. 134). This technique is used as a way of compensation in translation of texts which are adorned with puns. If the other puns within the text are translated by expansion or zero-translation as mentioned in the former strategy, the translator tries to compensate this textual loss with transforming a non-punning structure into a brand new pun.

The strategies that have been mentioned so far stretch from finding semantic and functional correspondence to simply omitting the swearword/slang. All these strategies may be applied according to the challenging nature of norms in TL. Nevertheless, with this strategy, the translator strives for bringing the frequency and distribution of swearwords or slang terms into balance. Otherwise, the text as a whole becomes an over-euphemised version for children. With this in mind, the translator of such a text changes innocent and non-slang expressions into more blunt and rude ones. Thus, with this strategy the euphemistic way of translation strategy turns into a dysphemistic nature. As a matter of fact, the new correspondents are by no means as offensive as the ones euphemised. However, in this manner, the translator recreates a text that is euphemised in accordance with the target norms, yet it should function as an offensive type of text within target culture.

In line with this strategy, Delabastita mentions one more compensatory mode: 'introduction of a pun without any immediate source-text counterpart' (1996, p. 134). In 'non-pun into pun' strategy, the translator makes up a pun out of a context within the original text that is convenient to produce a punning structure, while in this last strategy the translator generates a completely new wordplay so as to compensate for the losses from other puns. This situation may rarely be true for translation of swearwords/slang. If it is an audiovisual text, however, intrusion of any kind of extra word is not preferred. Thus, applicability of this strategy may be restricted to mediums that would not lay down any constraints to the length of expression.

Dirk Delabastita's seven strategies for swearwords/slang translation and their adaptation on wordplay translation can be summarized as follows:

Wordplay Translation	Swearword/Slang Translation
<p>(1) Pun into same pun (same type). The ST pun is translated by a TL pun which may be more or less different from the original wordplay in terms of formal structure, semantic structure, or textual function (1996, p. 134).</p>	<p>(1) Swearword/slang into same swearword/ slang (same semantic content). A SL swearword or slang is translated by a TL swearword or slang which corresponds to the semantic structure and textual function of the original one.</p>
<p>(2) Pun into same pun (other type). Same as strategy (1), save that there is a shift from one formal category to another (1987, p. 148).</p>	<p>(2) Swearword/slang into similar swearword/slang. A ST swearword/slang is translated into TL swearword/slang with minor semantic deviations.</p>
<p>(3) Pun into other pun. The pun is replaced by some wordplay-related rhetorical device which aims to capture the effect of the ST pun (1996, p. 134)</p>	<p>(3) Swearword/slang into other swearword/slang. The ST swearword/slang is translated by a new correspondent different from the existing equivalent term within target culture.</p>
<p>(4) Pun into non-pun. The pun is rendered by a non-punning phrase which may salvage both senses of the wordplay but in a non-punning conjunction, or select one of the senses at the cost of suppressing the other (1996, p. 134).</p>	<p>(4) Swearword/slang into non-swearword or non-slang. The ST swearword/slang is translated by an unusual lexical item or an expression which has not a slang connotation within the target language.</p>
<p>(5) Non-translation. The translator reproduces the ST pun and possibly its immediate environment in its original formulation, i.e. without actually translating it (1996, p. 134).</p>	<p>(5) Non-translation. The ST swearword/slang is inserted in TT usually using methods such as 'borrowing' and 'calque' within TT without any translation.</p>
<p>(6) Zero-translation. The pun and its immediate (or larger) context are entirely omitted (1987, p. 148-149).</p>	<p>(6) Zero-translation. The whole or a part of the ST swearword/slang is simply omitted.</p>
<p>(7) Non-pun into pun. The translator introduces a pun in textual positions where</p>	<p>(7) Non-swearword or non-slang into swearword/slang. A non-swearword/</p>

the original text has no wordplay as a way of compensation (1996, p. 134).	slang lexical unit or phrase is translated by a swearword or slang to make up for the ST swearwords/slang lost elsewhere.
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Table 1. Adaptation of Dirk Delabastita’s strategies for wordplay translation into swearword/slang translation.

2. 3. 4. Toury’s Norms in Audiovisual Translation

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) constitutes a framework for all kinds of translation activities within TS. It has been mentioned so far that normative approaches to translation shifts make us to understand the process of translation which is bound to the dynamics of the target system. In his target-oriented approach, Gideon Toury asserts that translation is subject to constraints of several types and varying degree which extend far beyond the source text, the systemic differences between the languages and textual traditions, even the possibilities and limitations of the cognitive apparatus of the translator as a mediator (1995, p. 54). Considering the different typologies and constrained nature of AVT, these systemic differences deserve a comprehensible analysis in terms of socio-cultural factors.

According to Toury, it is necessary for the translator to determine the appropriate translational behaviour is in the target culture. Therefore, he distinguished three main groups of translation norms which can be listed as initial norms, preliminary norms and operational norms. These three norms have a significant role in the translation process by determining the position of a translation between two poles, “adequacy” and “acceptability” (Toury, 1995, p. 56).

Initial norms in translation involve a basic choice between adhering to the norms realized in ST (which reflect the norms of the source language and culture) and adhering to the norms prevalent in the target culture and language (Baker, 2001, p. 165). If the translator subjects himself/herself to the norms of ST, the translation will tend to conform to the norms of the original work which is

defined as “adequate translation”; on the other hand, if the translator adopts the norms of the target culture the translation tends to be an “acceptable translation”. In order for determining one of the two approaches in AVT, the translator need to keep in mind the factors such as the socio-cultural background of the target audience, governmental policies on broadcasting and policy of the broadcasting company.

Preliminary norms are composed of “two main sets of considerations which are often interconnected: those regarding the existence and actual nature of a definite translation policy, and those related to the directness of translation” (Toury, 1995, p. 58). Preliminary norms include factors such as choice of source text types, authors, source languages, etc. to be which determines the selection of text for translation, and these norms also deal with society’s tolerance or intolerance towards the use of an intermediate language instead of translating directly from the source text (Baker, 2001, p. 164). As far as AVT is in concern, acceptance of an audiovisual product depends usually on the popularity and textual features of the genre (e.g. sitcom, comedy, horror, etc.).

Operational norms can be considered as “directing the decisions made by the translator during the act of translation itself” (Toury, 1995, p. 58). These norms determine what kinds of changes are performed in accordance with the aim of translation. Operational norms comprise both matricial norms, which refer to modifications of the overall structure of the text, and textual-linguistic norms, which govern the selection and presentation of linguistic material on a micro level, such as stylistic features and lexical items (p. 59). Due to the fact that AVT has a constrained nature, operational norms are of special importance in the process of translation. Particularly, in subtitling, certain linguistic units are omitted so as not to exceed the ideal character number on the screen.

In the second section of the next chapter, the American animated sitcom called *South Park* will be analysed in the light of theoretical approaches that has been presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER III - CASE STUDY: *SOUTH PARK*

All characters and events in this show - even those based on real people - are entirely fictional. All celebrity voices are impersonated - poorly. The following show contains coarse language and due to its content it should not be viewed by anyone.

(*South Park* disclaimer)

3. 1. ABOUT *SOUTH PARK*

3. 1. 1. What is *South Park*?

South Park is an American animated sitcom created by Trey Parker and Matt Stone that has become popular with its satirical, surreal and dark humour as well as the blunt and obscene language through which it deals with a wide range of topics specific to both American culture and media and the global public opinion (South Park Studios, <http://www.southparkstudios.com>). The animation, whose 15th season is on air at present, has been originally broadcasted on channel Comedy Central in the United States of America since 1997. One of the most speculative TV shows ever produced, *South Park* is planned to be ended with the final episode of the 15th season.

The adventure of Trey Parker and Matt Stone began with meeting in film classes at University of Colorado in 1992. The FoxLab executive Brian Graden coincidentally watched the short called *Jesus vs. Frosty* created by them in 1995. In the animation, Santa Nicholas and Jesus Christ involve in a karate fight and they challenge each other in order to take the control of Christmas holiday (*Komedinin Gururları*, 2011, p. 105). Then, Graden commissioned them to produce an animated card for Christmas and the result was the five-minute-long short *The Spirit of Christmas* (Leonard, 2006, <http://money.cnn.com>). This animation laid the grounds for the future *South Park* series. However, the real debut of the project was realized by the creation of the second version of the

same show with a more sophisticated technique. The copies of this version were shared through internet in 1995, and in this way it was recognized by several television corporations. After it was rejected to be broadcasted by Fox, Parker and Stone had negotiations with MTV and Comedy Central. Nevertheless, the duo was afraid that MTV would turn the show into a children programme. After three months they had contract with Comedy Central, the show set out its long journey on television with the pilot episode *Cartman Gets an Anal Probe* in August 1997 (South Park Studios, <http://www.southparkstudios.com>).

The original versions and the first episode of *South Park* were created using the cut-out animation technique in which cut-out shapes are moved in small steps and a picture at each stage is taken (*Cut-out animation*, <http://www.aifweb.com>). After it began to be broadcasted on TV, Parker and Stone decided to use computer software in order to create weekly episodes (Moore, 2006, <http://www.theage.com.au>). Each episode of the two-dimensional show lasts approximately for 22 minutes.

3. 1. 2. Setting and Characterization

The events in the story take place in the fictional town of South Park which is located in the real life South Park basin within the Rocky Mountains of central Colorado (Griffiths, 2007, <http://www.newstatesman.com>). The residents in this small town ironically think that they supposedly live in the most untouched, flawless and peaceful place in the USA, just like the island country mentioned in Thomas More's *Utopia*. The town is home to students, their families, elementary school staff and other various characters such as restaurant owners, shop keepers and visitors. The prominent settings on the show are the local elementary school, bus stop, houses of the children, various neighbourhoods, city hall, hospital and the shops and businesses along the town's main street all of which are surrounded by snowy mountains, the characteristic landscape of Colorado. All these places are said to have been inspired by the similar

locations in the town of Fairplay, Colorado. (Griffiths, 2007, <http://www.newstatesman.com>). Beyond the general setting of the show, virtually in each episode in which the four naughty kids involve in crazy adventures, there are scenes ranging from several countries to eccentric indoor places such as a brothel for homosexuals, a genetic engineering laboratory or a Chinese restaurant.

The narration of the show revolves around four kids namely Eric Cartman, Kyle Broflovski, Stan Marsh, and Kenny McCormick. In the sixth season, Kenny was temporarily written off the show and replaced with Butters and Tweek. All kids are at the age of elementary school. Considering this fact, the use of language amongst makes the audience at first sight be shocked since it is an abnormal way of making conversation. However, the four kids unexceptionally use crude and profane language, and in each episode they bite off more than one can chew.

The prominent and iconic figure of the show is Eric Cartman. He is the obese, obnoxious, racist, homophobic and sadist one in the group who often bullies the Jewish kid called Kyle because of his anti-Semitic attitude. He is also a self-centred and narcissistic character who never and ever thinks of someone's benefit and well-being. He does his worst to make money, scorns hippies and hates the show *Family Guy* (South Park Studios, <http://www.southparkstudios.com>). Much of his swearwords and insults throughout the show contains homosexual connotation due to his abhorrence against homosexuals. This portrayal clearly indicates that Cartman is the antagonist of the show.

David Kyle Johnson, one of the writers of the book *South Park and Philosophy: You Know, I Learned Something Today*, defines Eric Cartman as a manipulative, self-centred bastard whose every action is directed either toward accomplishing his own happiness or the unhappiness of others (2007, p. 213). He also deals with how Kyle views Cartman. According to Kyle, Cartman's happiness is a horrendous evil. Moreover, Kyle believes that if God really exists, then he should certainly not let this horrendous evil occur. However, in many

cases, Kyle sees that Cartman is happy, which causes him to change his world view and conclude that God does not exist (p. 214). This instance is enough to call him as one of the most evil characters in television history.

It is Cartman who often provokes the action. To show that he is the major villain and the real jerk of the show: he steals the speedboat that breaks the dam that floods a nearby town, causing misplaced hysteria about global warming in the episode *Two Days Before the Day After Tomorrow* (Rovner, 2008, <http://www.npr.org>); he tries to resell the missing fetuses to the stem-cell institution so as to earn a huge amount of money in spite of Kenny's need for a stem-cell implantation in the episode *Kenny Dies*; and it is also Eric Cartman who spares his kidney for ten million dollars to save Jewish Kyle's life in the episode *Cherokee Hair Tampons*. In *Taking "South Park" Seriously*, one of the resources analyzing the show in socio-psychological and political terms, it is stated that what makes Cartman appealing is his portrayal as the opposite of an ideal American citizen:

Cartman embodies the ugly American; he is the personification of greed and conspicuous consumption. His spectacularly classist, racist, and sexist statements stand in striking contrast to the professed American ideals of goodness, equality, and justice for all. Cartman's appearances on the program provide moments of carnival pleasure: While watching, the viewer delights in the oaths and politically incorrect expressions that this character so freely utters (Hansall, 2008, p. 26).

Cartman's attitudes towards his friends and reactions to the domestic and international issues are another field of research. However, it is an undeniable fact that he is one of the most difficult figures in television history to translate due to the above-mentioned carnival effect and conforming to the target socio-cultural norms. Achieving these aims at the same time demands creativity and coping skill. The former is to recreate a carnivalesque Cartman in Turkish culture and the latter is to be ready to any kind of shifts (constitutive, individual and imposed) in the process of translation.

Kyle Broflovski, 'The Jew' as Cartman often calls, is the prominent Jewish character on the show. Because of this, he often feels like an outsider amongst

the four leading characters. The overall relationship between Eric Cartman and Kyle is based on the fact that the former is an anti-Semite while the latter is the lone Jew in the group. This results in enmity between the two characters: Cartman thinks that all Jews including Kyle must be eradicated off the world; Kyle, on the other hand, makes cracks at Cartman's weight and is disgusted with his cruelty, injustice, greed and immortality (Weinman, 2008, <http://www.macleans.ca>). Without any doubt, this relation particularly reveals a highly profane language.

Kyle is often depicted as having the highest moral standard of all the kids and usually as the most intelligent (South Park Studios, <http://www.southparkstudios.com>). This feature turns out especially when Kyle reacts against an irritating situation and loses his temper and patience. As a more specific characteristic feature, Kyle is depicted as insecure about Jewish traditions (McFarland, 2006, <http://www.seattlepi.com>). For this reason, he is uncomfortable about hanging around in a group of Christians and keeps himself away from religious issues. With all these features, Kyle is one of the protagonist figures in the show.

Stan Marsh, the second protagonist character, is described in the official website of *South Park Studios* as "a normal, average, American, mixed-up kid" (South Park Studios, <http://www.southparkstudios.com>). Stan and Kyle are best friends in the show, that's why, Kyle is said to be modelled after Matt Stone and Stan is modelled after Trey Parker. Although the two have disagreements on occasions, they eventually reconcile without any long-term damage to their friendship (Ressner, 1998, <http://www.time.com>). Through Stan's characterization, several topics such as homosexuality, racial relations, voting, illegal immigration, alcoholism, etc. have been questioned so far. This reveals the fact that he is portrayed as Stone and Parker's spokesman on critical issues. He always opposes to the general attitude of adult people in the show due to their irrationality in case they are subjected to scams or sensationalized media stories (*Stan Marsh*, <http://en.wikipedia.org>).

The last of the four kids, Kenny McCormick is portrayed as a poor kid who often eats canned food and frozen waffles. He wears his parka hood so tightly that it covers most of his face, and this causes him to muffle (South Park Studios, <http://www.southparkstudios.com>). In fact, it is a rightful choice to make him muffle because his speech involves a remarkable vulgarity. He is the most sexually knowledgeable of the boys, and whenever he comments on a celebrity that he dislikes or a subject that involves obscenity he does not make bones about spitting out whatever he thinks. A good hearer who has viewed several episodes of the show before can easily decipher some of his words, particularly the short interjections such as 'Fuck you!', 'Motherfuckers!', etc. In other occasions, his friends, Kyle, Stan and Eric, tell the other characters and accordingly the audience what he actually says. It is also important to indicate that most of English subtitles of the show include Kenny's conversation.

During the first five seasons of the show, Kenny dies nearly in each episode before returning in the next without any explanation. The joke never gets old, and the viewer eagerly awaits his death and the successive retort uttered by Stan or Kyle: "Oh God. They killed Kenny. You bastards!" (Fry, 2007, p. 77). In the 14th season, it is revealed that Kenny cannot die for he will just reborn again. This absurdity and his snappy expressions make Kenny one of the most appealing figures of the show.

Although the show narrates the exploits of these four kids, in some episodes several figures from the rest of the crew come into the forefront. The naive and optimistic and also the unwanted figure Leopald "Butters" Stoch, Stan Marsh's father Randy Marsh, and the crippled guys Jimmy and Timmy are just a few of them. Change of the topic or the character for each episode does not usually tone down the vulgarity and obscenity of the show. Thus, there is always an incessant use of crude and profane language which accustoms the viewer to the jargon of *South Park*.

3. 1. 3. Theme and Style

South Park is crazy from the beginning to the end. Each episode starts with the tongue-in-cheek disclaimer attached as epigraph in the beginning of this chapter. As mentioned in the disclaimer, *South Park* is made up of fictional characters and events; save that everything told and displayed in each episode is inspired by real-life events and figures. This paradoxical expression reveals from scratch that something extraordinary is going to happen.

One of the most striking paradoxical situations derives from the leading characters and their language use. The boys and most of the other child characters use a wide range of taboo words including insults, interjections, slang and swearwords. As a quite normal reaction, one cannot correlate such a language with children at the age of 8-10 years. Parker and Stone explain the situation asserting that they just want to display how kids actually talk when they are alone (Tapper and Morris, 2006, <http://abcnews.go.com>). Thus, without being deluded by the fact that all the leading characters are children, the huge amount of profanity makes the show adult-intended.

South Park generally makes use of “carnavalesque and absurdist techniques, sexual content, violence, offhand pop-cultural references” (Lim, 1998, <http://www.independent.co.uk>) –through which brand marks, celebrities, movies or series, etc. are referred in a cynical way- and satirical portrayal of celebrities –for instance, the show mocked at Tom Cruise’s belief in Scientology in the episode *Trapped in the Closet*-. In the early episodes of the show, shocking elements and slapstick-style humour constituted the core of the plots. As the episodes progressed, Parker and Stone started to use social satire more frequently. What has not changed with the general humour style is that the two always made use of scatological jokes. The duo states that the show most frequently features toilet humour so as to remind the viewer “what it was like to be eight years old” (Weinman, 2008, <http://www.macleans.ca>).

Jack Lynch, the author of the book *The Lexicographer’s Dilemma: The Evolution of “Proper” English, from Shakespeare to South Park*, relates the

historical evolution of Standard English and puts *South Park* as an end point in this evolution axis. The language used in the show is considered to be the version of English which has undergone many variations throughout this period of evolution. In this respect, bluntness and derogatory addressing are prominent features in discourse of *South Park*. The ethnicity terms such a ‘nigger’ and ‘Jew’ are used recklessly by the characters. The term *nigger* is the most egregious ethnic slur in the United States already and there is a considerable sensitivity in the general public, while in *South Park* it is often pronounced without hesitation. The word *Jew*, on the other hand, stands for an ethnicity, a religion, and a culture. However, because of the historical rivalry between Jews and Christians, the term has gained a derogatory connotation. That is, it can easily provoke discomfort when used by a radical Christian for a Jew (Lynch, 2009, p. 247). In *South Park*, it is most typically used by Eric Cartman in the show to demonstrate his hatred for Kyle all other Jews.

What has made *South Park* more controversial is the inclusion of religious, political and ethical topics in the plots. Although many critics think that Parker and Stone are conservatives whenever political issues are handled, the two denies the criticism and describes themselves as ‘equal opportunity offenders’ (Raphael, <http://www.jewishaz.com>). Keeping away from such a controversy, Trey Parker explains their vision in handling the events with the following words:

“What we say with the show is not anything new, but I think it is something that is great to put out there. It is that the people screaming on this side and the people screaming on that side are the same people, and it is OK to be someone in the middle, laughing at both of them” (Arp, 2007, p.1).

This seemingly innocent explanation is however not enough to stop the controversies on the show. One of the most questionable episodes was the “Cartoon Wars” double episode that aired on April 2006. The episode begins with panic in South Park upon the announcement that *Family Guy* will air an image of Prophet Mohammed which clearly refers to the publication of caricatures depicting Mohammed by Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in September 2005 and the following controversy (Weinstock, 2008, p. 104). Although the Mohammed image is censored within *South Park*, a second

announcement says that Mohammed will be shown without any censorship in *Family Guy*. In response to this, Cartman uncharacteristically shows a religious sensitivity and tries to convince the network executives to remove the show from the air. However, at the end of the episode, it reveals that Cartman does not care about a possible offence against Muslims but just desires the broadcast of *Family Guy* to be cancelled. In this episode, what Eric Cartman objects is the blasphemous humour. Nevertheless, a regular viewer of *South Park* knows that this is not a typical Cartman behaviour and he just behaves like a utilitarian (Murtagh, 2007, p. 34), which makes the episode as a whole a blasphemous one. The episode has not been aired in Turkey on account of the fact that it mocks at Prophet Mohammed and religious beliefs of Muslim people.

Another example to the blasphemous humour in *South Park* is the depiction of a statue of Virgin Mary as bleeding out her anus. After the people in the town witness the fact, a Cardinal from Vatican comes to *South Park* to inspect the statue and declares that "it is a miracle". After a short while, Pope Benedict XVI shows up to inspect the statue himself, and declares that the statue is not bleeding out its anus but its vagina and utters an absurd sentence, "chick bleeding out her vagina is no miracle. Chicks bleed out their vaginas all the time" (qtd. Murtagh, 2007, p. 29). As a matter of fact, religion has always been a means for mockery, satire, and ridicule (Koepsell, 2007, p. 132). Given the example from the episode "Bloody Mary", it is a certain fact that *South Park* makes use of such blasphemous humour and does not abstain from harsh reactions from religious authorities.

The other religious, ethical and political issues *South Park* has dealt with are global warming, hybrid cars, and the depletion of the rain forest; religious issues surrounding Mormonism, Scientology, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; and social issues such as gay marriage, stem cell research, animal rights, celebrity worship, and the sexualisation of children and so on.

3. 1. 4. Reception of *South Park* in American and Turkish Culture

What makes *South Park* distinguishable among other shows in the same genre such as *The Simpsons* or *Family Guy* is that it breaks taboos by speaking the unspeakable. "Comedy momentarily liberates us from restrictions that conventional society imposes us. We applaud the comedian because he says right out in front of an audience what, supposedly, nobody is allowed to say in public" (Cantor, 2007, p. 99). The American society has become more permissive, while writing comedy has become a difficult work. As a requirement in a more liberalized American media and society, the laws on censorship have been relaxed. Even the formerly taboo sexual material has been freely used in any kind of movies and series. All these facts left the comedy writers desperate in finding the way to amuse and offend the audience (p. 100).

Trey Parker and Matt Stone broke out of this vicious circle by means of the phenomenon known as political correctness. Other than the earlier taboos and pieties, the new generation has created its own taboos which are enforced by social pressure and legal sanctions. Therefore, in the American society, it is a known fact that despising people due to their race, gender, sexual tendency, handicap, religion or many other protected categories is socially and in some occasions legally prohibited. *South Park* has become a unique example by satirizing all forms of political correctness such as "anti-hate crime legislation, tolerance indoctrination in the schools, Hollywood do-gooding, including environmentalism and anti-smoking campaign, the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Special Olympics" (p.100), and so on. One crucial fact to emphasize is that the show is able and opts to satirize all forms of political correctness in the name of freedom of expression.

With its rough and brave way of narration, *South Park* tries in a sense "to wake American culture from its thoughtlessness and ignorance" (Young, 2007, p. 13). As far as the dimensions of controversies on the show are concerned, *South Park* seems to have been successful enough to draw a considerable attention in the American society. It has been the most watched programme on Comedy Central since its first episode was on air (Stratyner and Keller, 2009, p. 1). One

may still ask if this success legitimize the vulgarity of *South Park*. However, the vulgarity in the show is used as a way of expressing the repressed drives and desires (Young, 2007, p. 14). Through verbalizing these drives, the show lets the audience to think about and analyze the problematic situation presented in each episode.

To sum up, *South Park* owes its popularity in the United States to its fearlessness in lampooning any social, political, ethical, economic, and religious view within crudeness and profanity (Arp, 2007, p. 1). These features make the show the most controversial and sensational series on television history. In line with this view, it is the most eligible series as a research material with regard to censorship in audiovisual translation.

South Park was first recognized in Turkey thanks to CNBC-e, one of the private channels of Doğuş Group in 2000. Due to the fact that in the first several years CNBC-e broadcasted only in the Marmara region and cable-casted across the country, the show did not draw the desired attention (*South Park Nedir?*, <http://www.spturkiye.com>). Even so, it gained popularity among teenagers and young adults through internet. Since CNBC-e began broadcasting throughout the country and upon establishment of the channel e2, *South Park* has become a phenomenon in Turkey.

Although *South Park* contains American local colours and satirizes mostly US policies and social behaviour of American society, its witty way of handling topics, political satire against liberals, and above all the obscene and vulgar language make the show one of the most popular series in Turkey. The vast collection of American slang and swearwords has been appealed by the viewers who are competent in English in particular. This is the bright side about reception of the show in Turkish culture. It is also most frequently seen that even though translation of *South Park* has created its own jargon, the audience is not content with subtitles because they are adjusted according to certain rules of authorities and socio-cultural norms. This frustration leads the people then to watch the show not on TV but on internet without any subtitle or with a fan-subbed version.

The reputation of *South Park* in Turkey does not only derive from its originality in its content and style but also from its turbulent adventure in television broadcasting. The show was temporarily ceased by CNBC-e in 2002 due to contextual violations against rules of Radio and Television Supreme Council. It resumed to be broadcasted on CNBC-e on condition that it should be aired after 12 pm. in order for preventing children from watching it. Since e2 was established in 2007, the show has been alternately broadcasted on two channels after midnights.

3. 1. 5. Broadcast Ban

The most radical intervention in the airing of *South Park* in Turkey, broadcast ban worth mentioning before going through censorship on lexical and phrasal level. In accordance with the rules and regulations of Radio and Television Supreme Council, the episodes shown in the following table were banned from being aired due to religious, political and ethical reasons. The data have been acquired from the Department of Subtitling and Dubbing in CNBC-e channel.

Season/ Episode	Name of the Episode	Reason for the Broadcast Ban
03/15	<i>Cartman Joins NAMBLA</i>	Paedophilia, child abuse
03/16	<i>Are You There God, It's Me Jesus</i>	Personification of God
04/10	<i>Probably (2)</i>	Personification of God and its political content
04/11	<i>4th Grade</i>	Personification of God and its political content
05/04	<i>Scott Tenorman Must Die</i>	Violence
05/09	<i>Osama Bin Laden Has Farty Pants</i>	Anti-Muslim views
06/19	<i>The Red Sleigh Down</i>	Portraying Iraqis killing Jesus
07/05	<i>Fat Butt and Pancake Head</i>	Vulgarity
09/04	<i>Best Friends Forever</i>	Blasphemy
10/01	<i>The Return of Chef!</i>	Vulgarity
10/03	<i>Cartoon Wars (1)</i>	Portrayal of Prophet Mohammed
10/04	<i>Cartoon Wars (2)</i>	Portrayal of Prophet Mohammed

11/02	<i>Cartman Sucks</i>	Homosexuality
11/04	<i>The Snuke</i>	Anti-Muslim views
11/06	<i>D-Yikes!</i>	Homosexuality
11/10	<i>Imaginationland</i>	Anti-Muslim views
11/11	<i>Imaginationland: Episode II</i>	Anti-Muslim views
11/12	<i>Imaginationland: Episode III</i>	Anti-Muslim views
12/05	<i>EEK, A Penis!</i>	Obscenity

Table 2. Banned episodes of *South Park* on CNBC-e and e2

The table gives an overall impression on the contextual censorship of *South Park* on television. The banned episodes commonly contain several questionable themes such as obscenity, sex, blasphemy and political satire. Notwithstanding the reason, broadcast ban is the harshest reaction and outrage against an audiovisual work. This shows that the imbalance concerning the concept of freedom between two cultures and vulnerability of target culture overwhelms the value of a production.

3. 2. ANALYSIS OF SOUTH PARK WITHIN STRATEGIES FOR SWEARWORD/SLANG TRANSLATION

In this section, Turkish subtitles of fifty *South Park* episodes will be analysed within the framework of the translation strategies explained in the previous chapter. The translated subtitle scripts are acquired from Doğuş Group, the owner of the channels CNBC-e and e2, while the original subtitles are obtained from divxplanet.com. After watching the complete episodes of the show, fifty episodes which are thought to be fitting to the purpose of the study were selected to be analysed in terms of translation. The number was decided to be fifty because all episodes of *South Park* have common features, similar vulgarity and obscenity units. Increasing the number of episodes would be no more than repetition.

In the first step of analysis, ST units of Sw/S and their translations were extracted into Microsoft Office Excel. Secondly, comparing each ST and TT unit, it was decided whether a euphemised translation or a moderate way of translation is applied in each example. After deciding on this tendency, translation methods which guide the translator to apply the suitable strategy have been extracted. The most typical and problematic examples out of 474 entries will be presented under the strategies developed for translation of swearwords and slang.

3. 2. 1. Methodological Framework

In the previous chapter, several theoretical and methodological issues associated to the problem of swearword or slang translation in audiovisual materials have been explained. As it was mentioned before, this case study is based on a three-faceted theoretical background. The first component of this framework is 'shifts of translation' which refer to deviations from the original work in the translation process. It goes without saying that taboos in language and their specific usage as slang, jargons, swearwords or insults prove to be problematic in translation. It is also an undeniable fact that such lexical and phrasal expressions are highly cultural elements and from time to time they give way to many obligatory and optional shifts in translation. Beyond this problematic nature of these terms due to cultural incompatibilities, a further institutional intervention which was previously called 'imposed shift' forces the translator depart from the original saying. This term reveals the fact that translation shifts do not only derive from the linguistic distinctions but also from socio-cultural norms of the target system. *South Park* is a very fitting research material since each episode includes a highly lampooning and taboo language. Furthermore, conveying the American outspoken taboo concepts into Turkish culture is far more problematic because there is a clash of norms between two systems. Although Turkish is considerably a flexible language in the use of slang and swearwords, socio-cultural norms restrict blunt use of such words or phrases, through mass media in particular. Thus, high supervisory authorities and television corporations lay down limitations on use of taboo language in

audiovisual products. Therefore, shifts in translation of such materials require special attention in descriptive analysis of slang or swearword translation.

As for the practical component of the methodology, a group of strategies have been adapted from Dirk Delabastita's methodology for wordplay translation (1987). It has also been indicated that translatability of wordplays were shaped by shifts of translation. Each mode of wordplay translation was developed according to the severity of shifts. Notwithstanding the minor differences in the way of translatability between wordplays and swearwords/slang, they are both exposed to shifts whether constitutive, individual or imposed. In both problematic cases, the translator has to make use of his/her creativity in order to offer the most acceptable equivalent or correspondent that could serve efficiently within the target culture. Thus, a general classification which is composed of seven strategies has been offered to be used in the analysis of swearword/slang translation:

Translation Strategy	Abbreviation
1. Swearword/slang into same swearword/ slang	Sw/S into Same Sw/S
2. Swearword/slang into similar swearword/slang	Sw/S into Similar Sw/S
3. Swearword/slang into other swearword/slang	Sw/S into Other Sw/S
4. Swearword/slang into non-swearword or non-slang	Sw/S into Non-Sw/S
5. Non-translation	Non-translation
6. Zero-translation	Zero-translation
7. Non-swearword or non-slang into swearword/slang	Non-Sw/S into Sw/S

Table 3. Seven Strategies for Swearword and Slang Translation

The seven strategies shown in the table above give a general insight on the direction of translation. That is, norms of the target culture guide the translator in choosing one of the seven strategies. For instance, in the case of translating a swearword or a slang term which has an overlapping equivalent within TL and is allowed by the institutional authority to be included in the TT, the first strategy can be applied by the translator. If the swearword or slang is entirely specific to the source culture or it is too obscene and blunt to be conveyed into the TT, the second or the third, even on some occasions, the fourth strategy can be chosen; in all these three strategies, the original taboo language is toned down to a certain degree.

It is important to state that these strategies only offer situational options and a general approach to the translator in the process of translation. It is the translator himself/herself who has to find the most fitting method to apply these strategies. Therefore, the seven strategies themselves are not enough to find solutions to the translational problems which are governed by normative requirements. To this end, a range of translation methods constitute a remarkable part of the translation process. In metaphoric words, the translation strategies function as a map in the process while it is the translator who is to find a way to the destination in his/her style. In this study, fifty translated scripts of *South Park* have been analysed in terms of the swearwords and slang reproduced by the translator within the target culture and the methods used in finding the acceptable equivalents or correspondents.

The following table shows the relation between the strategies and the methods used in the translation of *South Park*. It is important to indicate that the term 'translation strategy' represents the general taxonomy which can be adopted in the translation of taboo words, slang terms and swearwords while 'translation method' stands for the translator's individual preferences for applying the above-mentioned seven translation strategies.

Translation Strategy	Translation Method
Sw/S into Same Sw/S	Functional Equivalence
	Idiomatic Translation
Sw/S into Similar Sw/S	Expansion
	Unconventional Equivalence/Correspondence
	Euphemism
Sw/S into Other Sw/S	Conceptual Substitution
	Adaptation
Sw/S into Non-Sw/S	Word Creation
	Borrowing
	Calque
Non-translation	Literal Translation
	Omission
Zero-translation	Elliptical Translation
Non-Sw/S into Sw/S	Dysphemism

Table 4. Methods for Swearword and Slang Translation

The translation methods in the Table 4 are listed according to a logical order conforming to the order of translation strategies in the left column. Nevertheless, it is not always possible to categorize translation examples in such rigid terms. That is, several translation methods may be used interchangeably within more than one strategy. For instance, an American culture-specific and obscene swearword can be translated using conceptual substitution so as to reproduce a semantically different and most possibly euphemised correspondent. Hence, the swearword is translated by another swearword or slang in the TL (Sw/S into Other Sw/S). The same method can also be used in order to entirely neutralize the obscenity of the original piece of

language (Sw/S into Non-Sw/S) or contrarily to convert an innocent piece of language into a rude, blunt or obscene expression (Non-Sw/S into Sw/S).

The complementary component of the methodological framework of this study is Gideon Toury's norms which enable us to handle the problem situation in a descriptive way. Since DTS deals with translational act as a whole, it builds a frame to the agents governing the translational act, translation policy, shifts of translation and individual choices (strategies or methods) of the translator. As explicated in the previous chapter, translational norms are divided into three: initial, preliminary and operational norms. Whatever the medium of translation (audiovisual, printed or spoken), the translator adheres either to the norms realized in the source text or to the norms prevalent in the target language and culture [initial norms] (Baker, 2001, p. 164). As far as audiovisual materials for television are concerned, it can be concluded that such texts are translated according to the existing translation policy of the institution. Thus, preliminary norms for such a translational act are solidly established and play an active role in the process of translation. Considering the former two norms, the translator's individual decisions during the act of translation are also affected [operational norms]. The changes in distribution of the textual material, segmental structure of the text, or unexpected textual material to formulate the target text are all results of incompatibilities between the two norm systems (p. 164).

3. 2. 2. Swearword/Slang into Same Swearword/Slang

This strategy requires a neutral way of translation in which the semantic and textual function of the original saying is fully conveyed into TT. In other words, the TT must be faithful to the ST in sense and functionality so that the target Sw/S could give the same impression of the original one. With this in mind, this strategy is applicable in translation of simple and minor swearwords, impolite adjectives and interjections.

[1]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S04/E15	Dag-nabbit children!	Kahretsin çocuklar.
(2)	S05/E11	Goddammit!	Kahretsin!
(3)	S06/E01	Now, gosh darn it, fellas, my name's not Kenny.	Hay kahrı belâ, adım Kenny değil.
(4)	S06/E02	Now gosh darn it, my name's not Kenny.	Kahretsin ya, benim adım Kenny değil.
(5)	S09/E05	You want a piece of me?! 'Cause I'm pretty sick of your Goddamned mouth!	Belanı mı arıyorsun? Zira kahrolası çenenden fenalık geldi.

One of the most used interjections and cursing expressions in American slang and *South Park* is the one which is formed using the word *damn* and its variations such as *dang*, *dagnab* and *darn* which are mostly used in expressing disappointment, irritation and frustration. These interjections are one of the most innocent slang in English used in various types of conversation. The Turkish culture norms absorb such a minor profanity and allow such expression to be translated in a full equivalence. The verb *kahretmek* in Turkish fulfils the semantic and functional representation of the verb *damn* and does not require any euphemism.

In some occasions, *damn* is used as an intensifier as in the fifth example. As it is shown in the translation, changing part of speech in the use of verb *damn* does not cause any problem in expression. The odd one out of the examples above, on the other hand, is the third in which the verb *kahretmek* is used in an unconventional way: *kahrı belâ*. The form is rarely used in Turkish while it has the same meaning with the original interjection. This example shows that the translator can make use of formal variations in translation of such slang so as to provide diversity in expression as in the original.

[2]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E10	Have any of you dumb girls seen Bebe anywhere?	Hey aptal kızlar, Bebe'yi gördünüz mü?
(2)	S07/E07	Small-minded idiots pouring their life-savings away!	Kuş beyinli salaklar tüm birikimlerini çöpe atıyorlar.
(3)	S08/E02	Look, retards! My name is Eric Cartman!	Gerzekler, adım Eric Cartman.
(4)	S08/E04	He's kookoo, dude.	Herif manyak ahbap.
(5)	S09/E13	You bunch of retards.	Sizi geri zekalılar.

The eight examples above show a selection of slang terms that are translated adequately into the TL. These examples prove that some slang terms and in some occasions some swearwords in *South Park* can be translated with full equivalence without any euphemism. It can be concluded from these examples that translation policy of CNBC-e allows the use of words such as *gerzek*, *aptal*, *salak*, *manyak*, *gerizekalı* all of which are used to humiliate someone. However, it is important to keep in mind that these slang terms have the same vulgarity effect in the ST. Once the vulgarity level of the slang goes further changing into an obscene or blasphemous one, there will be an inevitable departure from the moderate way of translation, and different methods and strategies will be applied.

As mentioned in the previous section, several translation methods can be used in more than one translation strategy for Sw/S. One of the interchangeably used translation methods, **idiomatic translation** helps the translator to translate a source idiom or a vulgar expression by a target idiom, which provides a more colloquial way of expression rather than adopting literal translation. The following examples show how idioms can be used in translation of profane language units.

[3]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E02	I'm getting steamed now.	Tepem atmaya başladı ya.
(2)	S07/E06	Will you get off my back?	Üstüme gelmeyi keser misin?
(3)	S06/E04	Well, that guy is just plain nuts.	Bu herif kafayı yemiş.
(4)	S05/E14	...when you catch your father Jacking off in a gay men's bath house.	...babanı şorolo hamamında çavuşu tokatlarken yakaladığında.

Since the first strategy requires transferring the semantic and functional content of the original text in a faithful way, the target idiom should not be more vulgar than the original semantic unit. *To get steamed* means “to get angry” or “to get pissed off” (Chapman, 1995, p. 530), and it is translated by the Turkish idiom *tepesi atmak* which corresponds to the equal semantic content. The phrasal verb *get off someone's back*, on the other hand, is translated by *üstüne gelmek* and the *nuts* which means “crazy and eccentric” (Chapman, 1997, p. 395) is translated by the idiom *kafayı yemek*. While there is a faithful translation in these examples, the slang idiom *çavuş tokatlamak* proves an exception in the vulgarity level. It may be accepted as the full equivalent term for the slang phrasal verb *to jack off*. Nevertheless, it is commonly known by teenage viewers, in particular, that the idiom refers to *male masturbation*. Thus, the translator exceptionally prefers to be blunt with this translation without applying any kind of euphemism.

3. 2. 3. Swearword/Slang into Similar Swearword/Slang

The second strategy for Sw/S translation is logically parallel to the previous strategy, i.e. translation should be faithful to the ST message. However, as the original swearwords and slang terms get more vulgar and obscene, the translator tends to depart from the faithful stance into a free-style translation.

Even though such similarity of ST and TT swearwords and slang cannot be compared to what is known as free translation in general sense, through practical solutions, a minor change in the semantic content of units may be observed.

Similarity between the source and target language expression, i.e. transferring the referential meaning of the source swearword or slang is achieved frequently via using an expression alternative to the dispreferred one, which is called **euphemism**. What is meant by *dispreferred* language is one that is not preferred, desired or appropriate (Allan and Burridge, 2006, p. 32). Thus, the translator prefers a milder version of what he/she wants to say for the sake of protecting the audience from vulgar or obscene language and conforming to the institutional translation rules.

[4]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S09/E14	They say her divine ass blood has miraculous healing power.	İlahi poposundan akan kanın iyileştirici gücü olduğu söyleniyor.
(2)	S05/E14	"Dear ass-Face."	"Sevgili anüs suratlı."
(3)	S06/E10	...having things made easy for me because I have hot knockers...	Çekici göğüslerim olduğu için bir şeyleri...
(4)	S08/E04	Oh, my nipples are so tender! Don't squeeze them anymore!	Göğüs uçlarım çok hassas. Daha fazla sıkmayın onları.
(5)	S09/E13	Goddamnit it is prank call again! Kiss my ass, George Bush! This is not funny!	Kahretsin, yine işletiyorlar. Arkamı öp George Bush.
(6)	S12/E08	Oh, dude, you shot him in the dick.	Ahbab, onu aletinden vurdun.

(7)	S12/E08	I didn't sign up for this. You take your American Liberation Front and you shove it up your ass!	Ben bunun için burada değilim. Amerika Kurtuluş Cephesi'ni münasip yerine sokabilirsin.
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The group of examples above show how obscene use of bodily organs is euphemised in subtitles of *South Park*. The most frequently toned-down words referring to bodily organs throughout the show are *ass*, *penis*, *boob*, *vagina*, *ball* and their derivations. *Ass* is translated by *popo* (1), and in some cases *anüs* (2) which do not usually stand for obscenity. The former is usually known as a word from child language, while the latter is anatomically a part of the corresponding bodily organ which does not have an obscene connotation in Turkish. In some occasions, *ass* is translated by the word *arka* which refers to the back side of a human body and alludes the dispreferred term by means of an approximation. *Münasip yerine sokmak* (7), on the other hand, is a colloquial Turkish slang phrase that is not preferred to be used indiscreetly in formal conversations. Even though it is a vulgar phrase, the word *ass* is euphemised in translation by the Turkish phrase *münasip yer*.

The word *knocker* in the example (3) is one of the vulgar versions of *breast* (Merriam-Webster, <http://www.merriam-webster.com>). The word *göğüs* in Turkish refers both to the anatomical part of human body and metaphorically to *boob* in an obscene context. Still, the word is not as vulgar and obscene as the word *meme* in Turkish which is never used in translation of *South Park* except for referring to the *breast cancer*. The same problem exists with translation of *nipple* (4). It is translated by *göğüs ucu* which results in loss of obscene effect.

When it comes to the word *dick* (6), as in the example of *ass*, the translator prefers to make use of an indirect and colloquial correspondent. *Alet* is a slang word used to refer the male sex organ. Even if it has a considerable vulgar and obscene semantic content, it is a highly euphemised version considering the Turkish equivalent of the word. It is quite clear that all these words have equivalents without any loss of meaning in Turkish, but they are strictly forbidden to be used in television programmes.

Dirty words are one of the most censored groups of words in translation of *South Park*. This mode (Sw/S translated into similar Sw/S) in the strategies for Sw/S translation deals with the mild swearwords, interjections, insults. However, as exemplified in the following sentences, even the dirty words concerning the bodily effluvia such as *shit*, *crap* and *fart* are euphemised to some extent.

[5]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S08/E09	Dude, you can't shop for crap.	Ahbab, alışverişten bir halt anladığın yok.
(2)	S09/E06	I took a crap in the principal's purse... seven times.	Müdürün çantasına kakamı yaptım. Yedi kere.
(3)	S12/E06	Brazilian fart fetish porn? Click! Click!	Brezilyalıların yellenme pornosu. Tık. Tık.
(4)	S06/E03	Hey, little dude, you got some crap right here.	Ufaklık, şurada pislik var.
(5)	S09/E06	He does this shit all the time!	Ama bu haltı her zaman yiyor.
(6)	S05/E08	Let a man take a crap.	Bari helâdayken rahat bırakın.
(7)	S06/E01	Whatever! I'll crap in maury's pants.	Her neyse işte, Maury'nin pantolonuna ederim.

Unless used as an exclamation of disgust, disappointment or rejection, *crap* and *shit* can be considered as mild dirty words. In the examples (1) and (5), the two words are used to express dislike and dissatisfaction. Both words are translated by the word *halt* (*etmek/yemek*) which denotes to something inconvenient and nasty instead of using the equivalent term.

In the examples (2), (4) and (6), the word (*to take a*) *crap* refers to its denotative meaning, that is “faeces; excrement” (Chapman, 1995, p. 115). The former two examples show that in spite of being used as denotation, they are replaced by euphemised alternatives in the TT. In the example (6), on the other hand, the same word is translated by a functional expression conforming to the contextual situation. The Turkish verb *etmek* is another alternative in translation for the verb *crap* as shown in (7).

In the example (3), the word *fart* is translated by the indirect and alternative equivalent *yellenme*. As a matter of fact, if the translator was allowed to recreate a subtitle of *South Park* which entirely conforms to the ST norms, all taboo words mentioned above would be translated by their semantic and functional equivalents.

The most typical translation method used in achieving this strategy is **unconventional equivalence** or **unconventional correspondence**. Being a way of euphemism, it refers to translating a swearword or slang by an unfamiliar, eccentric and sometimes an archaic term rather than the conventional and most common equivalent of the term in the TT.

[6]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S04/E15	...but I am sure as hell not going to any gay-ass fat camp!	...ama ben şoroloca bir şişmanlar kampına gitmiyorum.
(2)	S05/E01	You asshole.	Seni labuş oğlan.
(3)	S05/E01	No, i'm teaching it how to bite someone's penis off.	Hayır, birinin tingişini koparmayı öğretiyorum.
(4)	S05/E11	A brand new vehicle That will put all you bastards out of business!	Yeni bir ulaşım aracı keşfedeceğim ve siz kopilleri iflas ettireceğim.
(5)	S05/E11	That looks pretty gay.	Oldukça hötöröfçe.
(6)	S05/E11	You pieces of shit!	Sizi fişki parçaları!
(7)	S08/E02	Suck mah balls, Kyle.	Bamburuklarımı ye Kyle.

(8)	S07/E08	I'm not just gay, I'm a catamite.	Ben sadece şorolo değilim, ayrıca bir de kulamparayım.
(9)	S09/E14	Get off my ass, dickhole!	Çekil popomdan bibiş kafalı.
(10)	S12/E03	Huffing cat urine apparently causes a euphoric state and is also referred to as... cheesing.	Kedi çiši koklamak öforiye neden oluyor. Diğer deyişle, "matizleştiriyor."
(11)	S12/E07	You wanna hold hands with a girl? Gaywad!	Bir kızla mı el ele tutuşmak istiyorsun? Hötöröf müsün nesin!
(12)	S12/E13	Dude, girls are such fags.	Ahbap, kızlar feci nonoş oluyor ya.

It is clearly seen in the TT units that the translator uses a range of unconventional words that are rarely used in colloquial Turkish such as *şorolo*, *labuş*, *tingis*, *kopil*, *hötöröf*, *fışkı*, *bamburuk*, *kulampara*, *bibiş*, *matiz*, and *nonoş*. As can be seen in the all examples, the vulgar and dirty words in each ST units are not culture-specific terms which are difficult to be conveyed into Turkish. The problem here stems from the semantic content of the words. *Gay(ass)*, *asshole*, *penis*, *bastard*, *shit*, *ball*, *catamite*, *dick hole*, *cheese*, *gaywad* and *fag* are inconvenient and prohibited to be used in the subtitle of a TV programme which is broadcasted nationwide on television. Although *South Park* is broadcasted late at night, Radio and Television Supreme Council bans the use of such words on TV on the grounds that children might be exposed to them.

It is not to say that the unconventional terms shown in the examples above have completely innocent and polite meanings in Turkish. However, the translator cleverly prefers to use these terms because they are not known by everybody and children in particular. In the following table, the most frequently used unconventional terms in translation of *South Park* are given with their meanings. The meanings of the words are taken from Hulki Aktunç's Turkish slang dictionary called *Büyük Argo Sözlüğü (Tanıklarıyla)* (2010) and online Turkish dictionary of Turkish Language Association called *Büyük Türkçe Sözlük* (<http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/>).

Unconventional Term	Meaning	Reference
şorolo	Passive homosexual male	Aktunç, 2010, p. 273
labuş	(or labunya) Passive homosexual male; male homosexual with feminine manners	Aktunç, 2010, p. 201
tingiş	Pretty small, tiny	TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/
kopil	(Rom. <i>copil</i>) Child, young teenager	Aktunç, 2010, p. 193
hötöröf	Passive homosexual male	Aktunç, 2010, p. 147
fişki	(Gre.) faeces of horse; horse and donkey dung	TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/
bamburuk	Male testicles	Aktunç, 2010, p. 56
kulampara	Pederast	TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/
bibiş	<i>Penis</i> in child language	TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/
matiz	Drunk	Aktunç, 2010, p. 214
nonoş	Male with feminine manners, travesty, passive homosexual male	Aktunç, 2010, p. 226

Table 5. Unconventional Turkish slang words in translation of *South Park*

When the table and the group of examples are examined, it can be observed that most of the words have homosexual content. In *South Park*, most of the swearwords, interjections, insults, etc. include homosexuality because in American society it is a popular element of mockery and lampooning. Nevertheless, socio-cultural norms in Turkey do not still embrace homosexuality as a natural phenomenon. Even its use as an element of mockery is unconventional, except for the use among teenagers and adults. Therefore, its reflection through mass media is strictly prohibited. With this in mind, the translator who is not allowed to use the fully equivalent terms of homosexuality in the TT, prefers to use such alternative and euphemised words which are not frequently used in Turkish. The words used in the examples above show limited

number of the unconventional words used in subtitles of *South Park*; the rest of the terms can be seen in the following strategies and the full list of “Translation Strategies and Censorship Methods in Translation of *South Park*” in Appendix I.

With this method, the translator automatically addresses at adult viewers because the words in translation are rarely used in daily language and unfamiliar to younger viewers. They are mostly acquired from traditional *Orta Oyunu* (Turkish light comedy) and *Karagöz*, and most of their origins belong to minority languages or local dialects. Two words deserve special attention of the 12 examples above: *matiz* and *tingiş*. *Matiz* is the name of a drunk character in *Karagöz* and *Orta Oyunu* which literally means “drunk” or “someone who is drunk”. It is used for the word *to cheese* in *South Park* which means to smoke a mixture of heroin (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). As for the word *tingiş*, is a local dialect word from Antalya region (TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, <http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts>) which means “pretty small”. The translator euphemises the word *penis* by using this unconventional correspondent rather than making use of common equivalents such as *kuş*, *ufaklık*, etc. That is to say, on one hand the translator chooses such specific terms in order to eliminate children from the audience of the show, on the other hand, he/she tries to provide textual equivalence through conceptual adaptation, which in a sense forms a Turkish jargon for *South Park*.

Unconventionality in translation does not only derive from the use of alternative cultural equivalents but also from intentional change in the established words and phrases. The following translations exemplify the unconventional word and phrase choice of the translator.

[7]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S05/E01	I'm gonna get that son of a bitch.	O sürtüğün evlâdına gününü göstereceğim!
(2)	S06/E01	Yes, his balls actually hang from his chin.	Topları çenesinden sarkıyor.

(3)	S06/E02	Oh man, if i was older I would totally start jacking off right now.	Biraz büyük olsaydım, şu anda kendimi tatmin ediyor olurdum.
(4)	S07/E02	Muthafucka Crips tryin' to smoke us all out!	Şıfıntının evlatları "Engelliler" bizi haklamaya çalışıyor.
(5)	S07/E08	So uh, Randy, you want me to give you a hand job in the bathroom?	Tuvalette bir el muamelesi çekeyim mi?
(6)	S12/E10	Shave your balls? Why would you shave your balls?	Alt tertibini niye tıraş edeceksin

Considering the vulgar and obscene language in *South Park*, adopting a translation approach based on full equivalence would certainly violate institutional norms. In this respect, dirty words and phrases such as *son of a bitch*, *ball*, *jack off*, *muthafucka* and *hand job* are not translated by established equivalents. Instead, euphemised and unconventional terms such as *sürtüğün evladı*, *top*, *kendini tatmin etmek*, *şıfıntının evladı*, *el muamelesi* and *alt tertip* are used in the TT. It is clear enough that these translation units are unconventional not because they are culture-specific terms but they are euphemised and unaccustomed alternatives for the well-known corresponding target swearwords and slang terms.

Similar effect between source and target swearwords and slang can also be created through **expansion** method in a euphemised context. Accordingly, in the following example, the translator prefers to expand the culture-specific vulgar term rather than adopting literal translation.

[8]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S08/E11	Frankly, Jimmy, I don't know how we're gonna fit that in between cheerleader pie-eating and Who's got Skidmark Monday.	Açıkçası, "Pasta yiyen ponpon kız" ve "Pazartesi kimin poposu pisti" haberinin arasına bunu nasıl sığdıracağımı bilemiyorum.

In this example, the ST mentions a fictional topic on news called "Who's got Skidmark Monday?". The word *skidmark* within the name of the topic is a problematic compound noun to translate into Turkish. In American slang, it refers to the "strain of faeces in the underwear" (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). Actually, the noun can be conveyed into Turkish through word-for-word translation, but a blunt translation would come out in that case. The translator therefore chooses to expand the expression without using the vulgar term *skid*, and replaces it with the explanatory couple of words, "poposu pisti". The original dirty context is toned down with this expansion.

Idiomatic translation, which is frequently used for translating source idioms and phrasal verbs to create an equivalent effect in the TT, sometimes enables the translator to create a more colloquial and milder TT.

[9]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S09/E02	All right, everyone pack up your crap, we're going to our basement!	Herkes pılsını pırtısını toplansın, evimin bodrumuna gidiyoruz.
(2)	S09/E02	Great, I love crapping in a toilet with no rim on it.	Harika. Klozet kapağı olmayan bir tuvalette işimi görmeye bayılıyorum.

(3)	S12/E01	Well he was being a total dick!	Başıma bela oldu ya.
(4)	S05/E10	Yeah, we gotta remember to kick his ass tomorrow.	Evet. Hatırlatın da yarın canına okuyalım.

It is clearly shown in the examples above that dirty words and slang expressions such as *pack up someone's crap*, *to crap*, *to be a (total) dick* and *to kick someone's ass* are translated by milder Turkish idioms. The idioms *pıllısını pırtısını toplamak*, *işini görmek*, *başına bela olmak* and *canına okumak* functionally corresponds to the original slang and euphemises the profanity as well.

One of the most difficult structures to overcome in translation perhaps is a **pun** with obscene and vulgar words. In such a case, on one hand the translator tires to recreate the formal structure and functional content of the wordplay, on the other hand, he/she strives to find the most fitting word that does not violate the target norms.

[10]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S05/E10	Yeah, i guess now we'll have to call him Ben Ass-Fleck.	Galiba artık ona "Ben Kıçleck" diyeceğiz.

In the example above, Eric Cartman mocks at the movie star Ben Affleck who is supposed to be the son of the couple having "Torsonic Polarity Syndrome", a fictional bodily disorder in which faces of people appear as human buttocks. Because of this fact, Cartman calls him "Ben Assfleck". The wordplay is translated by "Kıçleck" only changing the word *ass* into one of its equivalents in Turkish. There is not any word in Turkish referring to that part of body with similar sounding and a euphemised connotation. At first sight, the word

“Kıçleck” seems fitting in profanity notwithstanding the phonetic incompatibility due to the constitutive shift. However, the word is indeed a euphemised one when it is compared with another alternative *götlek*, which denotes to “passive homosexual male” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 129).

3. 2. 4. Swearword/Slang into Other Swearword/Slang

In some cases, the translator encounters such swearwords or slang terms that he/she has to depart from the original meaning. This compulsion results either from highly vulgar and obscene characteristics or culture-specificity of the wide collection of American slang. In such cases, a ST swearword/slang can be translated by a completely different word or phrase in the TT in order to sustain the textual functionality.

The most applied method in this mode of strategy is **conceptual substitution** in which the original swearword or slang is substituted with a completely different one in the TL regardless of the difference in meaning and functionality between ST and TT. The alternative target swearword or slang is preferred to a euphemised correspondent that conforms to the socio-cultural and institutional norms of TL. The following examples present a selection from the huge list of conceptually substituted terms.

[11]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E01	What a dick.	Ne dingil herif!
(2)	S06/E02	That penis-butt didn't lose weight eating sub sandwiches.	O goygoycu herif sandviç yiyip kilo vermemiş ki,...
(3)	S06/E02	Yeah, well, dad's being a little pussy, mom.	Çünkü babam yavşağın teki.
(4)	S06/E04	Goddamn smartass!	Seni benzettiğimin züppesi.
(5)	S06/E04	Why don't you mind your own business, ya scrotum!	Kendi işine baksana hırbo?

(6)	S06/E04	You fight like Norwegians, ya fairies!	Tıpkı Norveçliler gibi dövüşüyorsunuz, koftiler sizi.
(7)	S06/E04	You don't edit Russell Crowe's poetry, ya testicle!	Russell Crowe'un sanatını kısaltamazsın, dallama.
(8)	S06/E04	Oy! Don't ya interrupt me, ya vagina!	Lâfımı kesmesene, dangalak.
(10)	S08/E01	All right, dickhole! Time for you to pay!	Pekala mamçak zibidi. Ödeşme zamanı geldi.
(11)	S09/E06	Hey fags, what's going on?	Hey dangozlar, ne var ne yok?
(12)	S12/E01	Nobody likes Jimmy Buffett except for frat boys and alcoholic chicks from the South!	Jimmy Buffet'ı pespaye herifler ve Güneyli alkolik kızlar dışında kimse sevmez ki.
(13)	S12/E09	You want to throw down, dawg, I'll throw down.	Kavga mı istiyorsun dubaracı?

In the example (1), the word *dick*, one of the most typical dirty words in American slang, is translated by the Turkish colloquial slang word *dingil*. *Dick* refers to “a despised person” (Chapman, 1995, 135) while *dingil* means “stupid, idiot” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 95). Similarly, in the example (2), the highly offensive swearword *penis-butt* is translated by *goygoycu* which means “chatty, babbler” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 128). Throughout the show, the word *pussy* is mostly translated by the term *hanım evladı* which means “naive, weak” (TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, <http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/>). However, in the example (3), the translator prefers to use the word *yavşak* which refers to “passive homosexual male” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 310). Even if all target terms have a negative meaning, they are by no means the equivalent of the original one.

Another considerable change of concept is observable in the example (4); *smart-ass* is a slang term which refers to “a person who is quick to offer an often abrasive opinion or comment from a posture of superior intelligence and learning” (Chapman, 1995, p. 510). The translator, on the other hand, prefers to use the word *züppe* which refers to snob people. It can be inferred from this example that target slang terms are often chosen according not to the content of the original but to the translator’s individual preference.

As shown in the example (5), some medical terms can occasionally be used as slang terms such as *scortum*, *testicle*, *vagina* and *anus*. *Scrotum* denotes to “the external pouch that in most mammals contains the testes” (Merriam-Webster, <http://www.merriam-webster.com>), and it is translated by the unconventional term *hırbo*, “a silly, stupid person in *Karagöz* and *Orta Oyunu*” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 144). Similarly, *testicle* is defined as “two sex glands of man that produce sperm and that are contained in the scrotum” (Sinclair, 1987, p. 1510), and translated by the word *dallama* which refers to “a stupid and silly person” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 88). *Vagina* is the female sex organ and it is used as an insult. The translator prefers to use the word *dangalak* in translation which means “a mindless and thoughtless person”.

Two other slang words in the examples (7) and (11) which denotes to “male homosexual”, are *fairy* and *fag* (Chapman, 2010, p. 172). *Fairy* is translated by the word *kofiti* –the abbreviated form of the Greek word *katakopto*- which means “worthless, useless”- (Aktunç, 2010, p. 190); and *fag* is translated by the colloquial word *dangoz* which is used to express dislike and disgust. It is thought to be derived from the word *dangalak*. Consequently, as in the former strategy, homosexuality is strictly concealed in this strategy with a more strict method.

Word-for-word translation of the slang term *dickhole* in the example (10) would bring out an unconventional swearword and certainly violate the socio-cultural and institutional norms. Therefore, the word is translated by the completely different and unconventional word couple *mamçak zibidi*. The first word of the couple refers to “a stupid and silly person” and the second means “a penniless, unemployed and idle person who dress badly” (TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, <http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts>). This shows that unfamiliar American slang structures are somehow adapted into Turkish slang, whether unconventional or conventional, in order to preserve the dynamic effect of the TT and conform to the norms to which the translator is bound.

Two other American culture-specific slang terms are *frat boys* and *dawg* in the examples (12) and (13). The first one is used for “members of an all male social

club and it is used to refer homosexuals” (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). The latter is the Black people version of *dude* (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). The two culture-specific terms are successively translated by the words *pespaye herifler* and *dubaracı*. *Pespaye* means “a dishonest and mean person” (TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, <http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts>). *Dubaracı* is an unconventional slang term which denotes to “a person who cheats others” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 98). It can be understood from the two examples that semantic content of culture-specific slang terms is loosed in translation, using target-oriented and euphemised slang terms.

It can be said as a last word for this group of examples that there is not always consistency in the use of slang terms between ST and TT. One target term is used for several source terms while several source terms are translated by only one target term. Consistency in translation of slang words has been realized to a great extent so far because the translators has become accustomed to the terms translating the show for ten years.

The three examples below show the use of **adaptation** as a censorship method. According to Vinay and Darbelnet’s strategies for translation, adaptation is used in cases where “the type of situation being referred to by the SL message is unknown in the TL culture. In such cases translators have to create a new situation that can be considered as being equivalent” (1958, p. 90-91).

[12]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S09/E11	We'll pick up with Clyde's speech about lesbian cheerleaders after recess.	Aradan sonra Clyde'in "Lezbiyen Amigolar" adlı sunumuyla devam edeceğiz.
(2)	S12/E02	Oh boy, now, Leslie, this seems like a really bad camel toe offense.	Gerçekten acayip bir frikik Leslie.

(3)	S12/E14	Get away, douchebag.	Defol git mankafa poldi!
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In the example (1), the term *cheerleader* is unknown in Turkish culture. The translator prefers to use the term *amigo* which refers to “the person who directs the supporters in sport competitions” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 42). In the case (2), the term *camel toe* is translated by the colloquial Turkish slang word *firikik* which means “unintentional or intentional show-off obscene parts of body” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 118). The term *camel toe* is unknown in Turkish culture. Only a few websites translates it literally by *deve toynağı*. As a concept, it means “two-mounded image when a woman's pants are so tight, that the actually fabric comes into their beaver” (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). In other cases, in which the term is used in the original text, it is either omitted or translated by the term *firikik*. It is clear that an expansion of the term would certainly create an obscene translation. However, the term *firikik* serves as a familiar concept in Turkish culture and it euphemises the original term as well.

In the example (3) one of the most specific slang terms in *South Park*, *douche bag* is translated by *Mankafa Poldi*, the name of a cartoon which was once published in the popular journal *Bütün Dünya*. *Douche bag* is the name of the “object used for vaginal hygiene” (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>) that is used a derogatory expression. In other cases, the same word is translated by the terms expressing dislike and disgust such as *denyo*, *rezil herif*, *dangalak*. The example with *Mankafa Poldi* shows that the translator makes use of his/her personal interests in translation, which sometimes results in authentic adaptations.

A similar situation is observable in the use of word *manyel* in spite of the fact that it is by no means a cultural adaptation.

[13]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S08/E11	Hey, get out of here, you fuckin' dork!	Git buradan, aptal manyel.

The term *dork* is translated by the unconventional term *manyel* which refers to “the cheater in card games”. In other cases, the same word is translated as *mongol*, *salak*, *bön* which refer to stupidity. Since the target term have nothing to do with the source context, it can be inferred from this translation that a euphemised term, whether it is adapted or conceptually changed, can be used independently from the context of situation.

Another case in which a source slang term or a swearword is translated by a completely different target word or phrase can be observed through interchangeably used slang terms.

[14]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S07/E06	We're not playing Dungeons and Dragons, asshole!	Zindanlar ve ejderhalar oynamıyoruz labuş suratlı.
(2)	S07/E07	I'm not a miner, dumbass! Do you see a shovel in my hand?!	Ben kütükçü değilim labuş. Elimde balta görüyor musun?
(3)	S09/E05	Sit down before you get hurt! Mother bitch!	Canını yakmadan otur oraya. Seni pis labuş.

The three examples above show the most interchangeably used Turkish slang term in subtitles of *South Park*, i.e. *labuş*. It denotes to “passive homosexual male” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 201). It is quite clear that a vast collection of slang words is used in *South Park*. However, due to cultural distinctions between slang systems of source and target culture and in order to create an established

Turkish jargon for the characters in the translation of the show, the translator uses some words repeatedly, ignoring the semantic content of many source slang terms.

Euphemism is not only applied on one-word terms or phrases, but there is also a toning-down between idioms. In this mode of strategy, **idiomatic translation** is used as a way to euphemise the source slang idioms *to break someone's balls* and *to beat the shit out of someone/something*.

[15]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E05	Oh, Mike, you're breakin' my balls here, Mike.	Mike, kalbimi kırıyorsun.
(2)	S05/E13	You're breaking my balls,	Benimle kafa buluyorsun.
(3)	S12/E09	I don't want an excuse. I'm gonna beat the fuckin' shit out of you.	Bahane aramıyorum. Seni eşek sudan gelinceye kadar döveceğim.

The former one means “to work or perform to one’s utmost; exert oneself mightily” (Chapman, 1995, p. 20); and the latter means “to defeat or trash thoroughly”. The first one is translated by the Turkish idioms *kalp kırmak* and *kafa bulmak*. Notwithstanding its different usage in different contexts, both translations prove to be milder than the original slang idiom.

One of the most typical examples of this mode of strategy is the one in which phonetic translation and conceptual substitution are used together as translation method.

[16]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E03	Stan darsh is more like it.	Stan "Naş" daha uygun.

(2)	S06/E03	Stan darsh darshy darsh.	Stan Naş, Marş, Naş.
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In the third episode of the sixth season, Stan Marsh faces to a mockery of his name. One teenager calls him *Stan Darsh*. The word *darsh* is a derogatory term used for a straight person (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). The word *naş* is used as exclamation which has a meaning as *go away!* or *fuck off* (Aktunç, 2010, p. 225). On one hand, the translator uses phonetic translation so as to achieve the formal equivalence; on the other hand, she conceptually changes the source content, which actually brings out a more profane TT. This shows that, from time to time, constitutive shifts may be decisive in translator's control over vulgarity of the translation.

[17]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E04	Butters will give handjobs in the corner for a dollar.	Butters, köşede bir dolara çok iyi muamele çeker.

Hand job is “an act of masturbation, usually done for one person by another” (Chapman, 1995, p. 256). There is not a fixed term for *hand job* in Turkish. Nevertheless, there are several terms referring to *blow job* “an act of fellatio or of cunnilingus” one of which is *muamele çekmek*. In fact, the translator could translate the initial term by expanding it with a phrase, but she prefers to use the Turkish colloquial slang term as a result of an individual shift.

3. 2. 5. Swearword/Slang into Non-Swearword/Slang

The more vulgar and obscene a slang word is, the more radical the solutions become in the translation process. In this mode of strategy, a swearword or slang is translated by an unusual lexical item or an expression which has not a slang connotation within the target language.

The most typical and original translation method used in this mode of strategy is **word creation** in which a phonetically attractive lexical unit without any specific semantic representation is presented.

[18]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S08/E01	Oh shit, somebody's coming!	Çektir ya, biri geliyor.
(2)	S05/E01	I like girls with big vagina, I like girls with big fat titties	Büyük mumuşlu kızları severim, İri ciciklileri beğenirim.
(3)	S05/E08	This is gonna be one long-Ass day.	Uzun ve zırtlak bir gün olacak.
(4)	S06/E10	Oh, fuck off!	Çektir git ya!
(5)	S12/E14	All right, Count Fagula. You go do that.	Olur Kont Makatula, öyle yapın.
(6)	S08/E01	Hey, fuck you, Kyle!	Çektir git Kyle!
(7)	S05/E08	This is gonna be one long-Ass day.	Uzun ve zırtlak bir gün olacak.

In the examples (1), (4) and (6), the swearwords *shit*, *fuck off* and *fuck you* are translated with the created word *çektir*. The created slang term phonetically resembles the mostly used Turkish swearword *siktir* whose English equivalent is *fuck*. As in the method 'unconventional equivalence', the translator tries to alienate the younger viewers from such swearwords by using unfamiliar words in translation. Ironically, in the original broadcast of *South Park* in the channel Comedy Central, only the words *fuck* and *shit* with their derivations are beeped; the rest of all other kinds of slang and swearwords are received by the audience. Similarly, in the Turkish subtitles of the show, they are censored with such odd words which has not any semantic content and thereby any vulgarity or obscenity.

In cases where the words such as *vagina*, *boob* and *tit* are used to refer bodily organs, the translator uses the created words *cicik* and *mumuş*. The two words have an amusing way of pronunciation as if they were two words in child

language. With these words, the translator neutralizes the obscene effect of ST and conforms to the socio-cultural and institutional norms in Turkey. In the example (7), the created word *zırtlak* is used as a translation of the word *ass* which express the boringness of the day in that context. With this word, the translator tries to add a brand new term into the Turkish version of *South Park* so as to keep its originality.

The expression *Count Fagula* is an American culture-specific term to refer “someone who wears black clothes, cross ornaments, lipsticks, fake teeth, and describe themselves as vampires; most likely homosexuals” and an equivalent term does not exist in Turkish. The translator uses the created couple of words *Kont Makatula*, combining the last three letters of the original word with the word base *makat*. With this translation, the translator compensates the loss in the semantic content with the amusing effect of the created word, eliminating the bad connotation of the original expression.

The group of examples below prove the usability of **functional equivalence** in this mode of strategy. According to this method, swearwords and slang which are mostly used as interjections are translated by dynamic and functional representations in TT. Considering the feature of this mode of strategy, the target text should inevitably be entirely euphemised.

[19]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S04/E15	Kick ass, dude!	Harikasın ahbap.
(2)	S04/E15	This... is... bullcrap!	Saçmalık bu.
(3)	S05/E08	Oh, crap.	Hay aksi!
(4)	S06/E03	Screw him, dude.	Boş ver onu ahbap.
(5)	S08/E03	Fuck!	Hadi be!
(6)	S08/E03	Yeah! Fuck yeah!	Evet, hepsini yendim.

(7)	S09/E06	Stupid asshole God!	Benden ne istiyorsun be Tanrım?
(8)	S12/E08	"You go anywhere until the police arrive!" "Screw you."	Polis gelmeden kimse bir yere gidemez. -Hadi oradan be!

The examples (1), (2), (3), (5) and (6) include some of the mostly used interjections in American slang and in *South Park*. *Kick ass* as an interjection is used "to assert power" (Chapman, 1995, p. 327), and the target expression *harikasin* corresponds to the term with an acceptable functionality. *Crap* and *bullcrap* are interjections that are used to express disbelief, disgust, disappointment, rejection, etc. (Chapman, 1995, p. 115). According to the context of situation, they can be translated in different ways. The translator chooses the Turkish interjections *saçmalalık bu* and *hay aksi* for the two vulgar terms.

The word *fuck* is also used as interjection. Similar to *crap*, it is used to express disgust, disappointment, dismay, etc. (Chapman, 1995, p. 201) as in the example (5). However, in some cases as shown in the example (6), it can also be used to express courage, victory, etc. As a disappointment expression the translator uses the Turkish expression *hadi be*, while she translates the latter interjection by the sentence "hepsini yendim" which in a sense expands the original swearword. The same situation can be observed in the different translations of the swearword *screw* in the examples (4) and (8). In the former example, *screw* is used to console someone and translated by the Turkish functional equivalent "boş ver" while in the latter it is used as an insult which has an equal function with the swearword *fuck you*, and it is translated by the expression "hadi oradan be". Consequently, swearwords as interjections can be translated by functional equivalents in the TT according to the context of situation, and with this method a completely euphemised translation can be obtained.

The example (7) contains a blasphemous slur using the slang terms *stupid asshole*. Since blasphemous humour is categorically banned according to the

socio-cultural norms in television programmes, the translator opts for a functional translation and translates the vulgar words by the rebellious sentence “Benden ne istiyorsun be Tanrım?”

3. 2. 6. Non-translation

Unlike the former ones, in this mode of strategy the translator does not opt for a euphemised way of translation, rather he/she leaves the ST swearword or slang inserted in TT so as to let the audience guess the meaning of the vulgar expression. Thus, unable to decipher the meaning of the original swearword or slang, younger viewers can be protected from being exposed to vulgarity and obscenity.

The typical translation methods used in this mode of strategy are **borrowing** and **calque**. The two methods are offered by Vinay and Darbelnet to be used in cases where it is impossible to translate a specific term by an equivalent in the TL (1958, p. 85). In perspective of this case study, some obscene or vulgar terms can be borrowed from the ST and be left inserted in the subtitle.

[20]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S04/E15	"Chef, what's the clitoris? What's a lesbian, Chef?"	"Şef, klitoris nedir? Şef, lezbiyen nedir?"
(2)	S04/E15	...to give me oral sex right now.	Bu yüzden her birinize, bana oral seks yapması için...
(3)	S07/E02	Why you be trippin', Mom? I mean come on.	Neden tripe girdin anne?
(4)	S09/E14	You know, Stan, I'd say your dad racksa discipline!	Bence baban "disiprin"i bozuyor.

The group of examples above shows the use of borrowed words in translation of certain vulgar and obscene terms. In the example (1) the words *lesbian* and *clitoris* are conveyed into the TT by means of borrowing. This shows that from

time to time the translator is unable to find the fitting equivalents for obscene terms in TL and resorts to use the borrowed words in translation.

The obscene term *oral sex* is translated by the borrowed version in the example (2) since expanding the term in the TT would certainly result in a much more obscene correspondent than the original word.

The example (3) shows that the borrowing method has caused a false-friend. The connotation of the verb *to trip* in this context refers to “overreact” (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>), but its borrowed version in Turkish which is used as *trip atmak* or *tribe girmek* means “to behave abnormally” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 293). Although there is an incompatibility between the semantic contents of the source and the target terms, it does not ruin the functionality of translation.

In the example (4), the term *discipline* which is specific to *South Park* itself is translated by borrowing and inserted in the TT as “disiprin”. The original term refers to “a more extreme form of discipline” (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). It does not have a vulgar connotation, but it proves that American colloquial and culture-specific slang terms frequently compel the translator to resort to such translation methods.

Calque is a special type of borrowing in which “a language borrows an expression form of another and translates literally each of its elements” (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958, p. 63).

[21]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S05/E10	Steve and i have a condition called "Torsonic polarity syndrome".	Hastalığımızın adı, Torsonik Kutuplaşma Sendromu.

The example above shows the single calque used in translation of *South Park*. *Torsonic polarity syndrome* is the name of a made-up bodily disorder in which

buttocks of people cover their face. Translating this term by an explanatory method such as expansion would certainly result in an obscene translation, but the translator prefers here to be loyal to the formal features of the term and inserts it into the TT by means of a literal translation.

3. 2. 7. Zero-translation

In this mode of strategy, the whole or a part of the source swearword or slang is omitted for the sake of adhering to the institutional and socio-cultural norms of target system or limiting the length of lines on the screen. **Omission** which can be used interchangeably with zero-translation is the characteristic method of this mode of strategy.

[22]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S05/E10	Hey, that's bullshit!	No Translation
(2)	S05/E13	What the heck are stem cells?	No Translation
(3)	S05/E13	And she should go fuck herself.	No Translation
(4)	S09/E02	Son of a bitch!	No Translation
(5)	S09/E03	Gay.	No Translation
(6)	S09/E06	Yeah, fuck him!	No Translation

The six examples above show a short list of the character Kenny McCormick's lines in the show. As mentioned before, Kenny is the kid wearing his parka hood tightly all the time covering most of his face, which muffles his speech. As it can be seen from the examples, even though his speech is unclear the original subtitles include all his lines. His use of language is based on extreme profanity, and his occasional comments on issues and people during the show are particularly satirical and offensive. Due to his highly profane language and unclear speech, the translator prefers to omit his lines entirely.

Partial omission is another method in which the vulgar or obscene part of a slang couple or combined word is deleted.

[24]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S05/E01	What the hell you so happy about, fat-ass?	Ne diye böyle mutlusun, şişko?
(2)	S05/E01	You're such a dumb-ass, cartman.	Sen katıksız bir gerzeksin.
(3)	S06/E01	Then she says my cooze is all dried up.	Artık "kurduğumu" söylüyor.
(4)	S08/E03	Well, guess I'll, guess I'll just have to kick ass in the other events.	Neyse, diğer yarışlarda tekmeği basarım nasılsa.

In the examples (1) and (2), the combined words are partially translated; the milder components *fat* and *dumb* are translated by Turkish equivalents while the vulgar component *ass* is simply omitted. In the example (4), the translator literally translates the ST unit, omitting the vulgar part of the slang phrasal verb *to kick someone's ass*. The word *cooze* in the example (3) refers to "vagina of a slut" (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com>). It is used along with the phrasal verb *to dry up* to refer to the woman's infertility. The obscene word is deleted and instead the verb *kurumak* is given in quotation marks. Although the original meaning is conveyed somehow, another original slang word is forsaken to the institutional norms.

In **elliptical translation**, one of the special types of omission, one part of a sentence or phrase is not translated. Instead, most frequently, three dots are substituted for the translation unit.

[25]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S05/E01	Ned, what- Are you jackin' it?	Ned, ne yapıyorsun sen? Yoksa...?

(2)	S06/E10	That's fine! That's fine!! Fuck you, Kyle, and fuck you, Stan!	Tamam, sorun değil. Seni de Kyle, seni de Stan!
(3)	S07/E07	Oh, shove the song of the sparrow up your ass!	Sen o serçenin şarkısını al da...
(4)	S08/E08	Vote or die, mother_, mother_er, vote or die!	Ya oy ver ya da öl, seni! Ya oy ver ya da öl.

It can be observed in the examples above that the translator does not translate the verbs of the sentences so as to omit the swearwords. In the examples above, the slang phrases and swearwords *jacking it*, *fuck you*, *shove something up in ass* and *motherfucker* are omitted. The examples (1) and (3) are ended with triple dot in order to indicate that they are elliptical sentences.

3. 2. 8. Non-swearword or non-slang into swearword/slang

In the last mode of strategy, unlike the previous translation strategies, the translator tries to change an innocent and non-slang term into a profane expression. Accordingly, the strategy serves a compensatory function in order to bring the whole TT into balance in terms of the distribution of slang terms and swearwords. Thus, **dysphemism** is used as a translation method in this mode of strategy.

[26]

	Season/ Episode	ST	TT
(1)	S06/E04	Old people need to be quiet right now.	Şimdi ihtiyarların hepsi sesini kesecek.
(2)	S07/E06	Yeah, let's go! Come on, bring it!	Haydi bakalım. Yerse.
(3)	S08/E01	Your feeble ninja powers are no match for me!	Sizin zayıf Ninja güçleriniz bana bir halt yapamaz.
(4)	S08/E11	Haha! In your face, Craig!	Aldın mı Craig?

In the example above, the phrases *to be quite*, *to bring it*, *to be no match* and *in your face* are translated successively by *sesini kesmek*, *yemek*, *halt yapmak*, *almak*. *Sesini kesmek* is the equivalent term for “to shut up”; the verbs *yemek* and *almak* are offensive expressions which are used to refer “the passive person in sexual intercourse” (Aktunç, 2010, p. 40); *halt yapmak* is a slang phrase which means “to damage” in a vulgar sense. Comparing the ST and TT, it can easily be concluded that the target colloquial phrases are more profane than the original expressions. With such individual choices, the translator tries to provide a standard vulgarity and obscenity in the episodes of the show.

The most typical examples for translation of swearwords and slang expressions in subtitles of *South Park* have been presented so far according to the suggested strategies and methods. The whole list of translations and their classification according to these strategies and methods has been added as appendix in the end of this dissertation.

3. 3. DESCRIPTIVE EVALUATION OF SWEARWORD AND SLANG TRANSLATIONS IN *SOUTH PARK*

After all the swearword and slang items in fifty episodes of *South Park* are examined in categories, it would be highly beneficial to take a look at the overall picture and draw some conclusions from the strategies and methods employed by translators. The most employed strategies and methods, and the least employed ones likewise, may give insights into the translation policy employed in Turkey on translation of audiovisual materials with obscene and vulgar contents in particular.

This study proves to be a problem-restricted descriptive research on censorship applied in subtitles of *South Park*. Therefore, the evaluation of the translations will be based on the Toury’s norms along with the help of percentage data given in Chart 1 and Chart 2.

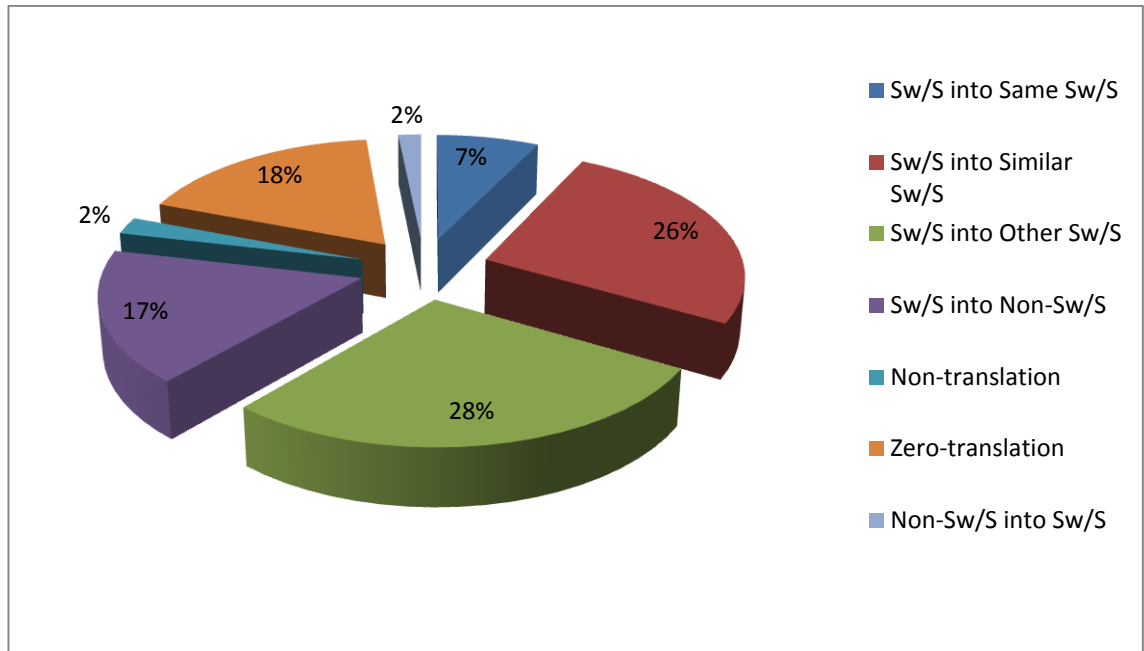


Chart 1. Percentage of strategies used in translation *South Park*

Chart 1 shows the distribution of strategies used in translation of slang and swearwords which have been extracted from fifty episodes of *South Park*. According to the percentage data given in the chart, the most employed strategy by the translators is 'Sw/S into Other Sw/S' with 28% and the second most used strategy is 'Sw/S into Similar Sw/S' with 26%.

The former strategy is characterized by the translation method called **conceptual substitution** in which the original swearword or slang is substituted with a completely different one in the TL regardless of the difference in meaning and functionality between ST and TT. Unsurprisingly, the new swearword or slang is milder than the original. Thus, 28% of the vulgar or obscene units are euphemised employing this method. The method is a clear example of **individual shift**. The most characteristic translation methods of the latter strategy, on the other hand, are **euphemism** and **unconventional equivalence/correspondence** in which a swearword or slang is translated by an unfamiliar, eccentric and sometimes an archaic term rather than the conventional and most common equivalent of the term in the TT. This shows that translator tends to conform to the socio-cultural and institutional norms of

the target system not radically departing from the semantic content, and even sometimes adapting some slang terms from Turkish traditional theatre genres *Orta Oyunu* and *Karagöz*.

The two most used strategies are successively followed by 'Zero-translation' (18 %) and 'Sw/S into Non-Sw/S' (17%). These strategies indeed demonstrate more radical changes in the source swearwords or slang terms. By zero translation, the source units are simply omitted regardless of their semantic and functional content, while in 'Sw/S into Non-Sw/S' the vulgarity or obscenity is neutralized in the target text using translation methods such as 'functional equivalence and 'word creation'. As a matter of fact, among all strategies 'Zero-translation' and 'Sw/S into Non-Sw/S' involve the most brutal interventions. The case related to 'Zero-translation' can usually be explained with **obligatory shift**. If the source speech is unusually fast, the translator may resort to omitting swearwords or slang, intensifiers in particular, not exceed the standard number of characters on the screen.

It can also be understood from the proportions of strategies 'Sw/S into Same Sw/S' (7%), 'Non-translation' (2%) and 'Non-Sw/S into Sw/S' (2%) that they are rarely adopted in translations with a total rate of 11% due to their tendency of either providing the full equivalence with the source units or compensating the omitted and euphemised units with profane ones.

Adherence of a translated audiovisual material to the source or target culture norms is determined according to socio-cultural background of the target audience, governmental policies on broadcasting and the policy of the broadcasting company. It is clear from the rates of strategies that initial norms require *South Park's* translation to adhere to the norms prevalent in Turkish culture and language, which makes the translation as a whole an 'acceptable' one. It can also be concluded that the television company broadcasting *South Park* has, in a sense, a translation policy which is formed according to the rules of Radio and Television Supreme Council.

At this very point, the rules imposed by the Radio and Television Supreme Council should be mentioned briefly. According to the general rules laid down by the state institution, the product broadcasted on television can by no means include humiliation against Turkishness. Moreover, during day-time, programmes with sexual content and violence are forbidden to be broadcasted. It is also important to assert that the rules are changing day by day, which results in new censorship rules are imposed upon broadcasting companies.

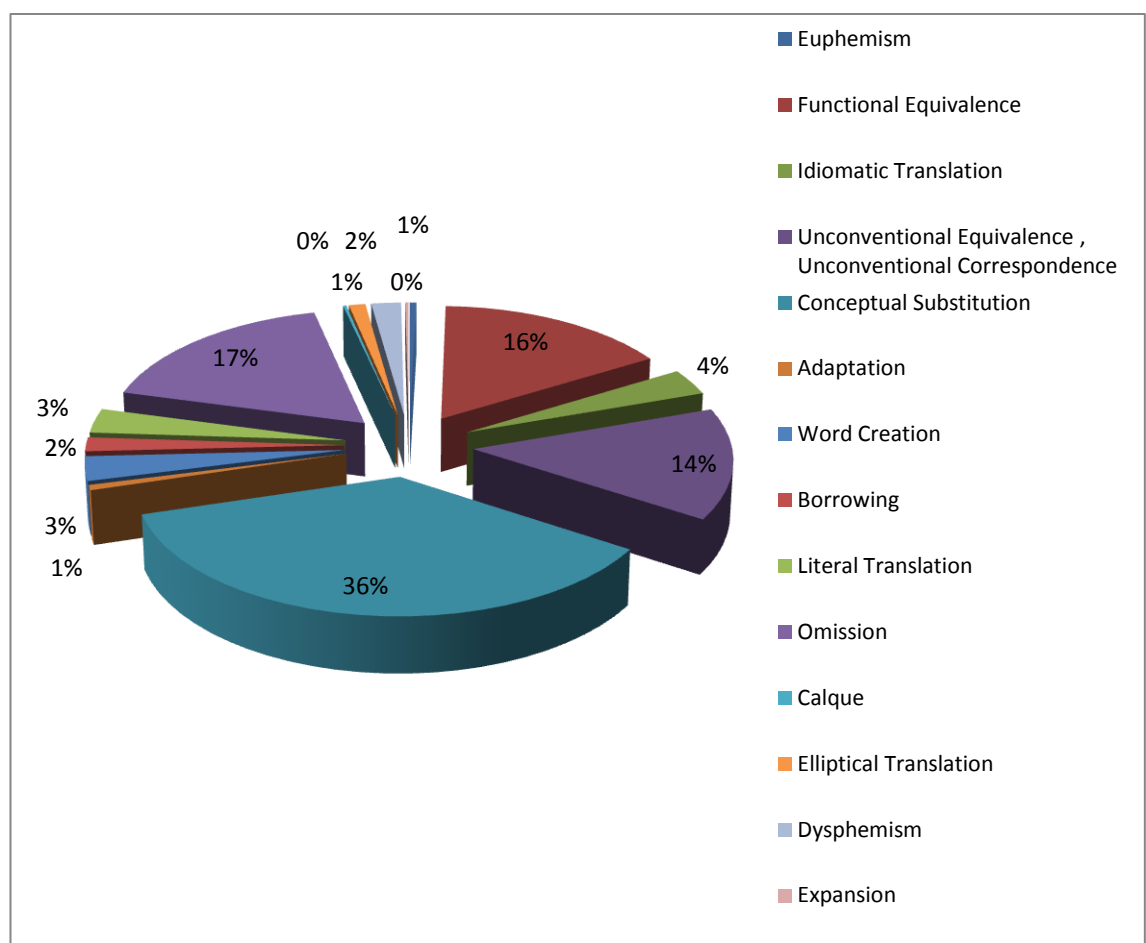


Chart 2. Percentage of methods used in translation of *South Park*

As for the translation methods shown in Chart 2, the most used ones are successively **conceptual substitution** (36%), **omission** (17%), **functional equivalence** (16%) and **unconventional equivalence** (14%). A parallel

relation can be observed in distribution of translation strategies and method, except for the minor increase in the rate of 'conceptual substitution'. The reason for this exception is that some swearwords or slang terms are categorized in more than one method, e.g. *asshole* to *labuş*, has been taken as both 'unconventional equivalence' and 'conceptual substitution'.

The four major translation methods show that the matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms have an undeniable effect on translator's decisions in the process of translation. Conforming to the initially determined tendency of translation, the translator prefers to substitute many source stylistic features and lexical items used in the animation with different conceptual elements, functional and unconventional expressions in Turkish. In other cases, the translator omits certain taboo words due to the constrained nature of the audiovisual product. Nevertheless, in most occasions, these slang terms and swearwords are omitted by the translator as an individual choice.

One last striking point is that the translation methods namely unconventional equivalence/correspondence (14%), and word creation (3%) are used by the translators to create a *South Park* jargon in Turkish. The use of unconventional words such as *hötöröf*, *labuş*, *şorolo*, *kopil*, etc. and created words such as *mumuş*, *cicik*, *zırtlak*, *çektir git*, etc. creates a specific language for the show for Turkish audience. Operational norms governs the individual choices of the translator so that he/she can recreates the source text in the target culture either adopting a source-oriented or target-oriented way of translation. Considering the above-mentioned unconventional and created words and the translation strategies as a whole, it can easily be said that the two translators have created an 'acceptable' translation.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, censorship in AVT has been studied in terms of translation of slang and swearwords in the American animated sitcom *South Park*. Censorship is a problematic issue not only in AVT but also in other fields of translation. AVT, on the other hand, is a newly respected area within TS. It has many research areas due to its multi-modal and interdisciplinary nature. Taboo words form a highly specific field of study in AVT and it is handled as a problem in the constrained nature of the area.

Audiovisual Translation is still an infant area of study whose necessities and challenges have been recognized seriously since early 1990s. Thanks to the incessant proliferation and distribution of audiovisual materials the field has gained visibility within the larger discipline Translation Studies. The undeniable reality of globalization has led to a worldwide circulation of audiovisual materials through television companies, DVDs and internet. As the amount of audiovisual products has multiplied, the demand for translation has increased in equal terms.

What makes AVT, subtitling in particular, distinctive among other fields of translation is its constrained nature. This situation stems from the modal change from oral into written. Problems encountered in AVT mostly derive from this change. The linguistic units which have certain semantic content and fulfil a function in a given context may be exposed to omissions for the sake of providing the best fitting subtitle on the screen. These linguistic units, from time to time, are taboo words which are composed of slang, swearwords and insults. Such words may sometimes be a part of characterization and fulfils a certain function in a film as seen in *South Park* animated series. Thus, omitting or toning down such words simply causes a loss of the original effect.

Beyond such semiotic issues, AVT is one of the fields of TS that is most exposed to intervention by television companies and governmental institutions

due to socio-cultural, political and religious factors. Censorship is applied either by institutions or by the translator himself/herself. In the case of *South Park*, it is observed that the show includes a considerable amount of taboo words which can be categorized under sexuality, violence, blasphemy and vulgarity. As far as the translations are concerned, the effect of the institutional censorship is undeniable. Even if it is the translators themselves who actively take action in the process of translation and decides on what expressions should be used for each slang term or swearword unit, the self-censorship used by the translator is institutionally motivated.

One of the theoretical issues used in this study is the 'shift of translation'. Traditionally, translation shifts deal with the departures from the formal features of linguistic units. Besides constitutive and individual shifts which are two general types of departures in translation introduced by Popovic [see 2. 2. The Shift of Expression], another type of shift has been offered in this study which has been called 'imposed shift'. This term is used to refer the departures from the original expression due to institutional intervention into the process of translation. Considering the three types of shifts in terms of translation of *South Park*, constitutive shifts are rarely encountered because translation policy is based on conforming to the socio-cultural and institutional norms of the target culture. Therefore, it can easily be said that on one hand translation of *South Park* is led by imposed shifts; on the other hand, the translator's personal preferences in the translation process turns out to be individual shifts.

One of the main objectives of this study is to suggest a methodology for translation of slang and swearword. To this end, Dirk Delabastita's strategies for translation of wordplay have been adapted into translation of slang and swearword. The way wordplay and slang/swearword exposed to shifts proves that in both cases the translator is under the effect of a compulsion whether by linguistic constraints or institutional and socio-cultural norms. In this context, swearword and slang units have been classified under seven categories, i.e. strategies: 'Swearword/Slang into Same Swearword/Slang', 'Swearword/Slang into Similar Swearword/Slang', 'Swearword/Slang into Other Swearword/Slang',

‘Swearword/Slang into Non-Swearword/Slang’, ‘Non-translation’, ‘Zero-translation’ and ‘Non-Swearword/Slang into Swearword/Slang’.

In the light of the analysis carried out on translation of slang and swearwords which have been culled and extracted from fifty episodes of *South Park*, it can be concluded that the most employed strategy by the translators is Sw/S into Other Sw/S with 28% and the second most used strategy is Sw/S into Similar Sw/S with 26%. The two strategies are successively followed by Zero-translation (18 %) and Sw/S into Non-Sw/S (17%). The four strategies with a total rate of 89% show that the translators have adopted a way of translation in which they shift from the original semantic content using translation methods such as conceptual substitution, euphemism, unconventional equivalence, functional equivalence and omission. The proportions of the strategies Sw/S into Same Sw/S (7%), Non-translation (2%) and Non-Sw/S into Sw/S (2%), on the other hand, reveal that they are rarely adopted in translations. The total rate of the three strategies (11%) proves that the translators did not tend to provide full equivalence with the source slang terms and swearwords or to compensate the omitted and euphemised units with vulgar ones.

The examples and the rates of the strategies have also revealed that socio-cultural background of the target audience, governmental policies on broadcasting and the policy of the broadcasting company play a decisive role on adherence of a translated audiovisual material to the source or target culture norms. In this respect, it has been discovered that *South Park*'s Turkish subtitles are ‘acceptable’ as a whole. In other words, the initial norms in the process of translation require the TT to adhere to the target culture norms. Accordingly, the translation policy of the television company broadcasting *South Park* is oriented by the rules of Radio and Television Supreme Council.

The analysis of the examples has shown that the most employed translation methods are successively ‘conceptual substitution’ (36%), ‘omission’ (17%), ‘functional equivalence’ (16%) and ‘unconventional equivalence’ (14%). The four major translation methods have enabled us to make a generalization on extra-linguistic factors affecting the matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms

in Turkish culture. Conforming to the initially determined tendency of translation, the translator makes changes in the source stylistic features and lexical items used in the animation up to a rate of 66% -except for the 'omission' method. In other cases, due to the constrained nature of the audiovisual product and the translators' individual choices, many slang terms and swearwords are omitted.

The last but not the least, it has been observed that the translators try to create a *South Park* jargon in Turkish making use of translation methods such as 'unconventional equivalence/correspondence' (14%), and 'word creation' (3%). Despite of the fact that this is not the primary objective of the translation policy, the use of unconventional words such as *hötöröf*, *labuş*, *şorolo*, *kopil*, etc. and created words such as *mumuş*, *cicik*, *zırtlak*, *çektir git*, etc. on the one hand offers a specific register for Turkish audience; on the other hand, it creates coherence in translations by using consistent language units. Considering the operational norms, these unconventional and created words and the translation strategies as a whole bring out 'acceptable' translations.

This study which has jointly dealt with censorship and AVT in the aspect of institutional intervention may not bring out absolute solutions to the problem situation. However, it is believed that it may give an insight into the further studies on similar issues. This study has made use of more than one theoretical approach due to multiple factors such as institutional and state intervention, constrained nature of the field and conservative socio-cultural environment. The adaptation model which was incorporated with 'shifts of translation' and translation norms, on the other hand, can be used for further studies in AVT.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Besides the fifteen seasons of the series, an animated feature-length movie called *South Park: The bigger longer & uncut* could be investigated comparing the translations for DVDs and the movie theatres to that of series. Since these three mediums of media (television, cinema and DVD) have their distinctions in their distribution types, some interesting results may be obtained from such a study.

This study has only focused on translation of taboo words for television in a repressive socio-cultural environment. Further studies, rather than analysing censorship linguistically, may deal with more interdisciplinary issues such as the effect of censorship dynamics on audiovisual translation within the aspect of communication and media.

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