PIVOT SUBTITLING

REASONS AND RESULTS IN THE KOREAN-TURKISH CONTEXT

HARUN DALLI

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2023

PIVOT SUBTITLING

REASONS AND RESULTS IN THE KOREAN-TURKISH CONTEXT

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Translation Studies

by

Harun Dallı

Boğaziçi University

2023

Pivot Subtitling: Reasons and Results in the Korean-Turkish Context

The thesis of Harun Dallı

has been approved by:

Assist. Prof. Fazilet Akdoğan Özdemir   _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assist. Prof. Jan Buts   _____

Prof. Sırrı Göksel Türközü   _____
(External Member)

April 2023

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, HARUN DALLI, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature……………………………....

Date…………………………………

ABSTRACT

Pivot Subtitling: Reasons and Results in the Korean-Turkish Context

The present thesis undertakes a comprehensive investigation of pivot subtitling (i.e., indirect subtitle translation) within the Korean-Turkish context. Pivot subtitling is a natural outgrowth of the dynamic and globalizing mediascape, and it is essential to comprehend the function of pivot templates in the worldwide dissemination of local and non-English content in order to establish a robust theoretical foundation for the practice. As a vital component of current audiovisual translation (AVT) methods, pivot subtitling is not simply a response to purported shortages in qualified linguists capable of translating directly between particular language combinations, but rather a deliberate policy and strategy pursued by streaming services and their vendors to centralize multi-language subtitling workflows via a single mediating language. The study demonstrates that the Turkish subtitling of Korean content on Netflix is contingent upon indirect translation via pivot templates, and that Turkish subtitlers are disincentivized, if not outright prohibited, from deviating from pivot templates. The dissertation endeavors to explore a methodological and theoretical framework for the identification and investigation of pivot subtitles, with the ultimate objective of fostering future research in this field. Through a qualitative examination of the Turkish pivot subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b), the study brings attention to the translational ramifications of repurposing commercially available subtitles as pivot templates for second translations. Overall, this thesis offers informed insights for industry stakeholders and translation scholars, and promotes the refinement of existing workflows through a theoretical framework.

ÖZET

Dolaylı Alt Yazı Çevirisi: Korece-Türkçe Bağlamında Sebepler ve Sonuçlar

Bu çalışma, Korece-Türkçe bağlamında dolaylı alt yazı çevirisi üzerine kapsamlı bir inceleme yürütmektedir. Dolaylı alt yazı çevirisi, günümüz devingen ve küreselleşen medya ikliminin doğal bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır ve uygulamanın sağlam bir kuramsal temele oturtulması için İngilizce dışındaki yerel içeriklerin küresel yayılımında ara dil şablonlarının işlevini anlamak önem arz etmektedir. Çağdaş görsel-işitsel çeviri (GİÇ) yöntemlerinin ayrılmaz bir bileşeni olan dolaylı alt yazı çevirisi, yalnızca belirli dil çiftlerinde doğrudan çeviri yapabilen çevirmen eksikliğine bir yanıt olarak doğmamıştır; daha ziyade yayın hizmetleri ve taşeronları tarafından çok dilli iş akışlarını tek bir dil aracılığıyla yönetmek için izlenen kasıtlı politikalar ve stratejilerin bir ürünüdür. Netflix'te yer alan Korece içerikler, Türkçeye ara dil şablonları aracılığıyla dolaylı olarak çevrilmektedir ve Türkçe çevirmenlerin Korece yeterliliklerine bakılmaksızın bu ara dil şablonlarından sapmaları caydırılmakta ya da doğrudan yasaklanmaktadır. Dolaylı alt yazı çevirilerini tanımlamak ve incelemek için kapsamlı bir çerçeve arayışında olan bu çalışma, ayrıca alanda daha fazla araştırma yapılmasını teşvik etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, *Parazit*'in (Bong, 2019c) dolaylı Türkçe alt yazı çevirisinin incelenmesi sonucunda ticari amaçla kullanılan İngilizce alt yazıların, ikincil çeviriler için aracı şablon olarak amacından bağımsız kullanılmasının çeviri açısından sonuçlarına dikkat çekilmektedir. Genel olarak bu tez çalışmasında, sektör paydaşları ve çeviribilimi akademisyenleri için dolaylı alt yazı çevirisi olgusuna ışık tutulmakta ve mevcut iş akışlarının kuramsal bir zemin üzerinden geliştirilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

초록

중역 자막: 한국어-터키어 맥락에서의 이유와 결과

본 논문은 한국어-터키어 맥락에서 중역 (重譯) 자막을 전반적으로 검토하고자 한다. 중역 자막은 역동적이고 세계화되는 미디어의 발전에 따라 자연스럽게 등장했으며, 현지의 비영어 콘텐츠의 글로벌 보급에서 피벗 언어 템플릿의 기능을 이해하는 것은 굳건한 이론적 기반을 구축하여 실무를 수행하기 위해 중요하다. 중역 자막은 영상번역의 필수적인 요소로서, 단일 번역가의 부재로 인해 발생한 것이 아니라, 스트리밍 서비스와 공급업체가 추구하는 다국어 워크플로우를 중앙 집중화하기 위해 의도적으로 피벗 템플릿을 사용하기 때문에 나타난다. 넷플릭스에서 제공하는 한국 콘텐츠의 터키어 자막 번역은 간접 번역 방식을 기반으로 하며, 터키어 번역가들은 자신의 한국어 실력과 상관없이 피벗 템플릿을 따라야 하며 이를 벗어나는 것은 허용되지 않는다. 본 연구는 중역 자막을 식별하고 분석하기 위한 방법론적, 이론적 프레임워크를 구축함으로써 향후 이 분야의 연구를 확장하는데 기여하고자 한다. 또한, 영화 <기생충> (봉, 2019a)의 간접 번역된 터키어 자막을 분석한 결과, 상업적 목적으로 사용된 영어 자막이 이를 기반으로 하여 영어 이외의 다른 언어로 번역되기 위한 피벗 템플릿으로 용도변경된 번역적 함의에 주목한다. 이 논문은 업계 이해 관계자와 번역학 연구자들에게 정보에 입각한 통찰력을 제공하며, 이론적 프레임워크를 통해 기존 워크플로우의 개선을 제안한다.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today, local media resonates with a global audience. Turkish soap operas are

capturing Latin American viewers (Vivarelli, 2021), while Korean dramas and films

have become a global obsession, consistently crowning the charts across the world

(Zorrilla, 2022). Nine out of 10 viewers who watched *Dark* (Odar & Friese, 2017)

on Netflix were from outside Germany (Roettgers, 2018). From the grandeur of

the silver screen to the convenience of mobile devices, audiovisual media is more

diverse, equal, and inclusive than ever. The diversification of audiovisual content,

however, is not simply a matter of coincidence and inclusivity, but rather the result

of cultural waves and/or policies pursued by state actors.

The European Union's (EU) Audiovisual Media Services Directive

(AVMSD), for example, regulates the coordination of audiovisual media legislation

across the EU to safeguard media pluralism, alongside other equally vital objectives.

In the context of preserving cultural inclusivity, Article 13 (1) requires video on

demand (VoD) services to "secure at least 30% share of European works in their

catalogues" (EU, 2020, p. 10). Unless streaming platforms ensure the prominence of

domestic productions, they, by law, cannot operate in EU countries. This legislation

boosts the influx of non-English content onto VoD services, thereby contributing to

a more diversified and inclusive mediascape.

In addition to political initiatives, cultural movements are also attracting more

non-English content onto VoD services. A noteworthy example of this phenomenon

is the burgeoning global interest in Korean popular culture, referred to as *Hallyu*[1] or

---

[1] 한류 (The author provides Korean spelling of terms to enhance accessibility and cultural sensitivity.)

1

the Korean Wave (Shim, 2006). In response to this cultural trend, Netflix invested $500 million in Korean content in 2021 (Merican, 2021). This investment proved fruitful for the platform, as the megahit *Squid Game*[2] (Hwang, 2021) boosted subscriber growth and revitalized the market value of Netflix stock (Adinarayan, 2021). As of December 2022, Netflix Türkiye features a selection of 282 Korean dramas and 41 Korean movies, with Turkish subtitles available for 319 titles and 35 titles offering Turkish dubbing[3]. This trend highlights the influence of cultural movements on the diversification of media on streaming services. In turn, the increasing prevalence of non-English audiovisual media entails subtitling between uncommon language pairs, such as Korean and Turkish.

Translating between peripheral language pairs is a challenge in and of itself, given the seemingly infinite number of language combinations as well as an alleged talent crunch (Stasimioti, 2022). However, the challenges of streaming local content on VoD services are not limited to language pairs or a shortage of qualified linguists. Global consumers are demanding instant and universal access to audiovisual content, prompting platforms to release content simultaneously in all markets and languages. From a project management perspective, however, simultaneous shipment is a matter of actualizing the dream of instant translation, which imposes mounting pressure on language service providers (LSPs) with ever-tighter turnaround times.

To streamline the subtitling workflows between uncommon language pairs, LSPs have repurposed English master templates to pivot through English, thereby eliminating the source language (SL) variable and centralizing the subtitling pipeline with a single intermediary language. Pivot templates contain the spotted subtitles in a third language (e.g., English) and serve as a mediator between source content and

---

[2] 오징어 게임
[3] See Appendices A and B.

target subtitles. An effective approach to facilitating pivot subtitling workflows is through the use of pivot templates that have been customized exclusively for indirect translation. This requires LSPs to generate two separate English files for local language content: one to serve as commercial subtitles, and the other to function as a pivot template for indirect translation. Unlike commercial subtitles, which are designed for public consumption, pivot templates are not intended for any particular viewership. In the absence of a designated target audience, pivot templates provide greater leeway in terms of translation approaches, thereby enabling a more literal rendering of source content. The flexibility of not having a predetermined audience liberates pivot templates from the norms of the intermediary culture. Without intervening social and translational norms, pivot templates are less likely to superimpose additional cultural and linguistic layers between source content and target subtitles.

As evidenced by Chapter 3 of this thesis, pivot subtitling is an integral part of the contemporary audiovisual mediascape. Pivot templates allow LSPs to effectively maximize their pool of subtitlers who translate from English, while facilitating the global distribution of local content. Nowadays, subtitlers are frequently tasked with translating from SLs they do not speak. This phenomenon is also reflected in my professional experience as a subtitler, as a significant portion of my workload involves indirect translation through pivot templates. Like many of my colleagues, I often find myself translating from languages that I do not speak, and pivot templates serve as my primary source in such projects. Despite its ubiquity in the AVT industry, pivot subtitling remains a largely underexplored and unstandardized practice.

Netflix stands out as the sole VoD service that provides official guidelines for pivot subtitling. The Pivot Language Template Guideline of Netflix (2021b) lays out

specific rules to ensure consistency and quality in the production of pivot templates.

The guideline includes 10 main points and 26 subpoints that cover various aspects

of pivot subtitling. Some of these aspects include annotating plot-pertinent source

features, disambiguating cultural context, and addressing register. Diligent

consideration of such nuances helps to ensure that they are not undermined in the

process of indirect translation due to poor pivot templates. This progressive approach

to standardizing pivot subtitling workflows set Netflix apart from other VoD services,

such as Amazon Prime Video, Disney+, and HBO Max.

      Initially, Netflix sought to streamline multi-language translation workflows

through internal operations. The platform outsourced subtitlers across the globe and

coordinated them with in-house management as part of the Hermes Project (Bond,

2018). However, it soon became clear that "media localization suppliers were best

placed to test, train, onboard and work directly with subtitlers" (Díaz-Cintas &

Remael, 2021, p. 53). The company eventually began to subcontract translation

workflows to trusted vendors certified by the Netflix Preferred Fulfillment Partner

(NPFP) badge. Currently, Netflix entrusts content localization to certified vendors,

and subtitlers translate Netflix content using third-party software provided by these

vendors. While internal localization has not been completely phased out, it has been

considerably diminished. As an alternative to the Hermes Project, Netflix has

introduced the Direct Timed Text (DTT) program to commission localization to

independent contractors on the company's proprietary subtitling suite, Originator.

Although both the DTT and NPFP programs share responsibilities in managing

linguistic resources, such as recruitment, screening, training, supervision, and

remuneration, their operational methods are considerably distinct. More specifically,

DTT partners generate timed text materials via Netflix's Originator platform, while

NPFPs depend on external software to perform localization tasks. It is noteworthy that Netflix exercises extensive control over the subtitling process in DTT workflows, given the high-profile nature of projects involved in this program.

Despite numerous initiatives, Oziemblewska and Szarkowska (2020) found that templates seldom conform to anticipated standards and contain only scant annotations. This finding is consistent with the results of our own complementary survey study on the quality of pivot templates (Dallı & Sung forthcoming), in which Turkish subtitlers reported that pivot templates met standards particularly when the workflow was facilitated on Netflix's Originator. Subtitlers using this tool typically have access to auxiliary materials such as pivot language dialogue lists and scripts, as well as templates that are rich in annotations. Fully outsourced workflows, on the other hand, exhibit variations in the quality of pivot templates.

Sometimes there is no such variable as a pivot template. Commercial subtitles can be repurposed – or in a sense *recycled* – as pivot templates. Chapter 4 argues that this habit is noncompliant with ideal industry practices, as publicly released subtitles are customized for a specific target audience and guided by normative considerations. The recycling of commercially available subtitles as pivot templates risks linguistic homogenization, whereby the dominant mediating culture and language appropriates the source content and imposes its values onto target viewers in the form of subtitles.

In light of the previously mentioned initiatives, it is important to emphasize that pivot subtitling is not simply a response to a shortage of qualified linguists, but rather a deliberate policy and systematic strategy implemented by streaming services and their authorized providers for cost-effectiveness and operational feasibility. Notwithstanding the extensive Korean content catalog on Netflix Türkiye with a total of 319 titles, none of the DTT partners that provide Turkish localization services

(Deluxe, Plint, TVT Media) have ever advertised any job openings for Korean-to-Turkish subtitlers. In the same vein, this trend can also be observed among NPFPs that support Turkish localization (Iyuno, OD Media, Pixelogic, and ZOO Digital), none of which have previously recruited Korean-to-Turkish subtitlers. The tariffs for timed text creation and origination on Netflix's Global Rate Card[4] is limited to English-to-Turkish and Turkish-to-English subtitling, which implies that all Korean content on Netflix Türkiye is translated into Turkish indirectly through English pivot templates, without even allocating resources for direct translation. Given the adoption of formal remuneration policies, Korean-to-Turkish direct subtitling would mandate additional payment procedures for direct translation and quality review, thereby complicating established compensation standards.

The global circulation of non-English audiovisual content is de facto facilitated and fueled by indirect subtitle translation. While pivot subtitling can be a powerful tool for making diverse audiovisual productions accessible to global audiences, the practice is still prone to pitfalls. To this end, this thesis aims to

(i)   gain an in-depth insight into the prevalence of pivot subtitling to contextualize the practice in the contemporary audiovisual mediascape,

(ii)   investigate the translational consequences of indirect subtitling,

(iii)   identify opportunities for improving pivot templates; and

(iv)   pave the way for fresh discussions on this ubiquitous yet understudied practice.

---

[4] https://npfp.netflixstudios.com/program-conditions#Global-Rate-Card

Exploring the prevalence of pivot subtitling and analyzing its translational consequences require a robust theoretical and methodological framework to identify and study subtitles. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the field of AVT, focusing on interlingual subtitling. I define key concepts and terminology related to subtitling and pivot subtitling, and explore the impact of consumer demand and legislative requirements on the outgrowth of this practice. Furthermore, I present a set of methodologies for the identification of pivot subtitles and address potential pitfalls in this process. This chapter serves as a foundation for the subsequent exploration and investigation of pivot subtitles.

Pivot subtitling is a largely underexplored academic field. Therefore, I compare and contrast indirect subtitling with monomodal types of indirect translation (e.g., literary translation) to distinguish the practice as a multimodal and multifaceted process, relying on the idiosyncrasies of subtitling as a polysemiotic phenomenon. This differentiation is necessary inasmuch as pivot subtitlers navigate a single channel of information, the textual pivot, while translating multimodal content that communicates across multiple channels. To fully understand the interplay of different modes on the process of pivot subtitling, the present thesis adopts a multimodal approach. The final section of Chapter 2 presents Díaz-Cintas and Remael's (2021) shift-based taxonomy to identify the strategies used in the intermediary template and discuss their impact on the target subtitles.

Determining the overall prevalence of pivot subtitling is not within the scope of this thesis. Chapter 3 focuses on the Turkish subtitles of Korean content on Netflix. I begin by situating the global proliferation of Korean audiovisual productions within the context of Hallyu, providing a rationale for selecting Korean as the SL for analysis. I then compile lists of subtitlers and conduct online biographical research to

gain insight into the prevalence of pivot subtitles. The lists are also used for a complementary study on the quality of pivot templates (Dallı & Sung, forthcoming) that will be published following the submission of this thesis. In order to understand if indirect translation is a matter of medium, I compare and contrast the relationship between indirect subtitles and indirect literary translation in the context of the Korean-Turkish language pair. Before turning to the case study, I also establish a comparative framework for the linguistic features of English, Korean, and Turkish to facilitate a better understanding of the qualitative analysis.

In Chapter 4, I conduct a qualitative analysis of Bong Joon-ho's *Parasite*[5] (2019b) to investigate the pitfalls of repurposing publicly released subtitles as pivot templates and to explore the translational implications of pivot subtitling. I contextualize the film and highlight why it is a suitable case for pivot subtitling research. The qualitative findings are organized into three categories for clarity and draw on the shift-based taxonomy of Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021) to identify the strategies used by the English subtitler. This taxonomy also facilitates a discussion of the challenges associated with recycling commercial subtitles as pivot templates. Through this qualitative analysis, I attempt to identify problems and improvement opportunities, ultimately proposing solutions in Chapter 5.

---

[5] 기생충

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter lays the theoretical and methodological framework for the present thesis. It provides a broad introduction to AVT with a specific focus on interlingual subtitling. Upon discussing the constraints and limitations of subtitling, the chapter contextualizes indirect translation in today's audiovisual mediascape. It highlights the challenges of pivot subtitling research and introduces a set of methodologies to identify and study pivot subtitles, drawing on a multimodal approach.

2.1 Audiovisual translation

The evolution of AVT has paralleled the ever-evolving landscape of technology, from its earliest iterations as intertitles on celluloid films to its current form as an integral part of the digital world and the internet. The practice has adapted to advancing technology and morphed into myriad forms, emerging as a powerful and prolific means of facilitating information and fostering communication. As Díaz-Cintas & Remael (2021) observed, the 21st century is marked by the overwhelming influence of the image and the increasing reliance on audiovisual communication.

The term *AVT* serves as a hypernym that encompasses a wide range of translation methods, which can be divided into two main categories:

(i)   Revoicing (the original soundtrack is replaced with a new soundtrack);

(ii)   Timed Text (the original soundtrack is converted into written text to appear on the screen) (adapted from Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2021).

These categories subsume a variety of subcategories. *Revoicing* includes audio description, dubbing, fandubbing, interpreting, narration, and voiceover, while *Timed Text* contains subtitling, surtitling, subtitling for the deaf or hard of hearing (SDH), live subtitling, and cyber subtitling:
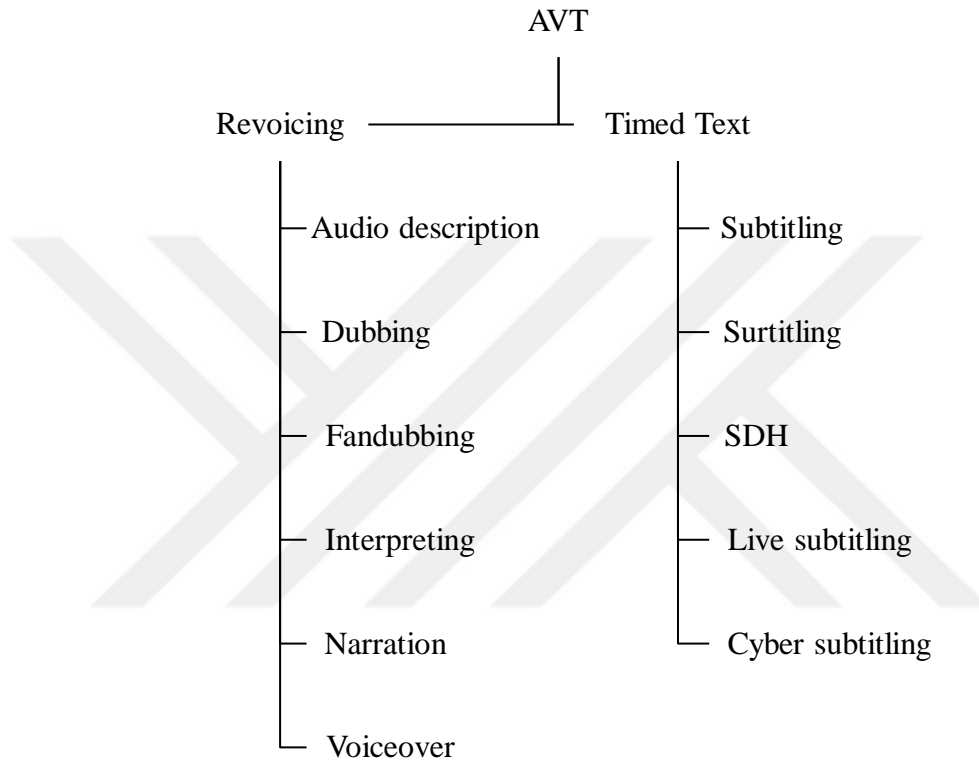

Figure 1. AVT and its hyponyms (adapted from Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2021)

The subsequent section delves deeper into interlingual subtitling, which, along with pivot subtitling, is the central theme of this thesis.

2.1.1 Interlingual subtitling

Subtitling is the superimposition of a transcribed or translated text onto the original production. This additional text layer must flow synchronously with the verbal SL input to ensure coherence and legibility. The synchronized text can be either an interlingual translation or intralingual transcription. This thesis focuses on interlingual subtitling, which refers to the production of a text conventionally placed at the mid-bottom of the screen and aims to translate the linguistic codes (verbal-aural, verbal-visual) of the oral source while taking into account the extralinguistic factors (nonverbal-aural, nonverbal-visual) at need. As Gottlieb (1994) pointed out, interlingual subtitling is a *diagonal* form of translation that involves not only the translation of the source text (ST) into a target text (TT), but also the transcription of oral SL utterances into the target language (TL):
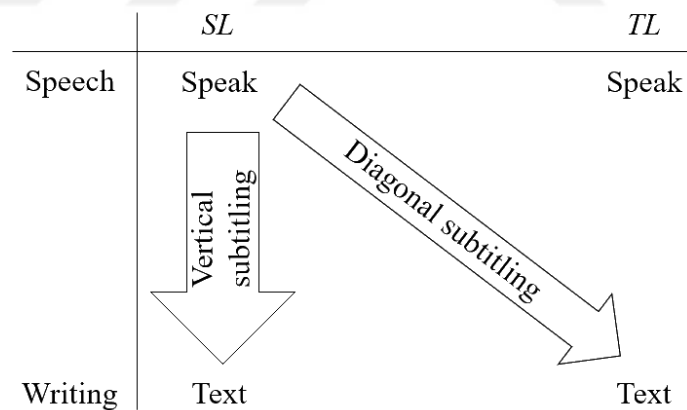

Figure 2. The diagonal nature of interlingual subtitling (Gottlieb, 1994)

The transition from spoken to written language entails fundamental changes for the final product. Spoken language is typically more flexible and heterogenous than written language, which is traditionally used for the preservation of knowledge and is

therefore subject to standardization for the purpose of effectively conveying information. When oral utterances are transcribed into text, the norms of written language permeate spoken language. Given the finite space available for subtitles, it is almost imperative for subtitlers to appropriate meaningful ST features selectively. This means omitting agrammaticalities, expletives, periphrases, and redundancies, all of which are associated with spoken language and carry communicative intent. From a historical perspective, it is obvious why some scholars initially adopted the term *constrained translation* (Titford 1982; Mayoral Asensio et al. 1988) to denote this practice.

Setting out from the premises above, subtitles tend to prioritize the most relevant ST features. Specifically, "context-renewing clauses are retained, whereas context-confirming ones are dropped" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 89). Text reduction is a logical extension of multimodality and the time constraints inherent to subtitling. Since oral speech flows faster than written language, subtitles may not keep pace with the audio stream. Conversely, viewers can digest oral information faster than they can read. Subtitles must give viewers enough time to register visual elements and follow the soundtrack while absorbing the text, which is remote from visual focal points due to its conventional sub-positioning. Viewers expect to watch audiovisual content rather than solely *read* it. The logic of omissions is to ensure "the balance between the effort required by the viewer to process an item and its *relevance* for the understanding of the film narrative that determines whether it is to be included in the translation" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 148, emphasis added).

Venuti (2019) attributes this *relevance* to an instrumentalist understanding of translation, which oversimplifies the practice as the reproduction of two invariants

in different languages. Instrumentalism is a consumerist mindset that overlooks how subtitlers' condensation or omission of relatively irrelevant linguistic features influences the characterization and development of themes in addition to the interplay between audiovisual elements and verbal meaning-making units (e.g., dialogues). This approach reduces translation to a mere act of consumption rather than communication. The instrumentalist perspective prioritizes the immediate consumption of subtitles over their communicative value, which justifies discarding potentially meaningful ST features. However, it is important to note that the subtitler cannot exercise sole discretion in determining the relevance of linguistic features, as they are bound by subtitling norms that impose spatiotemporal limitations.

In terms of time constraints, previous AVT standards have established the six-second rule (Laks, 1957; D'Ydewalle et al., 1987; Brondeel, 1994) as a guideline for the amount of cognitive load that a full two-liner (i.e., two lines of subtitles) can impose on the average viewer. The AVT industry also has specific limits on the number of characters per line (CPL), with an average of 37 CPL. Given that commercial subtitles typically have a maximum of 2 lines, viewers can read up to 74 characters in six seconds. The maximum CPL is based on the fact that images are typically projected at a rate of 24 frames per second, allowing for a maximum of 12 characters per second or 72 characters in six seconds with a two-liner (Pedersen, 2011; Sandford, 2015; Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021).

The ideal would be to set up specific subtitling guidelines for each language, taking into account cultural and linguistic idiosyncrasies as well as social norms. Research has shown that minor language communities tend to be more accepting of subtitles, while major language communities generally prefer dubbing (Pedersen, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2012). The degree of tolerance may vary based on a range of

societal factors. Nations with a strong patriotic orientation, for example, may favor dubbing to defend their national language (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998) while pro-subtitling countries may aim to boost foreign language acquisition (Gottlieb, 2004; Nikolić, 2018).

Different mediascapes may require tailored subtitling guidelines due to the diversity of audiences associated with each platform. For example, subtitles on the television can be viewed by anyone, regardless of their familiarity with subtitles or educational background. On the other hand, streaming platforms that adopt the VoD media distribution model allow viewers to choose not only what they want to watch, but also how they want to watch it, i.e., with which translation method, which can be selected through a pop-up menu embedded in the progress bar. Viewers can thus decide a priori whether they want to watch subtitled content. The proliferation of VoD services have altered viewing habits, leading to more flexible subtitling standards.

Pivot subtitling, the main focus of this thesis, has emerged in response to these shifting viewing habits and subtitling norms. The following section theorizes on how global consumer culture and VoD services are impacting contemporary AVT standards, which often rely on indirect translation to make domestic productions more accessible to international audiences.

2.2 Pivot subtitling: the new normal?

Indirect translation is an ancient yet alive and undiminished practice that has played a crucial role in the dissemination of information. From its origin in the Bible and the Toledo School to its modern applications in conference interpreting and localization, indirect translation has continuously evolved and weathered the test of time

(Zilberdik, 2004; Rosa et al., 2017). In the present day, indirect translation is particularly prominent in the audiovisual medium, and this section aims to provide a brief overview of the contemporary audiovisual mediascape in order to contextualize the motivations behind pivot subtitling.

Table 1. Terms Denoting the Practice of Pivot AVT Listed Chronologically

Term	Source
pivot	Gottlieb (1994); Grigaravičiūte & Gottlieb (1999); Di Giovanni (2007); Díaz-Cintas & Remael (2007); Martínez-Tejerina (2014); Casas-Tost & Bustins (2021)
relay	Dollerup (2000)
indirect AVT	Pięta (2017)

The phenomenon faces severe terminological confusion. Rosa et al. (2017) outline 18 distinct terms describing the process and/or end product of indirect translation. In the context of AVT, *pivot* (Grigaravičiūte & Gottlieb, 1999; Vermeulen, 2011) and *relay* (Dollerup, 2000) appear to be more frequent than *indirect*, *second-hand* (Toury, 2012) or *re-* translation. As for subtitling, pivot subtitling (Gottlieb, 1994; Gambier, 2003; Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007; Oziemblewska & Szarkowska, 2020; Casas-Tost & Bustins, 2021) or *pivot titles* (Di Giovanni, 2007; Martínez-Tejerina, 2014) appear to be established terms describing subtitle translation by means of an intermediary language. Apart from a single mention by Pięta (2017), *indirect AVT*, the direct hyponym of indirect translation for AVT, is absent from the literature. This thesis prefers the term *pivot subtitling* to ensure terminological uniformity within the discipline. But how does this phenomenon occur in the first place?

Pivot subtitling can be traced back to the increasing worldwide demand for simultaneous access to local content, culminating in a chain reaction of innovations. This can be seen as a reflection of the diverse and ever-evolving tastes of modern viewers, who seek to expand their cultural horizons by consuming media from

around the world. As discussed in Chapter 1, the proliferation of non-English content on VoD services can be attributed to the convergence of cultural trends and EU policies, which have significantly impacted the diversity of content available to global viewers. On the other hand, the omnipresence of screens evokes a sense of immediacy thanks to the seemingly infinite stream of content. The prompt accessibility of local productions necessitates immediate translation. In other words, with the seemingly perpetual influx of domestic content into streaming platforms, consumers anticipate instantaneous access to translation services.

Netflix, for example, adopts the sim-ship (i.e., simultaneous shipment) model, originally popularized in the game localization industry (Mangiron & O'Hagan, 2006). As the name implies, the sim-ship model envisions simultaneous distribution of content across all markets and languages. It should be emphasized that this model is driven by the dream of instant translation and is only applicable when dubbing or subtitles are offered in all languages simultaneously. Initially, Netflix attempted to implement sim-ship by outsourcing multi-language translation workflows while managing the projects in-house as part of the Hermes Project (Bond, 2018). However, the company soon discovered that "media localization suppliers were best placed to test, train, onboard and work directly with subtitlers" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 53). Eventually, Netflix introduced alternative initiatives (i.e., DTT and NPFP) to subcontract their translation operations to international LSPs, who then leveraged pivot templates to execute multi-language translation projects with cost-efficiency and operational feasibility.
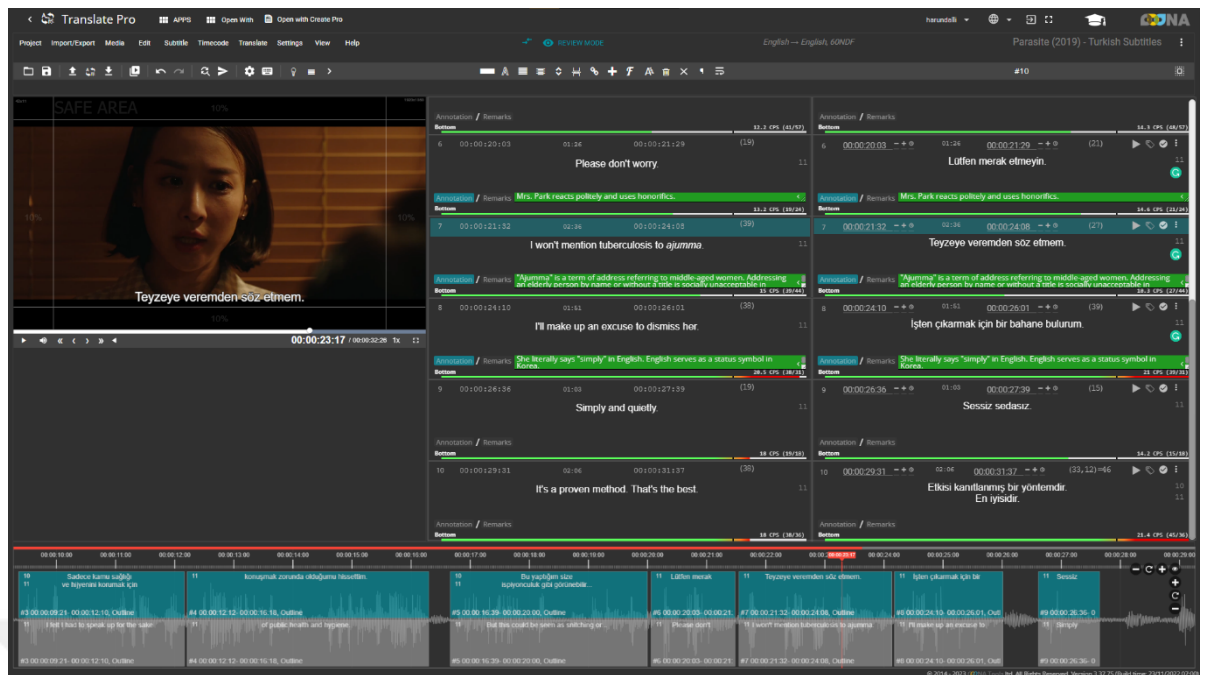
Figure 3. Representation of a pivot subtitling workflow on OOONA
(https://ooona.net/)

Pivot templates act as intermediaries between the original and target subtitles by
containing the segmented and spotted translations in a third language (e.g., English).
These templates serve as a linguistic bridge between the original and the final
subtitles. The verbal elements of the source soundtrack are transcribed, segmented,
spotted, and annotated, respectively, to be embedded in the subtitling software as a
reference material. The typical pivot subtitling workflow, as represented in Figure 3
using the cloud-subtitling platform OOONA, involves viewing and listening to the
audiovisual content for contextual inference, reviewing the template and timecodes,
and translating the blank subtitles positioned in parallel with the pivot template.
Given that English is a lingua franca, pivot templates are typically created in English,
allowing LSPs to manage multi-language translation workflows with any subtitler
whose language pair includes English, notwithstanding the SL. Pivot subtitlers
translate audiovisual content indirectly through these third-language pivot templates,
which serve as the primary source for the target subtitles.

Pivot subtitling entails its own set of benefits and drawbacks that must be weighed to effectively evaluate its efficacy and suitability in a particular situation. On the one hand, pivot subtitling facilitates universal access to diverse and domestic audiovisual productions, bringing them into a global audience. It also allows vendors to centralize multi-language subtitling workflows with a single third-language template, which can be cost-effective and time-efficient as the segmentation and spotting are only performed once and subsequently implemented into multiple subtitle files. Templates can also have the side benefit of allowing subtitlers to focus exclusively on translation (Pedersen, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2012). On the other hand, pivot subtitling operates within a fragile ecosystem, as the additional parameter of a mediating language requires strict adherence to standards to ensure the accuracy of the indirectly translated subtitles. Without standardization, target subtitles may simply be distorted by the pivot template. If pivot templates do not comply with guidelines, the mediating language may engender an additional cultural layer between the source content and target subtitles. Over time, this can cause linguistic homogenization, whereby the prevailing mediating culture and language appropriate the original content and impose its values onto the target recipients. Indirect translation also carries the risk of introducing cultural and linguistic biases in addition to potential inaccuracies or misunderstandings of the source content.

For a more optimal outcome, pivot templates should be created exclusively for mediation purposes and have no intended audience of their own, thereby facilitating a literal rendering of source dialogues. This exemption from subtitling norms allows the pivot template to serve as a tool for the target subtitler rather than a finished product. An effective pivot template should feature comprehensive annotations to contextualize the source content and aid the subtitler's comprehension,

encompassing elements such as cultural references, formality, honorifics, humor, idioms, register, and visual cues. Netflix has established comprehensive guidelines in an effort to standardize the pivot subtitling process. It is worth noting that it is relatively easier to enforce these guidelines in DTT workflows, which rely on Netflix's internal Originator suite. It can be more challenging to ensure compliance with standards for projects subcontracted to NPFPs.

As local content flows incessantly, viewers take instant translation for granted, sparking a chain reaction within the industry. However, the full extent of the impact of this chain reaction on the current mediascape and the quality of subtitles remains unclear. Determining the impact of pivot subtitling on the audiovisual ecosystem requires a method for identifying the phenomenon in the first place. The following section is dedicated to proposing methods for identifying pivot subtitles.

2.2.1 Identifying pivot subtitles

Pivot subtitling research is distinct from monomodal indirect translation studies, such as indirect literary translation, in the cohabitation of audiovisual content and target subtitles. Monomodal indirect translation research can be challenging and laborious when it comes to identifying potential mediating texts or the source text itself (Rosa et al., 2017). The identification process may be complicated by the fact that the mediating translator may have worked with a particular edition of the ST. This process would require historical approaches to locate the mediating translations. Such problems are mostly alleviated in pivot subtitling research focusing on contemporary productions.

One of the most vexing challenges in pivot subtitling research is obtaining access to pivot templates, as they are typically considered proprietary material and

are not commercially available. Non-disclosure agreements (NDAs) prohibit subtitlers from disclosing information about pivot templates, which presents a problem for researchers. The practical inaccessibility of pivot templates limits the accountability of research, rendering it difficult to conduct comparative evaluations, investigate the translational impact of pivot templates, and identify areas for improvement.

The chain reaction described in Section 2.2 has ramifications on the creation of pivot templates. While pivot templates are ideally intended for mediation purposes only, there are cases where commercial subtitles have been repurposed as mediating templates. The recycling of commercial subtitles as pivot templates may be motivated by the strict deadlines envisioned by the sim-ship model, which arguably leave little time for LSPs to create exclusive pivot files. In order to reduce operational costs, LSPs might prefer to recycle commercial subtitles as pivot templates. However, it is important to verify whether or not commercial subtitles are repurposed as pivot templates, which can be determined through:

(i)   online biographical research,

(ii)   textual comparison,

(iii)   formal and temporal comparison (i.e., comparing segmentation and spotting).

Subtitling is undergoing a rapid onlineization, with a "migration towards cloud-based systems" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 62). Global LSPs often conduct onboarding processes through social networks such as LinkedIn or ProZ, or through their own websites. This shift towards onlineization allows researchers to easily

access subtitlers' biographies, CVs, or resumes. As subtitlers are onboarded online, it is important that they maintain a detailed online presence and provide information about their language pairs. If a subtitler translates from a language that is not listed in their combinations, this may be an indication that they are translating indirectly through pivot templates. Online biographical research is often the most convenient and practical method for identifying pivot subtitles, especially when subtitlers have an extensive online presence. This method can effectively indicate whether a pivot language was utilized during the translation process.

However, online biographical research carries a certain level of uncertainty. Most, if not all, vendors onboard Turkish subtitlers working from English based on aptitude and translation tests from English to Turkish. Proficiency in Korean alone may not ensure that a subtitler's professional services are recognized and rewarded by client remuneration policies, as demonstrated by the Global Rate Card's singular fixation on English-to-Turkish or Turkish-to-English translation pairs. Turkish subtitlers may be compelled to translate through English as a pivot language, since they have been recruited on the basis of their proficiency in English. Such ambiguities and obscurities make online biographical research less accountable, as the language pairs specified by subtitlers may not accurately reflect their actual translation practices. In order to increase the accountability of pivot subtitling research, it is highly advisable to triangulate it with textual comparison methods.

Textual comparison requires a threefold analysis of the audiovisual ST, the presumed pivot template, and the target subtitles. To accurately determine the presence of indirect translation, researchers must thoroughly analyze the entire source content. While examining the translations of main and/or episode titles may be more practical, it is not as comprehensive as a full analysis. Lexical elements such

as cultural terms, idioms, and neologisms often bifurcate translation decisions and can reveal the use of an intermediary pivot language. Shared grammatical and morphological features between the SL and the TL that are not present in the presumed pivot template can also indicate the presence of indirect translation through a lack of correspondence. Overall, a thorough textual comparison yields more reliable estimates of indirect translation.

Finally, a comparison of the formal and temporal features of the presumed pivot template and the target subtitles can consolidate other findings on indirect translation. Pivot templates provide predetermined segmentation and timecodes for the subsequent target subtitles. However, these procedures are performed with the mediating language in mind and may not always align with the grammatical and syntactical structure of the TL. For example, segmentation and spotting in the pivot template may boost readability in the mediating language, but could disrupt readability in the TL because of the syntactic differences between the two languages. If the target subtitles display odd segmentation and spotting that follow the same time cues as the pivot template while negatively impacting readability, this may indicate the use of an intermediary language.

Once a pivot template is identified and it is confirmed that the target subtitles are based on an intermediary language, it is possible to investigate the impact of indirect translation on the final output. The subsequent section introduces a set of methodologies that can be employed in the study of pivot subtitles.

2.2.2 Studying pivot subtitles

Given the seemingly infinite number of language permutations in indirect translation, it is unattainable to propose a universal typology that applies to all language pairs.

It is nonetheless feasible to outline a robust and systematic framework that can be applied to other pivot subtitling research focusing on the same language pair. This helps to increase the reproducibility of linguistic analysis and identify the chronic problems of indirect translation with the language pair in question. Section 3.5 of the present thesis, for example, outlines the potential problems in using English as a mediating language in Korean-to-Turkish subtitles, arguing that similar challenges can occur with other indirect subtitles involving these languages. This section draws on Rosa et al.'s (2017) classification to describe indirect translation in a neutral fashion. Rosa et al. (2017) distinguish types of indirectness depending on:

(i)   the number and type of mediating texts involved in the process (one or more);

(ii)   the number of intervening languages (one or more) and their choice – involving the use of only one ML vs. the use of more than one ML and/or the ultimate SL, one or more ML(s), and the ultimate TL;

(iii) the degree of indirectness (second-hand, third-hand …);

(iv)   the presentation of indirectness (either hidden or open); and

(v)   the status of indirectness (which for research purposes can be either proven or only presumed). (p. 119, emphasis in original)

To these, we may add (vi) the medium of indirect translation. As evidenced by Chapter 3, the medium of translation has key implications for both researchers and subtitlers. Pivot subtitling is considerably distinct from monomodal forms of indirect translation in terms of the cohabitation of signs in the audiovisual source content. That is, unlike monomodal indirect translation, audiovisual engagement with the source content allows pivot subtitlers to move beyond the mediating text and potentially overcome the limitations of working with relayed messages. In other words, pivot subtitling is not based solely on the linguistic backdrop provided by the mediating template. Rather, it is a multifaceted process subject to a bidirectional flow of information emanating from the multimodal distribution of meaning.

Multimodality is a methodologically indispensable aspect of pivot subtitling research. The following section briefly describes multimodality and discusses how this concept can be integrated into pivot subtitling research.

2.3 Multimodality: how audiovisual texts make meaning

Today's digital age is characterized by the omnipresence of screens. It may be argued that the pervasiveness of image render the communicative potency of language obsolete. This *audiovisualized* world, in which language is but a tiny part, calls for new concepts to understand how meaning is created. Coined in the mid-1990s, the concept of multimodality (Jewitt et al., 2016) explores how different modes (auditory/non-auditory and visual/non-visual) interact to create integrated meaning. A "multimodal text" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 67) is thus a composite that integrates various modes. Until the 1990s, Translation Studies was predominantly language-oriented, presumably because of its linguistic underpinnings throughout the formative period (Baker, 2005). The linguistic repercussions still reverberate in the field of AVT today. Given the pervasive ubiquity of screens, however, AVT should be informed "an enhanced, more conscious awareness of what is being communicated through each mode" (Pérez-González, 2014, p. 187).

Multimodality can be considered as a hyponym under the hypernym of semiotics. Within this framework, multimodal research is bifurcated into two main paradigms: structuralist semiotics and social semiotics. While "structuralist semiotics foregrounds codes and taxonomies, social semiotics is particularly interested in the social uses and the interrelationships of semiotic modes in social practice," seeking to "understand how people produce and communicate meaning by combining several modes in a specific social setting" (Pérez-González, 2020, p. 347). The social

24

semiotics strand of multimodality draws heavily on Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory of language. Accordingly, a mode in the social semiotic sense is defined as "a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning" (Kress, 2017, p. 60), suggesting that modes and intermodal connections are shaped by cultural values. But how can we systematically approach multimodal research?

While it is beyond the scope of this section to propose a multimodal framework specific to pivot subtitling, it is feasible to classify modes into four rudimentary yet comprehensive categories:

(a) verbal-aural

(b) verbal-visual

(c) nonverbal-aural

(d) nonverbal-visual

While (a) and (b) pertain to the linguistic codes of the source content, (c) and (d) represent extralinguistic factors. For instance, dialogues between characters would fall under the verbal-aural category, which forms the foundation of a pivot template. Nonverbal features such as body language and pitch variability are equally crucial for meaning-making. Nevertheless, in the context of pivot templates, they typically have a secondary, supplementary function in the form of annotations. The Pivot Language Template Guidelines of Netflix (2021b) require the annotation of any plot-pertinent detail in pivot templates. Notwithstanding official endeavors to standardize templates, Oziemblewska & Szarkowska (2020) demonstrate that annotations are rarely found in pivot templates, suggesting that multimodality should inform not only academic research, but also practice itself.

Pivot subtitling research should primarily focus on intermodal ties between modes. This involves examining whether the indirect target subtitles align with the multimodal unity of the audiovisual source content and assessing the influence of pivot templates on this unity. As previously mentioned, verbal modes form the core of a pivot template. As a result, a pivot template may be overinvested in verbal signifiers while overlooking nonverbal features. Pivot subtitling is particularly prone to disregarding multimodal units of meaning when the target subtitler strictly adheres to the pivot template at the expense of ignoring the complex polysemiotic structure of the audiovisual source content. Research on pivot subtitling should capture all facets of meaning-making in the study of indirect translation. Through a multimodal approach, pivot subtitling research can provide insight into the importance of plot-pertinent annotations and offer analytical solutions.

Section 2.4 outlines subtitling strategies based on the shift-based taxonomy of Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021) to systematically evaluate the translational impact of pivot templates.

2.4 Díaz-Cintas & Remael's (2021) shift-based taxonomy

The present section outlines the methodology used in the case study of this thesis, which aims to determine and categorize the subtitling strategies employed in the pivot template in order to explore their influence on the indirect target subtitles. The qualitative analysis draws on the shift-based taxonomy proposed by Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021) as a methodological framework for identifying and investigating the subtitling strategies in *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) in a comparative perspective.

The concept of *shift*, first introduced by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) and later developed by Catford (1965) and Popovič (1971/2011), has played a central

role in literary translation studies in the latter half of the 20th century. A shift refers to any "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (Catford, 1965, p. 73). Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021) have adapted this concept to the context of subtitling, taking into account the multimodal nature of audiovisual content, and the spatiotemporal constraints inherent to this mode of translation. Their taxonomy categorizes subtitling strategies into two groups: text reduction and cultural references.

2.4.1 Text reduction

In the context of commercial subtitling, it is typical to condense the oral ST features into more digestible and manageable units in the target subtitles. This is partly due to the co-presence of auditory and visual channels, which can impose cognitive demands on the viewer as they attempt to infer diegetic elements through both image and sound. To mitigate this, text reduction strategies are often employed in commercial subtitles to help viewers absorb verbal information quickly and maintain an immersive experience with the audiovisual narrative.

Text reduction in subtitling can take the form of partial or total reduction. While *partial reduction* involves condensing the ST into a more concise form, *total reduction* refers to the "deletion or omission of lexical items" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 147). The subtitler may choose to either (1) eliminate non-essential ST elements or (2) reformulate relevant information in a more concise form. It is important to note that subtitlers should resort to condensation only as a last resort and should strive to preserve the original message to the greatest extent possible.

Condensation, *reformulation*, and *omission* can be analyzed at word and sentence levels. The categories and corresponding examples in Table 7, adapted from

Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021, pp. 146–168), serve to illustrate the subtitling

strategies that may be employed at the word and sentence levels. The following

classification is not based on standalone units; multiple strategies may overlap in a

single subtitle.

Table 2. Text Reduction Shifts (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, pp. 146–168)

Condensation and reformulation at word level	
Simplifying verbal periphrases	He's gonna be just the same. ↓ He won't change.
Generalizing enumerations	You lied to us, son. Your own mother and father. ↓ You lied to us, your parents.
Using a shorter near-synonym or equivalent expression	He's got lots of money. ↓ He's rich.
Using simple rather than compound tenses	Her father had thrown her out. ↓ Her father threw her out.
Changing word classes	I have started working! ↓ I found a job.
Resorting to short forms and contractions	Would you like to share it with me? ↓ Let's share it.
Condensation and reformulation at sentence level	
Changing negations or questions into affirmative ones	OK, we did not live in a palace… ↓ OK, the place was small.
Turning assertions and indirect questions into direct questions	Can't you hear the difference? ↓ Listen up!
Simplifying indicators of modality	You wouldn't have time for a cup of tea, doctor? ↓ A cup of tea, doctor?
Turning direct speech into indirect speech	I often tell myself: "Good thing she went." ↓ Sometimes I'm glad she went.
Changing the subject of a sentence or phrase	Well, I think I know what you mean Travis. ↓ I think I've understood you, Travis.
Manipulating theme and rheme	Your neighbor isn't the Mr. Cohen we all know. ↓ Mr. Cohen isn't your neighbor.
Turning long or compound sentences into simple ones	I didn't tell you just 'cause I thought you'd get pissed off ↓ I didn't say anything. I thought you'd be pissed off.
Converting active sentences into passive or vice versa	We knew that was where our heroes were kept. ↓ We knew that our heroes were there.
Using pronouns and other deictics to replace nouns, or noun phrases	It's been a long time since we've done this (hug). ↓ That is a long time ago.
Merging two or more phrases/sentences into one	What are your memories of that day? What did you do on that day? ↓ What do you still remember?
Omissions	
Omissions at word level	You woke me out of a deep sleep. ↓ You woke me up.
Omissions at sentence level	Why did she leave? If she left, it's because she had some reasons! ↓ She must have had a reason!

2.4.2 Cultural references

Audiovisual content is often shaped by the cultural context in which it is produced. As content flows internationally, cultural references also travel transnationally, which can pose a challenge for subtitlers. According to Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021), cultural references are "tied up with a community's culture, history, or geography" (p. 202). They identify nine shift-oriented subtitling strategies for dealing with cultural references.

Table 3. Culture-bound Shifts (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, pp. 207–217)

Loan or borrowing	Incorporating a ST word or phrase directly into the TL
Literal translation	Borrowing a SL form of expression by rendering each element literally into the TL structure
Calque	Literal translation that sounds somewhat odd, used regardless of a more fluent option
Explicitation	Explicitating what is implicit in the ST
Substitution	Replacing a cultural reference in the ST with a similar reference that already exists in the TC
Transposition	Replacing a cultural concept from one community by a cultural concept from another
Lexical recreation	Inventing a neologism
Compensation	Making up for a translational loss in one exchange by adding extra features
Omission	Used in case the SC reference is absent from the TC

It is worth noting that these strategies may overlap and be used in combination within a single subtitle. In some cases, *substitution* and *transposition* may be considered subtypes of the broader category of *explicitation*. Unlike text reduction shifts, which are characterized by spatiotemporal limitations, culture-bound shifts are not unique to subtitling, but rather are a general feature of translation. Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021) have classified these shifts based on the seminal formulation of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995).

Overall, the shift-based taxonomy of Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2021) can be integrated into pivot subtitling research in the following contexts:

(i)   same strategies are observed in commercial and target subtitles while deviating from the original meaning,

(ii)   target subtitles employ a different strategy than commercial subtitles, despite being identified as an indirect translation through textual comparison.

If both commercial subtitles (i.e., presumed pivot template) and target subtitles employ the same strategies, while disregarding the original meaning, this can indicate the influence of the mediating language and template on the indirect subtitling process. On the other hand, the target subtitles may deviate from the presumed pivot template, urging researchers to reflect on the reasons for this divergence and possibly shed light on the translation norms prevailing in the target culture.

The following chapter contextualizes the prevalence of pivot subtitling on Netflix Türkiye in the Korean and Turkish language pair.

CHAPTER 3

KOREAN-TO-TURKISH PIVOT SUBTITLING ON NETFLIX

PREVALENCE AND POTENTIAL LINGUISTIC CONSEQUENCES

This chapter investigates the prevalence of Korean-to-Turkish pivot subtitling on Netflix and examines the translational impact of English as a mediating language. The chapter begins by providing a rationale for the selection of this language pair for the analysis. It then explores the Turkish subtitles of Korean dramas and films on Netflix Türkiye based on release dates, subtitler count, and translation methods. This investigation partly unveils the interference of English in the circulation of these Korean audiovisual content. The chapter also investigates Turkish translations of Korean literature to determine if indirect translation via English is a norm or a matter of medium in this language pair. Finally, the chapter compares the linguistic features of English, Korean, and Turkish to understand the potential ramifications of indirect translation. This chapter sets the stage for the analysis section by outlining a contextual and linguistic framework.

3.1 Hallyu: a promising source for pivot subtitling

Korean popular culture has experienced a surge in global popularity, despite the fact that Korean is not one of the most widely spoken languages. This phenomenon, known as Hallyu or the Korean Wave, reflects the worldwide interest in Korean popular culture. The term was coined by Chinese media in 1997 to describe the sudden enthusiasm for Korean dramas among Chinese teenagers (Shim, 2006; S. Lee, 2015).

The wave first surged in East Asia due to cultural proximity (D. Kim & M.S. Kim, 2011). Hallyu transcended linguistic barriers by incorporating Confucian ethics, such as filial piety, harmony, morality, propriety, and self-cultivation, as well as traditional themes into Korean dramas, appealing to cultural consumers in East Asia (Shim, 2006; Shin, 2006; Yun, 2009; S. Lee, 2015). The Korean government soon claimed the wave for its own national interests (Jin, 2016) and to exert soft power through public diplomacy (Nye, 1999). Capitalizing on culture thus became essential in the government's efforts to transform itself into a global powerhouse.

This pursuit coincided with rising anti-Korean sentiments in neighboring regions, including China, Japan, Taiwan, and Thailand, prompting some to reduce the influx of Korean audiovisual content (I. Oh, 2009; Chung, 2015; Jin, 2016; Ainslie et al., 2017). This antagonism had economic repercussions as the export rate of Korean cultural goods plummeted in conjunction with escalating anti-Hallyu sentiment (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2006; Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, 2011). The resulting regional instability led the Korean cultural industry to seek international outlets in search of new sources of growth.

Despite the relative peripherality of the Korean language, Korean cultural goods have achieved international distribution. The global circulation of audiovisual content in a relatively marginal language has in turn necessitated the use of indirect translation. The following section presents the proportion of direct and indirect Turkish subtitles in the context of Korean dramas on Netflix Türkiye.

3.2 Korean dramas in Turkish

Korean dramas are a significant contributor to the popularity of Hallyu in Türkiye. The phenomenon entered the Turkish mediascape through dubbed Korean dramas.

Hallyu officially launched in Türkiye around 2005, when the state-owned

South Korean English-language television network Arirang TV signed an agreement

with the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) to air *Denizler İmparatoru*

(I. Kang et al., 2004) (Chae & C.-J. Oh, 2013).

It should be emphasized, however, that this Korean drama was imported from

a South Korean television station that broadcasts in English, highly implying that

English was utilized as a pivot language in the Turkish dubbing. The title of the

Turkish version corresponds to the English version rather than the Korean original.

While the original is entitled *Haesin*[6] (God of the Sea), the Turkish version is entitled

Denizler İmparatoru (the Emperor of the Seas), just as the English *Emperor of the*

Sea. A similar pattern can also be observed in another extensively popular Korean

drama, namely *Taejanggŭm*[7] (The Great Jang-geum; B. Lee & Jo, 2003), translated

in Turkish as *Saraydaki Mücevher* (The Jewel in the Palace), the same as the English

Jewel in the Palace. These examples strongly suggest that the introduction of Hallyu

to the Turkish mediascape occurred through indirect translations, and that Turkish

audiences became acquainted with Korean dramas through the lens of English.

Korean dramas later migrated to private local channels such as Kanal 7,

Meltem TV, and Olay TV. Çavuşoğlu (2019) lists 35 Korean dramas aired on

Turkish television channels between 2006 and 2019. These dramas often had poor

ratings, as they simply served as fill-in shows during daytime television (Chae & C.-J.

Oh, 2013).

The popularity of Hallyu in Türkiye significantly increased when

broadcasters began remaking Korean dramas in Turkish. Between 2011 and 2019,

broadcasters adapted 39 Korean dramas into Turkish (Çavuşoğlu, 2019). During this

---

[6] 해신
[7] 대장금

period, Turkish dramas of Korean origin accounted for the highest export rate of approximately 41.7%, disrupting the dominance of Western cultural flows in Türkiye. Prior to the trend of remaking Korean dramas in Turkish, these dramas were mainly limited to TRT and smaller local channels, but their Turkish adaptations would mainly be broadcast on mainstream multinational television networks such as Fox TV.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, remakes of Korean dramas dominated the Turkish mediascape. However, the implementation of nationwide curfew measures during the pandemic prompted a shift in consumer culture. With the sudden increase in leisure time due to pandemic lockdowns, many consumed more audiovisual content, particularly those streaming on VoD platforms. A case in point would be Netflix, which witnessed an upsurge in subscribers during the pandemic (Netflix, 2021a). This was reflected in the company's rising stock prices (Adinarayan, 2021).

The mass migration towards VoD platforms has resulted in Korean dramas resurfacing in the form of subtitled content rather than remakes. Hallyu has adapted well to the changing consumer culture and has even become a driving force for the growth of Netflix (Adinarayan, 2021). As of December 2022, the platform is streaming a total of 278 Korean dramas with Turkish translation[8]. While 24 offer both Turkish dubbing and subtitles, the remaining 254 are available with Turkish subtitles only. Figure 4 illustrates the substantial annual growth in the volume of Korean dramas with Turkish translations available on Netflix Türkiye, with the number of titles escalating by a striking 9.3 times between 2016 and 2018.

---

[8] See Appendix A.

Release dates of Korean dramas on Netflix Türkiye
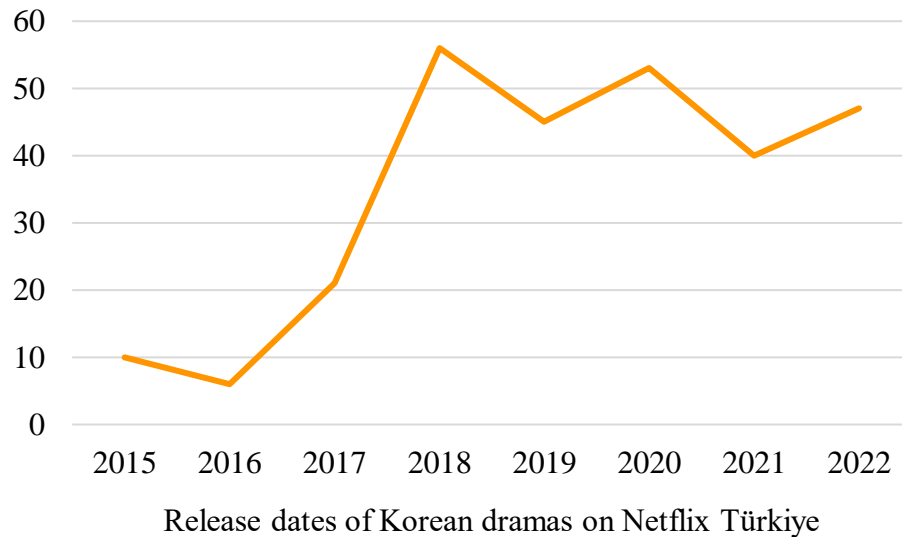
Figure 4. Annual increase in the number of Korean dramas on Netflix
(see Appendix A)

The linguistic backgrounds of Turkish subtitlers of Korean dramas on Netflix Türkiye reflect the impact of the sim-ship model on subtitling workflows in local language pairs. Only four of the 177 subtitlers specified Korean in their working language pairs on online social networking sites such as LinkedIn or ProZ. Apart from 19 subtitlers whose language pairs could not be identified on networking sites, the remaining 144 did not list Korean as a working language pair.

It is important to note that language pair alone does not necessarily indicate the use of indirect translation. This is because subtitlers are onboarded to vendors by completing English aptitude and translation tests, with non-English productions subtitled into TLs through English pivot templates for operational feasibility. Even if a subtitler may speak the SL, they are onboarded based on their English proficiency, and their rates are typically calculated with reference to English. Furthermore, streaming services and their vendors may encourage or require subtitlers to translate using pivot templates, as the system is set up to pivot through English, with quality controllers reviewing the target subtitles based on English master templates.

To verify the findings based on language pairs, a complementary survey research (Dallı & Sung, forthcoming) was conducted. We contacted 149 Turkish subtitlers of Korean content on Netflix and received 75 responses. While the survey primarily focused on evaluating the quality of pivot templates in the Korean-Turkish context, the initial questions asked subtitlers about their proficiency in Korean and whether they translate directly from the Korean original or based on the English pivot template. Three subtitlers self-identified as having beginner-level proficiency in Korean, while one subtitler was intermediate and two were advanced. However, none of the respondents reported translating directly from the Korean original. Our analysis revealed that language proficiency does not necessarily imply the presence of direct translation, as even the intermediate- and advanced-level Korean speakers reported translating based on the pivot template rather than the Korean original.

The motivation for indirect translation can be rates, which are fixed in English. Even if subtitlers translate from Korean, they are remunerated as if they had translated from English. This economic disincentive may discourage subtitlers from going the extra mile of translating directly from the SL, while also contributing to the perpetuation of a system that relies on pivot templates. Additionally, clients and their vendors may outright prohibit subtitlers from deviating from the pivot templates, as all procedures are streamlined through these third-language files.

Indirect translation is thus the norm for translating Korean dramas into Turkish on Netflix. However, all the Turkish subtitles are presented as pseudo-direct translations (Rosa et al., 2017), without any indication of the utilization of intermediary languages. Since the content of subtitler credits is determined by client protocols, the decision to obscure indirect translation is enforced by streaming services. This obfuscation of the use of indirect translation raises ethical concerns, as

paid subscribers of VoD services are denied transparency about how their access to foreign content is facilitated. This obfuscation can also be perceived as a form of *instrumentalist censorship*, which prioritizes instant consumption over effective communication, and hence undermining the communicative power of translation.

The correlation between pivot subtitling and sim-ship warrants examination. As previously discussed in Section 2.2, the current mediascape is characterized by the demand for immediate access to content, prompting streaming platforms to release their productions simultaneously in multiple languages and locations. This demand puts pressure on the subtitling pipeline, causing LSPs to employ multiple subtitlers for a single drama. Although the narrative propulsion of a drama may be consistent across multiple episodes, it is common for numerous subtitlers to work on a single drama, as demonstrated in Figure 5.
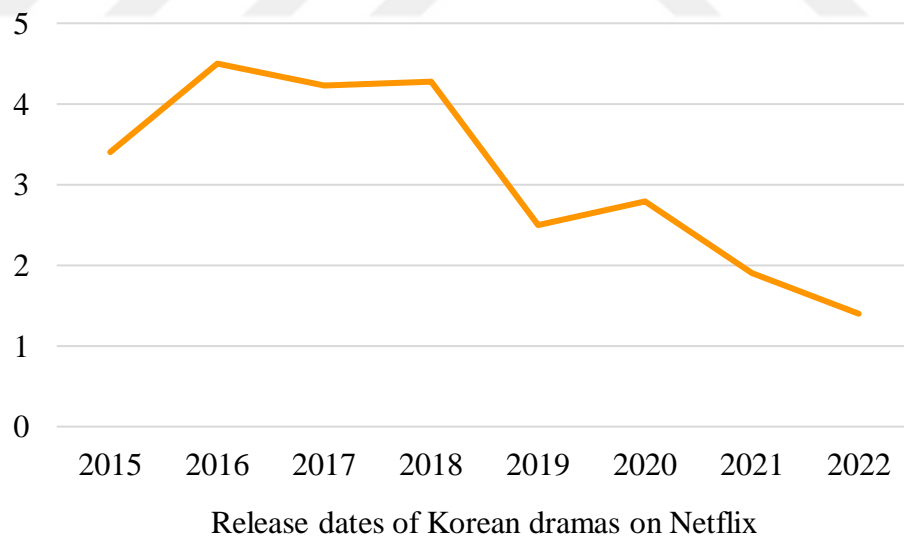
Figure 5. Annual average number of Turkish subtitlers per Korean drama on Netflix (see Appendix A)

The maximum number of Turkish subtitlers translating a single Korean drama is 18, as seen in the case of *Yong-pal*[9] (Oh & Moon, 2015), which consists of 18 episodes, each translated by a different subtitler. This drama is followed by *Hello, my Twenties!*[10] (T. Lee et al., 2016), which involves a total of 16 Turkish subtitlers for its 26 episodes. The multiplicity of Turkish subtitlers for a single Korean drama, which is arguably the result of the sim-ship approach, raises concerns about the consistency and quality of the indirect translations.

As shown in Figure 5, the number of subtitlers per Korean drama has consistently decreased since 2020. This steady downward trend may be a result of increased scrutiny of subtitle quality on Netflix following the *Squid Game* controversy (BBC News, 2021; J. Cho, 2021; Groskop, 2021; Lim, 2021; Namkung, 2021; Walden, 2021). Worldwide audiences turned susceptible to the English subtitles of *Squid Game* (Hwang, 2021) when the TikTok user Youngmimayer pointed out certain discrepancies between the English closed captions and the Korean original. Whether her debate can be justified or not, Youngmimayer has led to widespread discussions about subtitle quality on various social networks and in mainstream media, eventually prompting streaming platforms to take initiatives (Press Trust of India, 2021).

Pivot subtitling is not an incidental technique, but rather a quintessential practice that characterizes the Turkish subtitles of Korean content on Netflix Türkiye. Although Turkish viewers have a seemingly direct exposure to Korean culture and language due to the overt nature of subtitling, they unwittingly decipher an additional layer of foreign-language codes emanating from English. The subsequent section expands on the scope of pivot subtitling in the context of Korean movies on Netflix.

---

[9] 용팔이
[10] 청춘시대

3.3 Korean movies in Turkish

Today, global audiences can access Korean movies beyond the traditional confines of the silver screen. Various VoD services, notably Netflix, Viki, and YouTube, are adding more Korean movies into their repertoires, and the migration to digital platforms is partly backed by state endeavors. In 2011, the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and Google Korea launched the Korea Go Global project, which included the creation of the Korean Classic Film channel on YouTube. This channel, managed by the Korean Film Archive, was established to promote the worldwide circulation of classic Korean films and showcase the rich cultural heritage of the country's film industry. Google Korea provided initial funding of $70,000 to cover the costs of English subtitles for the films featured on the channels (Chung & Diffrient, 2015). As of March 2022, the channel has uploaded 212 classic Korean movies dating from the 1930s and continues to add new films on a monthly basis. The head of the Media Services Department at the Korean Film Archive has noted the benefits of this in increasing the international reach of Korean classic films:

> In the past, the only way to promote Korean film classics abroad was through international film festivals. But you can only send films that are requested [by festival organizers]. This usually meant films by famous directors, such as Im Kwon-taek and Kim Ki-young. There was no control on our part over which films to send and promote. YouTube gave us an opportunity to expose diverse Korean films to mass audiences worldwide without such limitations. (Chang cited in Chung & Diffrient, 2015, p. 247)

Netflix also plays a significant role in the global distribution of Korean films, offering multi-language subtitles for the majority of these content. It should be noted that the Turkish subtitles of Korean films are subject to the same norms governing the translation of Korean dramas. Therefore, the proportion of direct and indirect Turkish translations of Korean movies on Netflix should be closely correlated with that of Korean dramas.

As of December 2022, Netflix has released a total of 41 Korean movies with Turkish subtitles[11]. Of these, 11 feature both dubbing and subtitles, while the remaining 30 are available with subtitles only. A total of 29 Turkish subtitlers contributed to this repertoire, with the language pairs for two of these subtitlers remaining unidentified through social networking platforms. Only one of these subtitlers listed Korean as a language in their LinkedIn profile, and this individual also reported translating from pivot templates (Dallı & Sung, forthcoming).

Two Korean movies, *Silenced*[12] (Hwang et al., 2011) and *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b), do not incorporate a subtitler credit. The present thesis conducts an analysis of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b), which makes it possible to classify it as indirect translation. It is highly unlikely that anonymous subtitles feature direct translations, as vendors typically promote subtitler credits, some of which may be required to include the company name as per protocols. The decision to omit subtitler credit is made by the subtitler themselves. Oziemblewska and Szarkowska (2020) have shown that subtitlers may hesitate to translate indirectly, and it can be inferred that subtitlers may choose to omit credit due to this hesitation.

Pivot subtitling is not governed by genre-based norms, but rather is sustained by a multifaceted interplay between the policies of streaming services and rapidly evolving viewing habits. The subsequent section explores translational flows from Korean literature into Turkish to better understand whether indirect translation is the norm for all translated content from Korean, regardless of the medium.

3.4 Korean literature in Turkish

Literary translation and AVT are only tangentially related, as they communicate through different media and address distinct audiences, tailoring their approaches to

---

[11] See Appendix B.

[12] 도가니

meet the specific needs of their respective recipients. Literary translation has traditionally been governed by the principle of fidelity to the original author, while AVT is driven by the dream of instant translation. While literary publishers prioritize adherence to the ST, streaming services place a particular emphasis on meeting deadlines for sim-ship releases. It could be argued that the objective in AVT is not necessarily impeccability, but rather immediacy.

Notwithstanding the essential differences between AVT and literary translation, it is feasible to examine the ratio of direct and indirect Turkish translations of Korean literature to understand whether indirect translation is a matter of medium. If the majority of translations are found to be direct, this would theoretically solidify the chain reaction described in Section 2.2 and suggest that indirect translation is not tied to language pairs, but rather to the medium and its corresponding norms. Similar to previous sections on Korean dramas and movies, it is possible to theorize on the ratio of direct and indirect Turkish translations of Korean literature based on the language pairs specified by the literary translators on online social networking sites, or biographies provided by their publishers.

In 1993, Korean literature entered Turkey through an indirect translation (Türközü, 2018). Since then, 61 works from Korean literature have been translated into Turkish, with 50 being translated directly from Korean and the remaining 12 being indirect translations[13]. Figure 6, which derives from Appendix C and excludes children's literature, starkly distinguishes literary translations from AVT, with a directness rate of 81% for literary translation.

---

[13] See Appendix C.
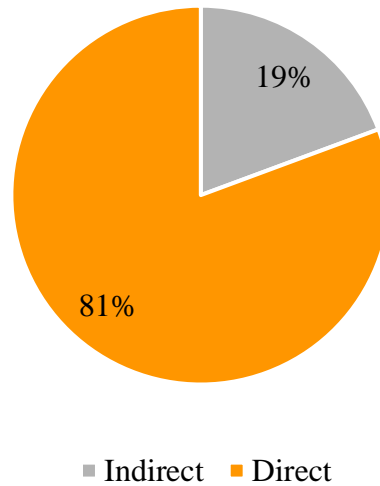
Figure 6. Distribution of direct and indirect Turkish translations of Korean literature (see Appendix C)

Figure 6 indicates that direct translation is the norm for Korean-to-Turkish literary translations, which may be due to the long-standing principle of fidelity. This also suggests that direct translation from Korean into Turkish is feasible in the literary context and that indirect translation is more a matter of medium than a shortage of translators.

From a financial perspective, English pivot templates may be cost-effective, but at what cost? The subsequent section investigates the translational consequences of pivot subtitling by presenting a comparative linguistic framework that addresses the challenges and pitfalls of using English as a mediating language in translations between Korean and Turkish, both of which are considered to be hearer-sensitive languages.

3.5 The cost of cost-cutting: the impact of English on Korean-to-Turkish subtitling

Language serves two primary functions: conveying information and knowledge, and establishing and maintaining social connections (Sohn, 1999). The latter function is

particularly relevant to the concept of linguistic politeness, which is deeply ingrained in the Korean culture and society. Language is a conduit of cultural values and is inextricably linked to the beliefs and norms of a given society. It is vital to understand the core principles of Korean society to evaluate the impact of mediating languages on indirect transfer.

> The principles underlying honorification in Korean have their origins in Korean views on society. Koreans believe that people are not equal in status, either in the family or in other large or small social groups to which they belong. The Korean conceptualization of social relationships is hierarchical and vertical. The distinction between [wissaram] (lit. above person: superiors) and [araessaram] (lit. below person: inferiors) is widely used in ordinary conversation. The distinction between using honorifics versus not using honorifics also suggests that society is seen as divided into two broad groups: to interact with one group requires honorifics while to interact with the other does not. (Yoon, 2004, p. 194)

During the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897), Chinese culture and philosophy, notably Confucianism, influenced the Korean peninsula (Sohn, 1999). As a result, the tenets of Confucianism became deeply entrenched in Korean culture, language, and society (Cotton, 1996). The Confucian maxim *there is an order between the old and young*[14] still pervades in Korean honorifics today. Traditional moral values such as *filial piety*[15], *etiquette*[16], and *collaboration*[17] continue to influence interpersonal relationships (Yoon, 2004).

It is not surprising that the social conventions of Korean culture are reflected in the language used in Korean audiovisual content. The complex relationships between characters in these materials are characterized by the highly dynamic Korean honorifics, which is expressed through terms of address, adjectival and verbal inflections, and nonverbal gestures. Because the Korean language is rigidly

---

[14] 장유유서 (長幼有序)
[15] 효도 (孝道)
[16] 예절 (禮節)
[17] 협동 (協同)

hierarchical, Korean content is often interwoven with linguistic nuances that reflect dynamic bottom-up orientations between the characters. These fluid hierarchical relationships are strikingly reflected through the finely stratified layers of Korean. Additionally, deferential body language of characters, as well as intensity and pitch variability of their voice, (Grawunder & Winter 2011, 2012) serve to form a multimodal ensemble that incorporates both auditory and visual channels into the linguistic backdrop.

Terms of address and verbal inflections are the two pillars of Korean honorifics. Given the agglutinative nature of Korean, verbal inflections play a crucial role in honorification, and they represent the "most highly structured" (I. Lee & Ramsey, 2000, p. 239) part of the honorific system. Contemporary Korean is believed to contain six individual verbal paradigms (Sohn, 1999), each characterized by its own sentence-enders as well as fossilized (non-)honorific forms:
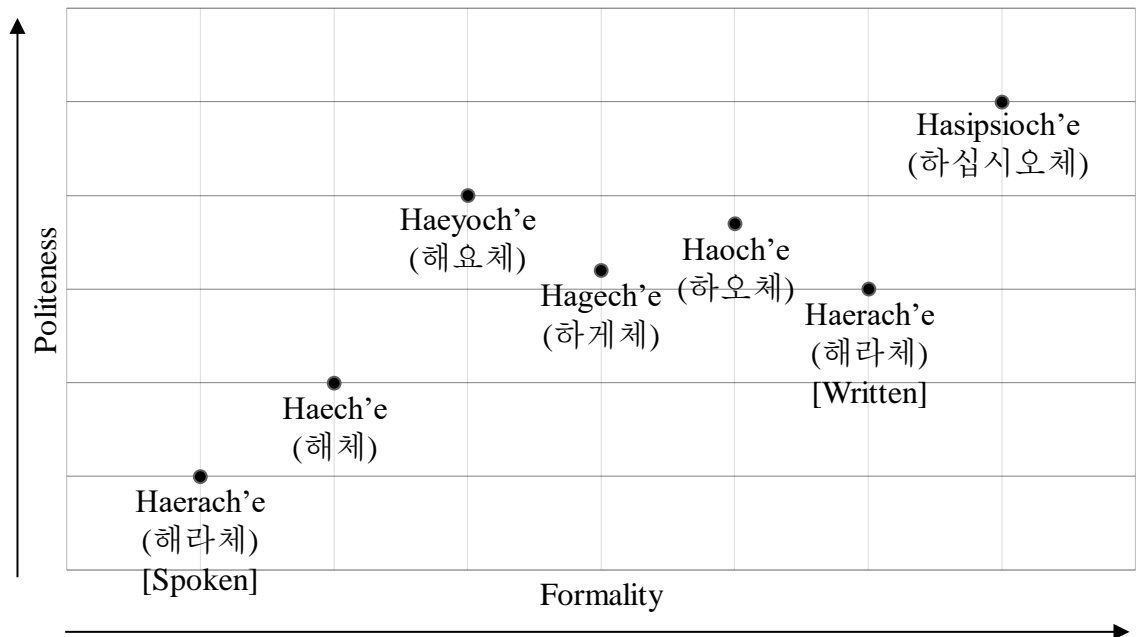
Figure 7. Hierarchical distribution of verbal paradigms in contemporary Korean

These verbal paradigms are not only used for "declarative sentences, but also for

interrogatives, imperatives, and the like, producing a great variety of different

endings" (I. Lee & Ramsey, 2000, p. 249):

Table 4. Sentence-final Endings According to Grammatical Modes

	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
Deferential (*Hasipsioch'e*)	-(sŭ)pnida -(스)ㅂ니다	-(sŭ)pnikka? -(스)ㅂ니까?	-(ŭ)sipsio -(으)십시오	-(ŭ)sipsida -(으)십시다
Polite (*Haeyoch'e*)	-ŏyo/-ayo -어요/-아요	-ŏyo/-ayo? -어요?/-아요?	-ŏyo/-ayo -어요/-아요	-ŏyo/-ayo -어요/-아요
Semi-formal (*Haoch'e*)	-o/-so -오/소	-o?/-so? -오?/소?	-(ŭ)o -(으)오	-(ŭ)psida -(으)ㅂ시다
Familiar (*Hagech'e*)	-ne -네	-na/-nŭn'ga? -나?/-는가?	-ke -게	-se -세
Intimate (*Haech'e*)	-ŏ/-a -어/-아	-ŏ/-a? -어?/-아?	-ŏ/-a -어/-아	-ŏ/-a -어/-아
Plain/Neutral (*Haerach'e*)	-(nŭ)nda -(느)ㄴ다	-ni/-(nŭ)nya? [Spoken] -니?/-(느)냐? -(ㄴ)ka/-nŭn'ga? [Written] -(ㄴ)가?/-는가?	-ŏra/-ara [Spoken] -어라/-아라 -(ŭ)ra [Written] -(으)라	-cha -자

While it is beyond the scope of this study to address all of these paradigms, it is

worth examining the four most commonly used ones. *Hasipsioch'e* is an extremely

formal and polite verb paradigm characterized by the formal polite suffix *-(sŭ)pnida*

in the indicative mood and honorific infix *-si*[18] in the imperative mood. *Haeyoch'e* is

a casually polite verb paradigm characterized by the ending *-yo*. It is common among

strangers of equal or older age. The honorific infix *-si* can be inserted to *haeyoch'e* to

imply deference. *Haech'e* is a non-honorific and informal verb paradigm that

exhibits no verbal inflection. It implies intimacy. It can be used when addressing

younger or socially inferior addressees. Finally, *haerach'e* appears differently in

written and spoken formats. In written Korean, it implies impersonality and removes

any social affiliation regarding the writer with a third-person perspective. In spoken

Korean, it is the lowest speech level that is "used with close friends, by parents to

---

[18] -시

their children, or by a relatively older speaker to a child of up to high school age" (I. Lee & Ramsey, 2000, p. 253).

Korean also has a vast set of hierarchical address terms, "which are sensitive to degrees of social stratification and solidarity between the speaker and the addressee and/or referents" (Sohn, 1999, p. 409). Among these honorification instruments, address-reference terms are the only domain through which English can mediate the absence or presence of honorifics in a Korean ST. Still, there is little correspondence between the honorific titles in English and Korean, as the latter is extensively gendered and hierarchical.

As Kiaer puts it, "Korean is a hearer-sensitive language and speaker-hearer dynamics are crucial to communication" (2018, p. 10). Korean speakers express their attitudes through a variety of pre-final particles and verbal inflectional paradigms. The primary function of these particles and verbal paradigms is to establish a perspective through which participants in a given discourse can position themselves according to age difference and socioeconomic background. In Korean, "interpersonal relationships are elaborately encoded in various linguistic forms to the extent that speech acts *cannot* [emphasis added] be performed without taking the notion of honorifics into account" (Sohn, 1999, p. 408). In other words, it is simply impossible to form a sentence in Korean without first considering interpersonal social relations. From the standpoint of Translation Studies, differences in interpersonal perspectives are a common problem of non-equivalence (Baker, 1992/2011), and the highly sophisticated honorifics of Korean only exacerbates this issue. To put it concisely, register plays a crucial role in Korean, and hence, in Korean audiovisual content.

Due to the grammatical structure of English, the inflectional units of Korean verbal paradigms simply become invisible in translation unless the translator expands the message and provides context. According to Kiaer and L. Kim (2022), *invisibles* are "systems and contexts that exist in the [SL] but not in the [TL]" (2022, p. 94). It should be noted that this invisibility is not only linguistic but also multimodal, as "[n]onverbal expressions often cannot be translated by subtitles but are nevertheless vital due to their socio-pragmatic interactions with verbal expressions (Kiaer & L. Kim, 2022, p. 92).

Given the spatiotemporal constraints of subtitling, it is exceptionally challenging for English subtitlers to fit the rich information stemming from Korean honorifics and verb paradigms into such a limited space. These invisibles are exacerbated with pivot subtitling when (a) pivot templates are not annotated, and (b) target subtitles are based on commercial subtitles rather than a pivot template created solely for mediation. In the case of (b), English appropriates the Korean content on a linguistic basis and becomes the sole source for indirect translation. Even when the TL may have the grammatical resources necessary to convey Korean honorifics and verbal paradigms directly, pivot subtitlers can only do so inferentially based on the audiovisual stream.

Unlike English, Turkish exhibits morphosyntactic features that may be analogous to Korean honorific particles and verb paradigms. Turkish, like Korean, is also an "agglutinative language where suffixes attached to the verb stem regulate the meaning" (Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu, 2001, p. 225). Polite expressions occupy a crucial place in Turkish (Zeyrek, 2001; Türközü, 2009). Although the speech levels of Turkish are not as finely distinguished as those of Korean, formality and respect are two key variables that determine conversational dynamics. In addition to verbal

inflectional suffixes, "[t]erms of address are further means with which the speakers indicate where they place the addressee on the matrix of power and solidarity" (Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu, 2001, p. 226).

Turkish has a sharp T–V distinction. Most notably, second-person pronouns *sen* (second-person singular "you") and *siz* (second-person plural "you") are two major indicators of speech levels in Turkish. The distinction between the pronouns *sen*/*siz* entails a dynamic and multidimensional balance. Verbal inflections in Turkish change according to the T–V distinction, and this double-edged system allows speakers to "manifest the value they attach to any relationship on the matrix of power and solidarity" (Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu, 2001, p. 234):

1. Mutual use of *siz* = equality

siz_1 ⟷ siz_2
formality

siz_1 ⟷ siz_2
distance

Mutual use of *sen* = equality

sen_1 ⟷ sen_2
casual speech

sen_1 ⟷ sen_2
intimacy

sen_1 ⟷ sen_2
solidarity

2. Use of *siz*/*sen* or *sen*/*siz* = inequality

siz_3

age   deference
               social layer
                social status

sen_4 sen_5
for younger receivers   for social inferiors
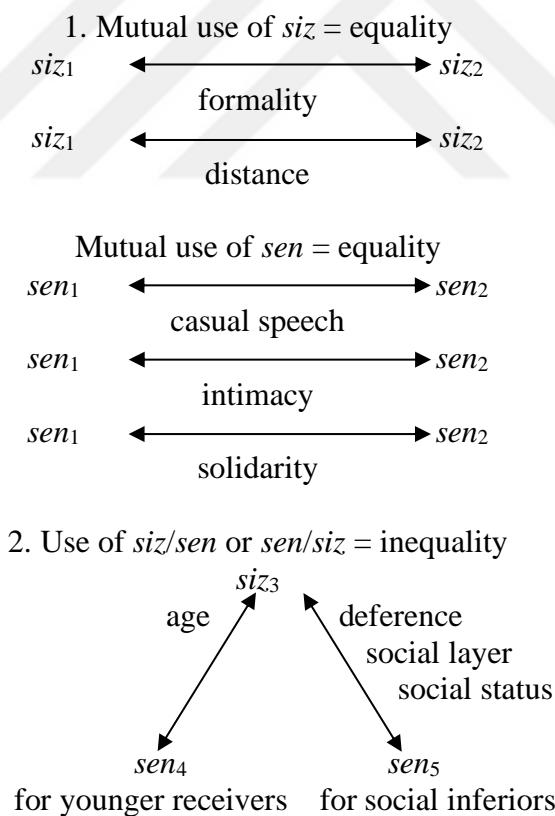
Figure 8. Social implications of sen/siz (T/V) (König, 1990, pp. 183–184)

The T–V distinction in Turkish is reflected in the imperative mood through three forms: the second-person singular, second-person plural, and double second-person plural. The second-person singular form, represented by the pronoun *sen*, is informal as well as non-polite, lacking inflectional suffixes. The second-person plural form, marked by the pronoun *siz*, is formal and polite, and is inflected with the suffixes *-ın*, *-in*, *-un*, *-ün*. The double second-person plural form, denoted by the pronoun *sizler*, is extremely formal and polite, and is inflected with the suffixes *-ınız*, *-iniz*, *-unuz*, and *-ünüz*. This triple imperative distinction bears some resemblance to the Korean verb paradigms *haech'e*, *haeyoch'e*, and *hasipsioch'e*, respectively.

Table 5. Triple Imperative Forms in Turkish and Their Potential Korean Equivalents

Imperative mood	Turkish	Korean
Informal, non-polite	Second-person singular form	*haech'e*
Semi-formal, polite	Second-person plural form	*haeyoch'e*
Formal, polite	Double second-person plural form	*hasipsioch'e*

It is important to note that the similarities between Turkish and Korean in terms of moods and verb paradigms do not extend to a complete overlap. Further investigation of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to consider the similarities between these languages to better understand the impact of English as a mediating language. English verbal inflection does not encode politeness distinctions, rendering the distinctions discussed above invisible. As Kiaer (2018) points out, "[t]he entire inventory of particles are perhaps closer to true 'untranslatability' in that they cannot be translated unit-for-unit into English but require to be taken into account on the broader level 'tone' while composing a final TL utterance" (p. 108).

Another remarkable similarity between the Korean and Turkish speech levels is *panmal*[19] and *teklifsiz konuşma*. Literally meaning "half speech," *panmal* refers to all non-honorific and informal verb paradigms (e.g., *haech'e*). In a similar vein, *teklifsiz konuşma*, "familiar speech," refers to the use of first names and the assumption of intimacy and informality, as indicated by the second-person singular pronoun *sen* and its corresponding verbal inflections.

Both Korean and Turkish have specific terminology that refers to the transition from polite to casual speech. In Korean, the expressions *mal nok'i*[20] and *nŏnadŭri*[21] correspond to the Turkish *senli benli konuşma*. *Mal nok'i*, or "dropping the speech," refers to the shift from formal to informal speech. Similarly, the term *nŏnadŭri*, comprising the non-humble second-person pronoun *nŏ*[22] and the first-person pronoun *na*[23], refers to the transition from polite to casual speech forms. In Turkish, the phrase *senli benli konuşma* denotes the shift from the use of plural pronouns to singular pronouns and associated verbal inflections, implying increased intimacy and informality between the parties. It is worth noting that the incorrect use of personal pronouns in both Korean and Turkish can be perceived as impolite and lead to misunderstandings.

Overall, this section has highlighted the similarities between Korean and Turkish to illustrate the translational impact of English as a mediating language, thus the cost of cost-cutting or economizing at the expense of accuracy. While Turkish honorifics exhibit some overlap with Korean honorifics, namely *nop'immal*[24], the

---

[19] 반말
[20] 말 놓기
[21] 너나들이
[22] 너
[23] 나
[24] 높임말

full potential of these instruments may be hindered by English pivot templates that fail to provide the target subtitler with annotations on context and register.

Although the reasons for the ubiquity of pivot subtitling have been established, the question of its impact on the quality of target subtitles begs further investigation. To analytically address this question, the subsequent section conducts a case study of the Turkish pivot subtitles of Bong Joon-ho's *Parazit* (2019c), released on Netflix with an anonymous translation.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY

This chapter conducts a qualitative analysis of the Turkish pivot subtitles of *Parazit*
(Bong, 2019c) on Netflix in comparison to the English subtitles and the Korean
original. The chapter begins by introducing the film and provides justification for the
selection of this film as a case study. The qualitative findings are organized into three
categories: (1) cultural references, (2) speech levels, and (3) terms of address. The
analysis establishes that the Turkish subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) on Netflix are
based on the commercial English subtitles rather than an exclusive pivot template.
The strategies employed by the English subtitler are identified using Díaz-Cintas and
Remael's (2021) shift-based taxonomy of subtitling strategies. The implication of
these strategies for the Turkish pivot subtitles are discussed based on this taxonomy.
The primary objective of the present chapter is to highlight the pitfalls of repurposing
commercial subtitles as pivot templates. In light of this, the chapter explores
opportunities for improvement and proposes solutions informed by theoretical
understanding.

4.1 *Parasite* and the recycling of commercial subtitles as pivot templates

4.1.1 Synopsis

Parasite (2019b) is an Academy Award-winning South Korean black comedy
directed by Bong Joon-ho. The film unfolds an anti-capitalist satire by juxtaposing
the lives of three families from vastly different economic backgrounds.

The destitute Kim family, Ki-Taek (father), Chung-sook (mother), Ki-woo
(son), and Ki-jung (daughter), live crammed together in a small semi-basement

apartment in neoliberal Seoul, struggling to make ends meet through precarious employment and are barely able to maintain a basic standard of living. The damp semi-basement apartments first emerged in South Korea in 1984 and have since become a symbol of poverty (D. Lee, 2019). The living space of the Kim family is of thematic significance in the film.

> It [semi-basement] is also tied to the state of the protagonist. Semi-basement means you're half above the ground, half beneath it. They still want to believe that they're over ground, but carry this fear that they could fall completely below. It's that limbo state that reflects their economic status. (Bong cited in Sims, 2020)

The wealthy Park family, Dong-ik (father), Yeon-kyo (mother), Da-hye (daughter), Da-song (son), on the other hand, is oblivious to the struggles of the poor. The family resides in a luxurious and spacious mansion, the stairs of which are used metaphorically to "demonstrate class distinction and the impossibility of transcending the boundaries between contrasting socio-economic worlds" (Y. Kim, 2022, p. 9).

Finally, the Oh family, the housekeeper (Moon-gwang) of the Park household and her husband (Geun-sae) hiding in the bunker of the house, represents the invisible working class. Overall, the three families depicted in *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) form a stratified society, with the wealthy and the impoverished living parallel lives that are simply unfathomable to each other.

The film opens with Ki-woo attempting to guess the Wi-Fi password of their upstairs neighbor. The Kim family relies on precarious employment to survive and has lost their Wi-Fi service likely due to their inability to pay their bills. Their most recent main source of income is folding pizza boxes for a local pizzeria. One day, Ki-woo's friend Min-hyuk, a university student, visits the family before leaving for abroad to study. Sensitive to his friend's financial plight, Min-hyuk suggests that

Ki-woo pretend to be a university student and fill in as an English tutor for the daughter of the Park family while he is abroad. Ki-woo agrees and successfully poses as a graduate of Yonsei University, eventually being hired by the Parks.

Hoping to climb the social ladder, the Kims concoct a cunning but illegal plan to infiltrate the Parks by posing as an English tutor (Ki-woo), art therapy teacher (Ki-jung), driver (Mr. Kim), and housekeeper (Mrs. Kim), respectively. As the plot unfolds, the Kims attempt to discredit the Parks' previous housekeeper, Moon-gwang, and have her fired. A deadly rivalry ensues between the two working-class families to exploit the Park household and overcome the class struggle. Tragically, Moon-gwang dies as a result of this rivalry.

The violence gradually escalates, culminating in Geun-sae leaving the bunker and stabbing Ki-jung in revenge during Da-song's birthday party. Upon seeing Geun-sae, Da-song suffers a seizure. While Mr. Kim recovers from the shock of seeing his daughter stabbed to death, Mr. Park orders him to drive Da-song to the hospital. Instead, Mr. Kim tries to pass the keys to Mr. Park, but accidentally throws them to where Geun-sae lies wounded. As Mr. Park approaches to retrieve the key, he is momentarily repulsed by Geun-sae's scent and holds his nose. As a result of this repulsion, Mr. Kim experiences an epiphany, becomes class-conscious, and stabs Mr. Park to death in a fit of rage. In a state of confusion, he flees to the bunker, replacing Geun-sae as the invisible member of the working class. The ultimate fate of Mr. Kim is left uncertain and open to interpretation by the audience.

4.1.2 The one-inch-tall barrier of subtitles

Parasite (Bong, 2019b) is the first non-English film to win the Oscar for Best Picture. From the standpoint of Translation Studies, this achievement was made possible through the use of English subtitles created by Darcy Paquet in consultation with the director (H. Lee, 2019, Murillo, 2020; Macdonald, 2022). In his acceptance speech, Bong addressed the international audience, stating, "Once you overcome the one-inch-tall barrier of subtitles, you will be introduced to so many more amazing films" (cited in Garcia, 2020). This statement reflects how global viewers often perceive subtitles and, by extension, translation – as a mere barrier rather than a facilitator of communication.

Mainstream audiences consume popular culture expecting to be entertained. Going to the movie theater or subscribing to a streaming service is tantamount to spending money for pleasure (Nornes, 1999, 2007; Kiaer & L. Kim, 2022). Within this highly homogenized Anglophone mediascape, translation is typically viewed as a cultural disadvantage – a *necessary evil* that must be tolerated to access foreign content. As Hollywood defines and gatekeeps global entertainment, mainstream audiences tend to shun subtitles, perceiving them as an exotic form of communication. As such, "[r]eading subtitles, not to mention paying money for such labor, is considered to be burdensome when popular culture is expected to be purely entertaining (Y. Kim, 2022, p. 11). This sentiment was famously echoed by then-President of the United States, Donald Trump, who stated at a rally in Colorado:

> By the way how bad were the Academy Awards this year, did you see? And the winner is a movie from South Korea. What the hell was that all about? We've got enough problems with South Korea with trade, on top of it they give them the best movie of the year. Was it good? I don't know. You know, I'm looking for like, let's get *Gone with the Wind*. Can we get like *Gone with the Wind* back, please? *Sunset Boulevard*, so many great movies. (cited in Cillizza, 2020)

As an experienced film subtitler, Paquet is aware of the overall disregard for subtitles.

He also received four pages of notes from Bong on the parts of *Parasite* (Bong,

2019b) that international audiences might miss (Murillo, 2020; Macdonald, 2022).

Paquet streamlined the subtitles in "a very compact way" (cited in H. Lee, 2019) and

substituted some culture-bound terms with their Western counterparts. After the

subtitles were completed, he met with "the director, the producer, … and several

people from the distribution company" (H. Lee, 2019) for two days in a row to

finalize the translation. From the get-go of the translation process, *Parasite*'s (Bong,

2019b) English subtitles were tailored to a seemingly international, albeit primarily

Anglo-American, audience.

 As previously discussed in Section 3.5, the English language is unable to

fully convey certain linguistic forms and functions found in Korean (Kiaer, 2019).

One fundamental challenge in translating Korean to English is conveying register,

specifically the sudden shifts between formal and informal speech or vice versa.

For instance, the characters in *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) dynamically switch between

panmal and *nop'immal*, forming intricately hierarchical relationships and impacting

the audience's understanding of the film (Paquet cited in Seo, 2019). These subtle

linguistic nuances, referred to as *invisibles* by Kiaer and L. Kim (2022), are further

eliminated when Paquet condenses and reformulates the original messages to meet

the expectations of Anglo-American viewers.

 Repurposing the commercial English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) as

pivot templates for second translations into other languages can perpetuate *invisibles*

and facilitate the infiltration of Anglo-American subtitling norms into recipient

cultures. This is evident in the Turkish subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) on Netflix

Türkiye. Through a qualitative analysis of these subtitles, the subsequent section

establishes that the Turkish translation is not based directly on the Korean audio stream, but rather on the commercial English subtitles. However, the indirectly translated Turkish subtitles are presented in the form of pseudo-direct translation, without reference to the use of intermediary languages. The repurposing of commercial subtitles as pivot templates is noncompliant with ideal industry standards since end-user ready subtitles are typically tailored to a specific target audience and are duly guided by normative considerations.

The Turkish pivot subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c), based on the English subtitles, serve as a compelling example of how the absence of an exclusive pivot template can lead to cultural and linguistic marginalization in the form of subtitles. Additionally, the layer of invisibility introduced through the use of English as a mediating language undermines the potential of Turkish in fully conveying Korean (non-)honorifics.

It is worth mentioning that the process of translating *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) into English has been well documented, with Paquet's interviews providing insight into his translation strategies and motivations. The notable visibility of Paquet as a translator allows for a more precise identification of his subtitling strategies.

To evaluate the impact of indirect translation, qualitative findings are divided into three main categories:

(i)   cultural references,

(ii)   speech levels,

(iii) terms of address.

4.2 Case study

4.2.1 Cultural references

Parasite (Bong, 2019b) combines universal themes with a culturally specific context. The film features numerous references to the Korean way of living, one of which is the instant noodle dish *jjapaguri*[25] combining *chapagetti*[26] and *neoguri*[27]. The following paragraph elaborates on the scene in which *jjapaguri* appears.

      While the Parks are away on a camping trip, the Kims indulge in the luxury of the residence. Suddenly, Moon-gwang rings the bell, dampening the family's spirits. Events spiral out of control when Moon-gwang reveals that her husband, Geun-sae, has been secretly living in the bunker. The two families engage in a violent struggle, each trying to discredit the other and curry favor with the Parks. During the altercation, Mrs. Kim, the new housekeeper, receives a call from Mrs. Park requesting that she prepare *jjapaguri* for Da-song. *Chapagetti* and *neoguri* are popular and inexpensive instant noodles commonly consumed by the general population in South Korea. However, Mrs. Park, a member of the wealthy class, desires to have the dish served with sirloin topping to differentiate her child from the lower classes, thus highlighting the class tension present in the film (Rochlin, 2019; Oh, 2022).

      As an alternative for *jjapaguri*, Paquet coined the neologism *ram-don* by combining the Japanese morphemes *ram* and *don* from *ramen*[28] and *udon*[29], which are arguably more recognizable to Western viewers than local *chapagetti* and *neoguri*. More specifically, Paquet's *lexical recreation* can be considered an example of "deliberately contrived foreignness" (Bassnett, 2013, p. 79):

---

[25] 짜파구리
[26] 짜파게티
[27] 너구리
[28] ラーメン
[29] うどん

Source Text

저기, 아줌마, 짜파구리 할 줄 아시죠? (Bong, 2019a, 1:15:44)

(Hey, ajumma, you know how to make jjapaguri, right?[30])

Mediating Text

Listen, do you know how to make ram-don? (Bong, 2019b, 1:15:44)

Target Text

Baksana, ram-don yapmayı biliyor musun? (Bong, 2019c, 1:12:43)

(Look, do you know how to make ram-don?)

Paquet provides an explanation for this lexical recreation, stating:

> I was embarrassed because I made up this word 'ramdon.' I thought people
> would laugh at me for it, but it works in the film. The word is first used
> during a phone conversation. Later, as one character prepares the food, we
> see the packages on the screen and I wrote 'ramyeon' and 'udon' over them
> to show how ramdon came about. I did actually Google ramdon before
> writing it and nothing came up. It appears to not be a word in any language at
> all. (Paquet cited in H. Lee, 2019)

For clarity, Figure 9 exhibits the scene mentioned by Paquet. In the upper left corner

are the instant noodle packages *chapagetti* and *neoguri*. The scene is accompanied by

narrative subtitles that read "RAMEN/UDON," clarifying the neologism:

Figure 9. The multimodal backdrop behind ram-don (Bong, 2019b, 1:16:55)

---

[30] All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated. Translations are as literal as possible to highlight morphosyntactic features.

This lexical recreation gained so much traction in the Anglosphere that Anglo-American audiences began to refer to the dish as *ram-don* rather than its original name, *jjapaguri.* Figure 10 illustrates that the popularity of both *ram-don* and *jjapaguri* peaked between February 16 and 22, 2019, approximately a week after the 92nd Academy Awards. The peak popularity of *jjapaguri* is remarkably higher than that of *ram-don.* Still, Figure 11 demonstrates that the Anglophone world tends to prefer *ram-don*, while Latin America, non-English speaking European countries, and Southeast Asia overwhelmingly prefer *jjapaguri*. This comparative breakdown suggests that *ram-don* has indeed carved a niche in the Anglosphere.
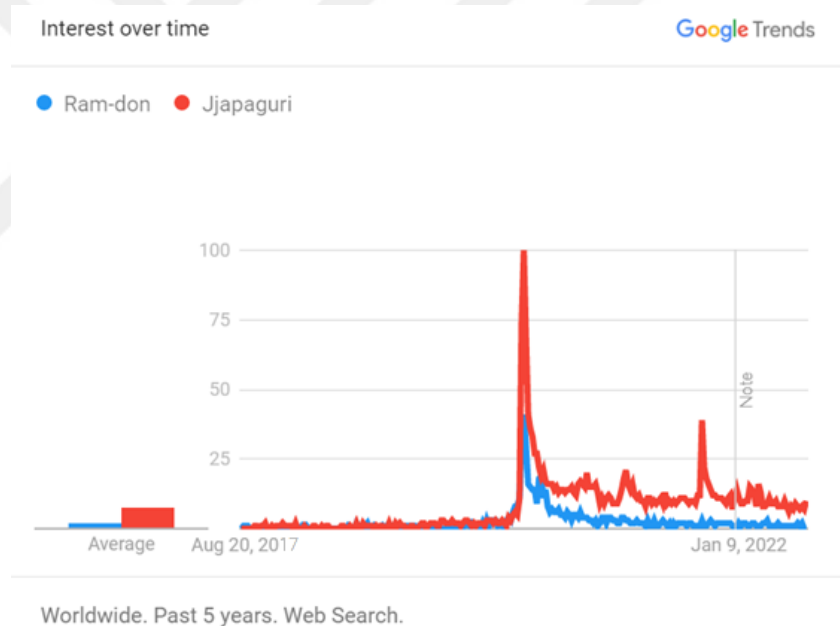
Figure 10. Interest over time in ram-don and jjapaguri;
Data source: Google Trends (https://www.google.com/trends)
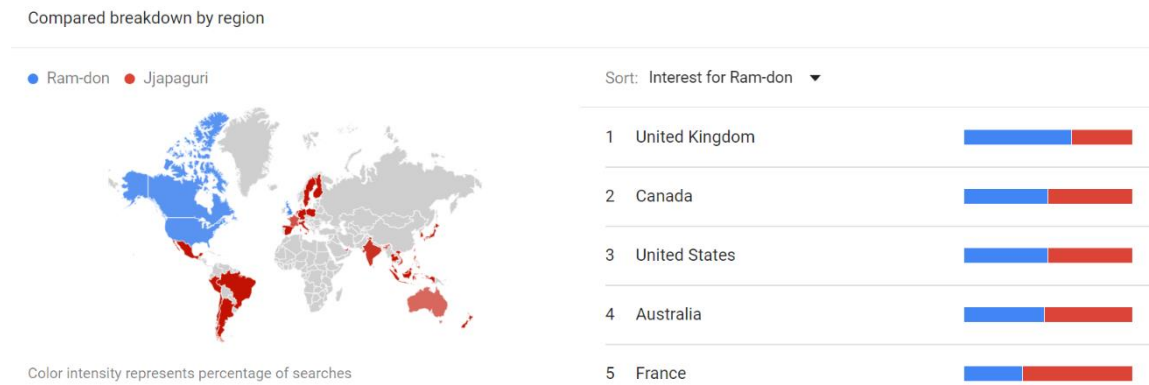
Figure 11. Compared breakdown of regional interest in ram-don and jjapaguri;
Data source: Google Trends (https://www.google.com/trends)

Unless an English-centric approved terminology was utilized in the subtitling process,

the neologism *ram-don* in the Turkish subtitles strongly suggests that the translation

is based on commercial English subtitles. Two other indicators of indirect translation

are the omission of the address term *ajumma*[31] and casually polite speech level

haeyoch'e. These features are discussed in Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, respectively.

Figure 11 reveals that *ram-don* is acknowledged only by Anglophone cultures.

Anglophone expectations thus influence and shape Turkish subtitling norms.

Although Turkish viewers may have a higher tolerance for culturally unfamiliar

elements, they nonetheless watch the film as filtered through English. The following

example illustrates another instance where the English subtitles obscure foreignness:

Source Text
아이씨, 뭐야, 그럼. 그, 문자고 카톡이고 다 안 되는 거야? (Bong, 2019a, 0:01:49)
(Shit, what, then? So, texts, KaTalk'n stuff don't work?)

Mediating Text
Shit… Then we can't get WhatsApp? (Bong, 2019b, 0:01:47)

Target Text
Siktir, WhatsApp yok mu yani artık? (Bong, 2019c, 0:01:48)
(Fuck, you mean there's no WhatsApp anymore?)

---

[31] 아줌마

61

Unable to afford internet service, the Kims resort to infiltrating nearby Wi-Fi networks by attempting to guess their passwords. However, if the passwords of these networks are changed, the Kims are unable to access the internet. Mrs. Kim, the mother, apparently has limited technological literacy and primarily uses the internet for the purpose of texting with KakaoTalk[32], a widely used messaging app in South Korea often referred to as "the national messenger[33]." The app is commonly abbreviated as *KaTalk*[34] and Mrs. Kim's primary concern upon experiencing a disruption in Wi-Fi connection is the potential loss of access to *KaTalk*.

In this particular scene, Paquet *substituted* KakaoTalk, a Korean messaging app, with the internationally popular American messaging app, WhatsApp. While the specific brand of the messaging app is not integral to the plot, this substitution is representative of the tendency in the English subtitles to disguise cultural elements. KakaoTalk is a marker of Korean identity in *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) that is strategically obscured in the English subtitles to streamline the narrative and foreground the universal themes of the film without cultural and local redundancies.

The Turkish subtitles closely adhere to the English subtitles, with KakaoTalk *transposed* into WhatsApp. This adherence to Anglo-American subtitling norms, which prioritize fluency over accuracy, results in the imposition of false familiarity and the illusion that the film is set in an Anglophone context. Pivot subtitling can lead to marginalization of both the source and target cultures by the dominant and hegemonic Anglo-American cultural context, which appropriates the source material and imposes its own values on the target audience through indirect translation. Without the use of pivot templates created exclusively for mediation, this norm-

---

[32] 카카오톡
[33] 국민 메신저
[34] 카톡

driven marginalization can contribute to a global homogenization of cultures in the

form of subtitles. The proclivity of English subtitles to impose a sense of familiarity

is evident in the next example, underscoring their influence on the second translation

into Turkish.

> Source Text
> 서울대학교 문서위조학과 뭐, 이런 거 없나? (Bong, 2019a, 0:11:23)
> (Wow, isn't there something like a department of document forgery in Seoul
> National University?)
>
> Mediating Text
> Wow, does Oxford have a major in document forgery? (Bong, 2019b,
> 0:11:22)
>
> Target Text
> Seul Üniversitesi evrakta sahtecilik dersi mi veriyor? (Bong, 2019c, 0:11:00)
> (The University of Seoul teaches forgery?)

Upon his friend's visit, Ki-woo devises a plan to deceive the Parks by presenting a

fabricated university degree. Ki-jung, skilled in Photoshop, creates a falsified

diploma from Yonsei University to provide her brother with the necessary credentials.

The patriarch of the Kims, Mr. Kim, is proud of his daughter's ability in forgery and

jokingly wonders if Seoul National University, a highly prestigious institution known

for its selective admissions process, has a department dedicated to forgery, knowing

that Ki-jung can easily gain admission. The joke is only effective if the audience is

aware of the reputation and exclusivity of Seoul National University.

Paquet substituted *Seoul National University* with *Oxford*, omitting *university*

for *condensation*. The *substitution* of *Seoul National University*, which is not a

recurrent element in the story, does not disrupt narrative coherence. Paquet justifies

his decision, stating:

The first time I did the translation, I did write out SNU [Seoul National University] but we ultimately decided to change it because it's a very funny line, and in order for humor to work, people need to understand it immediately. With an unfamiliar word, the humor is lost. (Paquet cited in H. Lee, 2019).

It is important to note that the substitution of *Seoul National University* with *Oxford* was a collaborative decision made by other agents involved in the translation process, including the director and producer, as evident by Paquet's use of first-person plural pronoun "we" (i.e., "we decided") and his mention of meetings with the director and producer to finalize the translation (H. Lee, 2019). Notwithstanding this joint initiative, the substitution was not implemented in the Turkish version, in which *Oxford* is transposed into *Seul Üniversitesi* (The University of Seoul), a distinct and relatively less esteemed institution compared to Seoul National University.

The Turkish subtitler's departure from the pivot template begs the question of what underlying factors led to this decision. As discussed in Section 2.2, pivot templates often serve as the sole source for target subtitles, and clients may discourage or prohibit subtitlers from deviating from pivot templates, which serve to centralize the process. Given the anonymity of the Turkish subtitler of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c), it is impossible to gather first-hand accounts to determine their rationale for diverging from the template. While the absence of subtitler credits is unethical and problematic in itself, it is possible to hypothesize on the potential reasons for the Turkish translator's deviation from the pivot template, which may shed further light on the drawbacks and pitfalls of repurposing commercial subtitles as pivot templates.

The discrepancy between the presumed English pivot template and the Turkish pivot subtitles highlights two key characteristics of pivot subtitling. First, pivot subtitling is a multifaceted process subject to a bidirectional flow of input emanating not only from the textual pivot template but also from the audiovisual

source. In this particular instance, the Turkish subtitler may have faced a dilemma due to the multimodal inconsistency of the presumed pivot template. That is, while the English subtitles feature *Oxford*, Mr. Kim clearly pronounces the word *Seoul*. It is possible that the Turkish subtitler deviated from the pivot template in order to avoid deceiving the target audience and compromising the credibility of their translation. As Díaz-Cintas & Remael (2021) put it, "when the ST contains clearly audible names, transposition may be problematic," as "[t]he viewer will hear the character say one name and read another, which can be confusing" (p. 213). As a result, the Turkish subtitler may have transposed *Oxford* back to the clearly audible *Seoul* – except that it is actually not *Seoul*, but *Seoul National*.

This emphasizes the second characteristic of pivot subtitling, namely the lack of auxiliary materials (e.g., annotations, dialogue lists, formality tables) to aid the translation process. The commercial English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) appear to have been repurposed as a pivot template for the Turkish translation without due annotations. As a result, the Turkish subtitler misidentified Seoul National University as a completely different institution, the University of Seoul, which serves to underscore the risks of deviating from English pivot templates without adequate proficiency in the SL. The erroneous transposition from *Seoul National University* to *Seul Üniversitesi* is counterintuitive and paradoxical, as it neither captures the humorous tone like *Oxford* in the English subtitles nor provides an accurate translation for the Turkish audience.

In regard to deviating from pivot templates, pivot subtitling is tantamount to treading on thin ice: while pivot subtitlers may have the option to disregard templates, they may encounter difficulties in deciphering foreign cultural codes without the contextual guidance of annotations, as demonstrated in the previous example.

Detailed annotations can facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the intentions of a particular scene and prevent counterintuitive consequences. Without annotations, pivot subtitlers are restricted to a passive role in interpreting the original production, as they are tied to only a single channel of information, the textual pivot template, while attempting to translate multimodal content that communicates across multiple channels. Without contextualized annotations, pivot templates serve only a limited function, as the textual template, by default, cannot account for all of the meaning-making units offered by the audiovisual content.

The English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) facilitate a smooth narrative flow through idiomatic expressions. For instance, the expression *nŭnggurŏngi*[35], which literally corresponds to *red-banded snake* and figuratively refers to insidious individuals, is *reformulated* in the English subtitles as *fox* as in *cunning as a fox* or *sly as a fox* to preserve the idiomatic nature of the translation:

> Source Text
> 생긴 건 둥글둥글한데 그년이 속은 아주 능구렁이야. (Bong, 2019a, 0:39:11)
> (She seems friendly, but inside, she is as sly as a red-banded snake.)
>
> Mediating Text
> She may look like a sheep, but inside, she's a fox. (Bong, 2019b, 0:39:11)
>
> Target Text
> Dışarıdan kuzu gibi durabilir ama aslında tam bir tilki. (Bong, 2019c, 0:37:39)
> (She may seem like a sheep outside, but she is actually a fox.)

Ki-woo, Ki-jung, and Mr. Kim have successfully deceived the Parks and devise a cunning plan to have the Parks dismiss Moon-gwang and hire Mrs. Kim as their new housekeeper. Disguised as an art therapist, Ki-jung had the opportunity to observe the Park household. In this scene, Ki-jung describes Moon-gwang as a

---

[35] 능구렁이

sneaky person, foreshadowing the revelation that Moon-gwang's husband hides in the bunker.

While Moon-gwang is described as a *red-banded snake* in the original version, Paquet characterized her as a *fox*, presumably to maintain idiomatic integrity. The Turkish subtitler followed suit, reformulating (1) *tunggŭldunggŭl*[36] (amicable) with *kuzu* (sheep) and (2) *red-banded snake* with *tilki* (fox). While this is further evidence of indirect translation, the primary point of this discussion is the Anglicization of a Korean expression that indirectly undermines the foreshadowing function of the scene in the Turkish version. In this scene, *tilki* does not effectively convey the insidiousness attributed to Moon-gwang, as the word figuratively refers to cunning individuals who do not necessarily pursue deceitful objectives through underhand means. In other words, *tilki* figuratively describes an individual with a clever wit who does not necessarily hide anything. However, Moon-gwang is indeed hiding something, and this is subtly foreshadowed by Ki-jung. The Turkish figurative expression *yılan* (snake) would be a more suitable translation in this context, as it also insinuates sly individuals with underhand motives.

The English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) appeal – naturally – to the Anglosphere. Previous examples have established that the translation strategies identified in the English subtitles are tailored to an Anglo-American audience. While the justifiability of these strategies is not the focus of this thesis, the recycling of commercially available subtitles as pivot templates lead to cultural and linguistic homogenization, possibly on a multilingual scale, as a result of fine-tuned translation strategies. While certain strategies, such as reformulation and transposition, may facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) for

---

[36] 둥글둥글

Anglophone viewers, in the case of pivot subtitling, these strategies unintentionally propagate Anglo-American values in the form of subtitles, marginalizing both the source and target cultural contexts.

Unless pivot templates are created exclusively for mediation purposes and include contextualized annotations of plot-pertinent information, pivot subtitling is not a sustainable practice. This thesis calls on clients, LSPs, project managers, and templators to better recognize the significance of annotations and standardize pivot templates. The subsequent section moves beyond the lexical analysis to a pragmatic examination of the English and Turkish translations of speech levels in *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b).

4.2.2 Speech levels

Language serves an interpersonal metafunction; it does not exist in a social vacuum. It communicates social endeavor and reflects how individuals configure their interpersonal networks (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). As mentioned in Section 3.5, the verbal paradigms of Korean offer a sophisticated linguistic framework that allows speakers to convey their age or socioeconomic status through the use of speech levels, enabling viewers to infer the hierarchical relationships between characters through their speech patterns. Due to the non-agglutinative nature of English, communicative nuances ingrained in the inflectional units of Korean verbal paradigms are rendered invisible in translation (Kiaer, 2019), making it challenging for Anglophone viewers to fully grasp the dynamic relationships between characters – unless there is *compensation*.

One way to compensate for the loss of hierarchical distinctions conveyed through Korean verbal paradigms in English is to use additional terms of address,

such as *sir* and *ma'am*, which can indicate a power dynamic between speakers. The following example demonstrates one such case of compensation:

> Source Text
> 닫을까요? (Bong, 2019a, 0:03:38)
> (Should I close it?)
>
> Mediating Text
> Should I shut it, Dad? (Bong, 2019b, 0:03:38)
>
> Target Text
> Kapatayım mı, baba? (Bong, 2019c, 0:03:33)
> (Should I close it, dad?)

The Kim family is attempting to implement a pizza box folding technique they saw on YouTube. An exterminator passing by on the street releases a fumigation gas that infiltrates the semi-basement through the windows. Mr. Kim sees this as an opportunity to eliminate the insects infesting the house. After a short period of time, the gas becomes too overwhelming and Ki-woo asks his father if he can close the window.

Despite the family's financial predicament, Ki-woo is a filially pious child whose paternal reverence is subtly implied with polite linguistic forms, as evidenced by the casually polite paradigm *haeyoch'e*. This reverence is preserved in the English subtitles, where Paquet added the address term *Dad* to compensate for the use of addressee-raising interrogative particle *-(ŭ)lkkayo*[37] uttered by Ki-woo. This is corroborated by the presence of an additional term of address, *baba* (father) in the Turkish translation, indicating that it is most probably based on commercial English subtitles rather than the Korean audio track.

Given the constraints of limited space and time, compensation is often unachievable in subtitling, as evidenced by the *Oxford* example, where Paquet even

---

[37] -(으)ㄹ까요

omitted the word *university* to save space and reduce the reading load for the viewer. The interplay of spatiotemporal constraints and the *invisibles* inherent in translations from Korean into English (Kiaer, 2019; Kiaer & L. Kim, 2022) can further complicate the subtitling process, resulting in a fragile working ecosystem that is intolerant to errors. The use of poorly produced pivot templates may further exacerbate these issues by homogenizing interpersonal pragmatics and reducing characters to sameness on the matrix of power and solidarity.

The English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) are not exempt from such constraints and invisibles. Nevertheless, these subtitles have been repurposed as a pivot template for the Turkish translation. The apparent absence of annotations and auxiliary materials has resulted in the subversion of hierarchical interactions between certain characters in the target subtitles, even though Turkish has linguistic devices to convey these power relations accurately.

Since the verbal inflectional units of Korean are untranslatable into English, it is unfeasible to discuss the strategies that Paquet used to convey speech levels. A more productive approach would be to (1) showcase hierarchical interactions between characters, (2) analyze the impact of the pivot template on characterization, and (3) examine how pivoting through English may undermine the ability of Turkish to accurately convey Korean honorifics.

One way to demonstrate the homogenization of Korean speech levels in the English subtitles and its effect on the indirect Turkish translation is by revisiting the *ram-don* example:

Source Text
저기, 아줌마, 짜파구리 할 줄 아시죠? (Bong, 2019a, 1:15:44)
(Hey, ajumma, you know how to make jjapaguri, right?)

Mediating Text
Listen, do you know how to make ram-don? (Bong, 2019b, 1:15:44)

Target Text
Baksana, ram-don yapmayı biliyor musun? (Bong, 2019c, 1:12:43)
(Look, do you know how to make ram-don?)

Mrs. Park enjoys a higher position in the social hierarchy compared to the newly-hired housekeeper, Mrs. Kim. Still, she employs the casually polite verbal paradigm *haeyoch'e*, as indicated by the sentence-ender *-yo*[38] appended to *alda*[39] (to know). Furthermore, Mrs. Park elevates Mrs. Kim's social status by prefixing *-yo* with the honorific infix *-si*. The relationship between the two characters is characterized by a hierarchical dichotomy in terms of socioeconomic status, yet their language usage reflects mutual respect for each other. This dynamic renders the use of honorifics unpredictable from the perspective of a pivot subtitler, who is tasked with translating the Korean social system within the linguistic framework of the English language.

It appears that the Turkish subtitler has falsely fabricated a hierarchy, in which Mrs. Park is portrayed as more commanding and condescending than in the original Korean dialogue. While Mrs. Park sounds relatively reserved and polite in the ST, she is portrayed as assertive and dismissive in the Turkish subtitles. This discrepancy can be referred to as *false hierarchization*. Unlike English and similar to Korean, the absence of honorifics in Turkish imply solidarity or a vertical power dynamic in communication. Turkish speakers must choose between second-person singular or plural forms in order to position themselves appropriately in the matrix of power and solidarity (König, 1990; Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu, 2001). The lack of

---

[38] -요
[39] 알다

politeness markers in the Turkish subtitles alters the characterization of Mrs. Park and portrays her in a dismissive manner. This tone shift leads to an inaccurate representation of the social dynamics between Mrs. Park and Mrs. Kim, and could be rectified with contextualized annotations that highlight the level of politeness observed between the two characters.

The phenomenon of false hierarchization is not confined to the relationship between Mrs. Kim and Mrs. Park. Unlike English, Korean is extremely class-conscious. In neo-Confucian Korea, teachers occupy a distinguished and respected social status that often overrides differences in age and wealth among speakers. This dynamic can also be observed in the relationship between Mrs. Park and the newfound English tutor, Ki-woo, who is disguised as Kevin:

> Source Text
> 어차피 민혁 쌤 소개로 오신 거니까. (Bong, 2019a, 0:14:29)
> (After all, mister, you came here with the recommendation of Min ssaem.)
>
> Mediating Text
> Min recommended you, after all. (Bong, 2019b, 0:14:29)
>
> Target Text
> Sonuçta Min'in tavsiyesiyle buradasın. (Bong, 2019c, 0:13:58)
> (After all, you're here with Min's recommendation.)

Upon the recommendation of Min-hyuk, Ki-woo visits the Park household for an interview and is welcomed warmly yet warily by Mrs. Park. From a linguistic standpoint, the relationship between Mrs. Park and Ki-woo can be characterized as horizontal and relatively equal, as Mrs. Park employs the casually polite verbal paradigm *haeyoch'e* in her address towards Ki-woo despite her higher socioeconomic status. This politeness is indicated by the use of the honorific infix *-si*

appended to *oda*[40] (to come). However, from a nonverbal perspective, Mrs. Park's behavior towards Ki-woo is less polite and more patronizing. Prior to Ki-woo's hiring as a tutor, Mrs. Park looks down upon him and adopts an upright posture with her head raised, holding her dog, and nodding in an approving yet condescending manner (Kiaer & L. Kim, 2022):

Figure 12. Before Mrs. Park hires Ki-woo (Bong, 2019c, 0:14:18)

Once Ki-woo is employed as a tutor, there is a notable change in Mrs. Park's attitude, behavior, and posture towards him. When presenting Ki-woo with his pay envelope, she uses the traditional Korean form of respect by holding the envelope with both hands and bowing her head slightly while handing it to him, indicating a sense of reverence. In the Turkish subtitles, however, Mrs. Park's polite body language contradicts the impolite second-person *sen* in her address to Ki-woo.

---

[40] 오다

Figure 13. After Mrs. Park hires Ki-woo (Bong, 2019c, 0:16:45)

As demonstrated, the relationship between Mrs. Park and Ki-woo is complex and

characterized by a subtle interplay of verbal and nonverbal expressions. However,

the verbal aspects of their dynamic exchange are homogenized in the English

subtitles due to linguistic differences and Anglo-American subtitling norms that

favor brevity. Without compensation, the English language is unable to fully convey

the nuances of politeness embedded in the Korean inflectional units, in this case, the

honorific infix *-si*. This results in an incomplete understanding of the dynamic

hierarchy that characterizes the relationship between Mrs. Park and Ki-woo for

Anglophone viewers.

Because the commercial English subtitles are recycled as a pivot template for

the Turkish translation, Turkish viewers also perceive this relationship as

homogenized by the English language. Given the absence of honorific markers in the

English subtitles, the Turkish subtitler has falsely facilitated a vertical relationship

between Mrs. Park (superior) and Ki-woo (inferior), creating a contrived hierarchy

that does not exist in the verbal meaning-making units of the original.

The absolute hierarchy fabricated in the Turkish subtitles can be attributed to a misinterpretation of the Korean social system in which teachers actually hold a unique status. Pivot subtitling is not simply a process of linguistic transfer of the source content through an intermediary language. It is a multifaceted endeavor that necessitates a comprehensive understanding of the sociocultural context of the original material. In situations where pivot templates are not accompanied by annotations and additional resources, pivot subtitlers are faced with the challenge of comprehending the social system of a culture whose language they may not be proficient in. The interpretation of a foreign social system may be, however inaccurately, based on a range of factors such as auditory and visual cues, intuition, plot summaries, and the subtitler's general knowledge and limited understanding of the source culture.

Following the presentation of the envelope by Mrs. Park, the housekeeper, Moon-gwang, enters the scene and presents a plate of fruit. She interjects in the conversation and expresses her willingness to assist Ki-woo with any assistance he may require:

> Source Text
> 수업 중에 출출하시거나 그러면 언제든 말씀하세요. (Bong, 2019a, 0:17:45)
> (Please let me know at any time if you feel hungry during class.)
>
> Mediating Text
> If you feel like snacking during your lesson, just call me. (Bong, 2019b, 0:17:45)
>
> Target Text
> Ders sırasında canınız bir şey atıştırmak isterse haber verin lütfen. (Bong, 2019c, 0:17:06)
> (Please let me know if you feel like having a snack during class.)

Similar to the previous example, the Korean sentence is characterized by *haeyoch'e*, the casually polite verbal paradigm, with the verb *malssŭmhasida*[41] (to speak [polite]) signaling utmost formality. The English subtitles do not include honorific markers. Despite this, in the Turkish subtitles, Moon-gwang uses the second-person plural polite form, which suggests that the Turkish subtitler modulates honorifics based on their understanding of the Korean social system, i.e., the housekeeper is subordinate to the teacher, who in turn is subordinate to the lady of the Park household. As a result, the Turkish subtitles serendipitously attain parity with the Korean original in a socio-pragmatic sense, with both versions containing honorific markers. This serendipity supports the argument that the utilization of honorifics in pivot subtitling is a matter of intuition when pivot templates lack annotations and other supplementary resources.

The conversation between Ki-woo and Moon-gwang is abruptly halted when Da-song launches a toy arrow. In response, Mrs. Park reprimands her son and extends an apology to Ki-woo, inquiring if Da-song startled him:

Source Text
어유, 죄송해요, 놀라셨죠? (Bong, 2019a, 0:17:57)
(Oh, I'm sorry. Are you startled, sir?)

Mediating Text
I'm sorry. Did he startle you? (Bong, 2019b, 0:14:29)

Target Text
Kusura bakma, korktun mu? (Bong, 2019c, 0:13:58)
(I'm sorry, are you scared?)

The interaction between Mrs. Park and Ki-woo feature the same verbal paradigms as in the previous dialogue between Moon-gwang and Ki-woo. Mrs. Park employs the casually polite speech level *haeyoch'e* in her address towards Ki-woo, appending the

---

[41] 말씀하시다

honorific infix -*si* to *nollada*[42] (to be startled). Similar to the preceding example, the English subtitles do not include politeness markers. Unlike the previous example, however, the Turkish subtitler preferred the second-person singular form, which indicates a lack of politeness. This results in a false portrayal of a vertical relationship between Mrs. Park (superior) and Ki-woo (inferior) in the Turkish subtitles, which is in contrast to the discreet, horizontal, and polite relationship depicted in the original Korean version.

The relationship between Mrs. Park and Ki-jung exemplifies another intriguing instance of false hierarchization. Disguised as the art therapist Jessica, Ki-jung appears as a self-possessed individual who maintains a distance from Mrs. Park. In an attempt to establish a casual relationship with Ki-jung, Mrs. Park drops speech levels from the casually polite *haeyoch'e* to the casual and intimate *haech'e* used between close friends. However, these efforts are disregarded by Ki-jung, highlighting the horizontal nature of their relationship with no vertical engagement between the two characters. The examples below serve to demonstrate the subtleties of relationships between the characters, and how they can evolve in response to the context.

Upon completion of Ki-jung's initial lesson, Mr. Park instructs his driver to escort her home. During the ride, Ki-jung manipulates the situation by leaving her undergarments in the backseat for Mr. Park to discover, which ultimately leads to the driver's unfair dismissal. After Ki-jung's subsequent lesson, Mrs. Park enquires about the night the driver had escorted her home in order to ensure the absence of any unusual occurrences. In an ironic turn of events, Ki-jung inquires about the reason for the driver's dismissal, to which Mrs. Park responds politely yet guardedly:

---

[42] 놀라다

Source Text
아, 아유, 아유, 그냥 쌤은 요까지만 아세요. (Bong, 2019a, 0:35:45)
(Ah, ssaem, just know this much please.)

Mediating Text
Oh, you don't need to know. (Bong, 2019b, 0:35:45)

Target Text
Dert etmene hiç gerek yok. (Bong, 2019c, 0:34:21)
(You don't need to worry about it.)

Mrs. Park's reserved attitude is also reflected in her nonverbal behavior. Specifically, she demonstrates a degree of reluctance through her facial expression, holding Ki-jung back with a frown:

Figure 14. Mrs. Park's reserved attitude towards Ki-jung (Bong, 2019c, 0:34:18)

Parasite (Bong, 2019b) offers a multimodal unity of meaning with the cohesion between verbal and nonverbal components of communication. The reserved body language of Mrs. Park is reinforced linguistically through the use of addressee-raising honorific titles, such as *ssaem*[43], which is a polite-colloquial address term for teachers. Her polite attitude is supported by the use of honorific inflectional affixes -

---

[43] 쌤

78

si and *-yo*, both appended to *alda* (to know). The relationship between the two characters can be characterized as horizontal, where neither holds a superior position over the other. Both characters use the casually polite verbal paradigm *haeyoch'e* in their interactions, as is evident from the sentence-ender *-yo*.

This horizontal orientation is altered in the English and Turkish subtitles. The English version condenses the message by omitting the address term *ssaem*. By default, the English language cannot convey the politeness underlying the honorific inflectional affixes *-si* and *-yo*. Anglophone viewers can infer politeness only through terms of address. The omission of *ssaem* thus eliminates the possibility of expressing Mrs. Park's polite mannerisms in English. Since the English subtitles serve as the source for the Turkish translation, similar tendencies can be observed in the Turkish subtitles, with the omission of the address term *ssaem*, the honorific infix *-si*, and the sentence-ender *-yo*. This illustrates the difficulties associated with accurately conveying the subtle nuances of politeness and relationships across different languages. It also demonstrates how omissions within the pivot file may have cascading impacts on the resulting target subtitles, highlighting the need for comprehensive resources in pivot subtitling in order to effectively convey the nuances of the source material.

The relationship between Mrs. Park and Ki-jung is characterized by a dynamic interplay of different speech levels. In a futile attempt to foster familiarity and a sense of solidarity with Ki-jung, Mrs. Park occasionally switches between the casually polite form of speech, *haeyoch'e*, and the more intimate *haech'e*. This shift from polite to casual verbal paradigms, known as *mal nok'i* or *nŏnadŭri*, is analogous to being on a first-name basis in English or *senli benli konuşma* in Turkish, and is considered a natural progression in social interactions. It serves as a marker of

solidarity and mutual candor between speakers, and it is clear that Mrs. Park is

actively working to achieve this transition in her relationship with Ki-jung:

> Source Text
> 아유, 우리 제시카 아직 어려서 뭘 몰라, 순수해. (Bong, 2019a, 0:35:53)
> (Ah, our Jessica is still too young, so she doesn't know. You are naive.)
>
> Mediating Text
> Jessica, you're too young and innocent! (Bong, 2019b, 0:35:53)
>
> Target Text
> Jessica, daha çok genç ve safsın sen! (Bong, 2019c, 0:34:29)
> (Jessica, you're too young and naive!)

In an ironic turn of events, Ki-jung expresses surprise and questions the dismissal of

Mr. Park's driver, describing him as gentle. In response, Mrs. Park abruptly shifts

from the casually polite *haeyoch'e* to the more intimate *haech'e* and omits the use of

honorific inflectional particles observed in the previous example (i.e., *-si* and *-yo*).

Essentially, Mrs. Park attempts to downgrade the level of formality in her

relationship with Ki-jung, moving towards a casual and intimate dynamic. However,

these attempts are not met with reciprocation from Ki-jung, upsetting the power

balance between the two characters. Ki-jung thus asserts her authority and begins to

exert dominance in her relationship with Mrs. Park. The power struggle between the

two is evidenced by Mrs. Park's intimate body language and Ki-jung's

expressionless demeanor:

Figure 15. The visual backdrop of Mrs. Park's *mal nok'i* (Bong, 2019c, 0:34:27)

Mrs. Park's transition from the casually polite *haeyoch'e* to the intimate *haech'e*
forms a multimodal unity and depicts a dynamic (i.e., both horizontal and vertical)
exchange between the two characters. Ki-jung's rejection of *mal nok'i* ultimately
results in a power struggle between her and Mrs. Park, with the latter confusedly
switching between polite and casual speech levels through the remainder of the film.

The English subtitles portray a unidirectional conversation that ineffectively
flattens the dynamic bottom-up orientations between Mrs. Park and Ki-jung. There
are two main reasons for the homogenization of speech levels. The first reason is
rooted in Anglo-American subtitling norms, which tend to prioritize condensation
and omission over meaning to reduce the reading load on viewers. These tendencies
discourage the use of compensatory expressions such as *sir* and *miss* to convey the
nuanced nature of relationships between the characters. This discouragement is, in
turn, the catalyst for the second reason: the significant linguistic difference between
English and Korean. These differences, particularly with regard to honorifics,
present a crucial challenge for translators working within the extremely limited
spatiotemporal constraints of subtitles. This linguistic challenge is further

exacerbated by Anglo-American subtitling norms, significantly limiting the

expressiveness of English translations.

Given that the commercial English subtitles are recycled as a pivot template

for the Turkish translation, the issues present in the former can be found in the latter.

Unlike the English version, however, the Turkish subtitles cannot depict a one-way

communication dynamic. The sharp T–V distinction in Turkish, which differentiates

between formal and informal forms of address, makes it difficult to maintain a

neutral position in social interactions, as Turkish speakers must choose between

being polite (using the second-person plural form) or casual/impolite (using the

second-person singular form). The Turkish subtitles depict Mrs. Park consistently

addressing Ki-jung in the informal second-person singular form, while Ki-jung

responds using the formal, second-person plural form. This creates a contrived

hierarchy, in which Mrs. Park is portrayed as unequivocally superior to Ki-jung,

despite the fact that their relationship is complex and dynamic, with Ki-jung often

holding the upper hand.

> Source Text
> 괜찮으시겠어요? (Bong, 2019a, 0:28:39)
> (Would that be all right?)
>
> Mediating Text
> Are you okay with that? (Bong, 2019b, 0:28:39)
>
> Target Text
> Bunu kabul edebilecek misiniz? (Bong, 2019c, 0:26:55)
> (Would you be able to accept that?)

As proof of concept, the scene described above illustrates a situation in which Ki-

jung asks Mrs. Park whether her charge is reasonable for their budget. In the Korean

original, Ki-jung employs *haeyoch'e*, the casually polite speech level, in her address

towards Mrs. Park, with the addressee-raising honorific infix *-si* appended to the verb

stem as a sign of politeness. In the Turkish subtitles, Ki-jung's politeness is consistent with the original, as she addresses Mrs. Park using the formal, second-person plural form. However, unlike in the Korean original, Ki-jung is portrayed as inferior to Mrs. Park in the Turkish subtitles, as Mrs. Park addresses Ki-jung using the informal second-person singular form. Similar to the examples discussed earlier, this falsely results in a contrived hierarchy that undermines the actual power balance between the two characters.

The analysis of the translation of Korean speech levels into Turkish via English suggests that the recycling of commercial subtitles as pivot templates might result in linguistic homogenization, whereby English appropriates the grammar of the SL and constructs an alternative linguistic realm that assimilates the interpersonal pragmatics found in the source content. English grammar defines how Turkish pivot subtitlers and Turkish viewers perceive social exchanges in Korean. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) put it,

> grammar is not only a figure, representing some process – some doing or happening, saying or sensing, being or having – together with its various participants and circumstances; it is also a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about. (p. 30)

Recycling of commercial English subtitles as pivot templates for translations into other languages tends to result in the Anglophone lens exerting a dominant influence on the verbal meaning-making units of the audiovisual source material. This can occur through the appropriation of verbal elements such as dialogues, diminishing the impact of nonverbal nuances, as evidenced by Figures 13, 14, 15, and 16, all of which showcase the dynamic interplay between verbal and nonverbal expressions.

The examples presented in this section strongly suggest that the anonymous Turkish subtitler of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) did not have access to auxiliary resources

on interpersonal pragmatics and plot-pertinent details. It can be inferred that pivot subtitlers who do not have access to such materials are likely to rely on audiovisual cues, intuition, and their own general knowledge to modulate the use of honorifics in their translation. In the specific case of the Turkish subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c), this lack of access to additional resources resulted in the creation of fabricated hierarchies as well as subverted portrayal of characterization and power dynamics.

4.2.3 Terms of address

In Korean, the use of personal pronouns and the second-person pronoun is restricted to specific contexts. In formal or semi-formal situations, speakers avoid them altogether and instead employ socio-pragmatically appropriate terms of address to compensate for these pronouns. These terms of address are typically in the form of professional titles or a series of kinship terms. Given the seemingly infinite permutations of social encounters, Korean speakers face the challenge of identifying appropriate terms of address within a complex and comprehensive repertoire. Despite this challenge, the inappropriate use of address terms can hamper communication and potentially undermine relationships (Kiaer, 2019).

From a socio-pragmatic standpoint, the use of terms of address in Korean serves to convey the positioning of the addressee within the matrix of power and solidarity. In the context of Korean audiovisual content, the use of address terms allows for the portrayal of dynamic relationships among characters, enabling viewers to discern the hierarchies and power dynamics present within the narrative. *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) employs a wide range of address terms, which communicate subtle yet significant connections between characters, providing insight into the interpersonal relationships depicted in the story.

A case in point would be *ŏnni*[44], a kinship term used by females to address a biological elder sister. However, it should be noted that *ŏnni* is also employed by younger females to address elder females without biological affinity. When used in this context, *ŏnni* implies a hierarchical intimacy and solidarity between the two female speakers. The use of *ŏnni* by a younger speaker denotes an acknowledgement of an age-based hierarchy and subservience to the addressee. From a contextual perspective, the use of *ŏnni* conveys not only age and gender, but also the existence of a hierarchy and solidarity between the two female speakers. *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) effectively combines this nuanced term of address *ŏnni* in the characterization and interactions of its characters, thereby illustrating the power dynamics present within the relationships.

> Source Text
> 하, 저기, 같은 일 하는 사람끼리. 그렇죠, 충숙이 언니? (Bong, 2019a, 1:07:25)
> (Ah, well, between those who do the same job… Right, Chung-sook ŏnni?)
>
> Mediating Text
> But as two fellow workers… Right, Chung-sook? (Bong, 2019b, 1:07:25)
>
> Target Text
> Ama şunun şurasında ikimiz de işçiyiz. Değil mi, Chung-sook? (Bong, 2019c, 1:04:44)
> (After all, we're both workers.)

When the Parks depart for a camping excursion, the Kims make themselves at home and partake in the luxuries of the residence. They are caught unaware when Moon-gwang, the former housekeeper, rings the doorbell. Moon-gwang has come to provide for her husband, Geun-sae, who has been secretly residing in the Parks' underground bunker. Mrs. Kim, the current housekeeper, pretends to be alone in the house and discovers the bunker together with Moon-gwang. While Mrs. Kim is taken

---

[44] 언니

aback by Geun-sae, Moon-gwang seeks to establish mutual trust through the use of address terms. She addresses Mrs. Kim as *ŏnni* to elicit sympathy and instill a sense of camaraderie, highlighting the shared status as working-class women. By using the term *ŏnni*, Moon-gwang engages in a hierarchical interaction, while simultaneously admitting her own inferiority to Mrs. Kim:

> Source Text
> 아으, 불우 이웃끼리 이러지 말자, 언니야. (Bong, 2019a, 1:09:24)
> (Ah, let's not do this to your needy neighbor, ŏnni.)
>
> Mediating Text
> As fellow members of the needy, please don't. (Bong, 2019b, 1:09:24)
>
> Target Text
> Bizim gibi garibanlar birbirini anlar. (Bong, 2019c, 1:06:39)
> (Poor people like us understand each other.)

It is noteworthy that Moon-gwang's submissive demeanor is reinforced by a multifaceted visual representation. She kneels before Mrs. Kim and implores her for assistance, while being filmed from a high angle shot, which serves to convey her vulnerability. Conversely, Mrs. Kim is filmed from a low angle, which conveys her dominance and superiority in comparison to Moon-gwang. Together with the term *ŏnni*, the interplay of high and low angle shots effectively communicate that Mrs. Kim holds a superior position in this highly hierarchical interaction. Overall, the term *ŏnni* forms a multimodal ensemble with the camera angles and nonverbal behaviors of the characters, enhancing the audience's understanding of the power dynamics of the scene.

Figure 16. High-angle shot signaling vulnerability (Bong, 2019c, 1:06:34)

Figure 17. Low-angle shot signaling superiority (Bong, 2019c, 1:06:37)

The term of address *ŏnni* was omitted in both the English and Turkish subtitles.
This omission portrays a horizontal relationship between Mrs. Kim and Moon-gwang,
whereas in the original, Moon-gwang adopts a subordinate stance to evoke sympathy
and establish solidarity. Because the commercial English subtitles are repurposed as
a pivot template for the indirect Turkish translation, the subtitling strategies catering
to Anglophone audiences are also imposed on Turkish viewers, who are partly
deprived of the multimodal unity offered by *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c).

In both the English and Turkish subtitles, *omission* is the primary strategy in dealing with terms of address. It is important to note that the use of *ŏnni* is not entirely eliminated, but rather substituted with *sis* in English and *kardeşim* (sibling) in Turkish. A quantitative analysis of the scenes illustrated in Figures 17 and 18 reveals that *ŏnni* occurs a total of 14 times, with the frequency being halved in translation, where *sis* appears seven times and *kardeşim* occurs eight times. The following instance illustrates one such case of substitution:

Source Text
나 여기 온 거 아무도 몰라요. 나 잘했죠, 언니? (Bong, 2019a, 1:07:56)
(Nobody knows I came here. I did good, right ŏnni?)

Mediating Text
Nobody knows I came. Isn't that good, sis? (Bong, 2019b, 1:07:56)

Target Text
Buraya geldiğimi kimse bilmeyecek. İyi yapmamış mıyım, kardeşim? (Bong, 2019c, 1:05:13)
(No one will ever know I was here. Didn't I do good, sibling?)

On the one hand, the use of *sis* – as in sisterhood – conveys the comradery and solidarity intended by *ŏnni*. On the other hand, it fails to accurately portray the hierarchy between Mrs. Kim (superior) and Moon-gwang (inferior). However, it is important to evaluate the use of *sis* based on how address terms function in English. It may be argued that the closest equivalent of *ŏnni* in English, *elder sister*, would sound unidiomatic if used as a form of address. The use of *sis* can thus be considered a reasonable translation strategy.

The central problem addressed in this case study is that the Turkish subtitles are sourced from the English subtitles created for commercial purposes and designed for an Anglophone audience. The Anglo-American cultural and linguistic context marginalizes the Turkish subtitles by appropriating the source material and imposing

its own linguistic patterns on the Turkish audience. While the use of *kardeşim* effectively depicts solidarity, it does not effectively convey the hierarchical relationship between Mrs. Kim and Moon-gwang as conveyed by *ŏnni* in the original Korean text. The functional equivalent of *ŏnni* in Turkish would be *abla* (elder sister), which equally conveys the hierarchy between the two characters, with the exception that *abla* can also be used by male speakers.

During the sequences exhibited in Figures 17 and 18, the remaining members of the Kim family are hiding behind the stairs, as they eavesdrop on the altercation between Mrs. Kim and Moon-gwang. Suddenly, an unfortunate slip by Mr. Kim results in him, along with Ki-woo and Ki-jung, tumbling down the stairs. In the heat of the moment, Ki-woo impulsively addresses Mr. Kim as *dad*, whereupon Moon-gwang experiences an epiphany regarding the fraudulent scheme perpetrated by the Kim household. This fundamentally alters the power dynamic between Mrs. Kim and Moon-gwang with the latter gaining the upper hand in the situation. In an effort to salvage the situation and reconcile with Moon-gwang, Mrs. Kim refers to her as *tongsaeng*[45] (younger sibling):

> Source Text
> 저기, 동생… (Bong, 2019a, 1:11:03)
> (Hey, tongsaeng…)
>
> Mediating Text
> So, sis… (Bong, 2019b, 1:11:03)
>
> Target Text
> Bak, kardeşim… (Bong, 2019c, 1:08:13)
> (Look, sibling…)

However, Moon-gwang is unwilling to compromise:

---

[45] 동생

Source Text
동생은 얼어 죽을 아가리 닥쳐, 이 개쌍년아. (Bong, 2019a, 1:11:04)
(To hell with your tongsaeng. Shut your hole, you fucking bitch.)

Mediating Text
Don't call me that, you filthy bitch! (Bong, 2019b, 1:11:04)

Target Text
Sakın bana kardeşim deme, pis kaltak seni! (Bong, 2019c, 1:08:14)
(Don't you call me sibling, you filthy bitch!)

Neither the English nor the Turkish subtitles distinguish between *ŏnni* and *tongsaeng*. Both *sis* and *kardeşim* are based on the previous English and Turkish translations of *ŏnni*, respectively. In this example, *tongsaeng* is omitted from the English subtitles and replaced with the indefinite article *that*. It is important to note that the difference between *ŏnni* and *tongsaeng* lies in the way they affect the relative social standing of the speaker and the person spoken to. While *ŏnni* is used by a younger female speaker to address an elder female speaker, *tongsaeng* is used by an elder speaker to address a younger speaker. In this scene, the term *tongsaeng* has a face-saving function, signifying Mrs. Kim's attempt to establish solidarity with Moon-gwang all while maintaining her superior position. Moon-gwang's sudden switch from *haeyoch'e*, the casually polite speech level, to the impolite *haech'e*, as well as the transition from the addressee-elevating *ŏnni* to the pejorative *kaessangnyŏn*[46] (bitch) lead to a power struggle between the two characters.

Just as the English equivalent of *ŏnni*, namely *elder sister*, would be considered unnatural as an appropriate term of address, *sibling* would sound equally peculiar. The use of *sis* facilitates fluency throughout the film for Anglophone viewers. However, the Turkish translation is not based on the source material or an exclusive mediating text, but on the commercial English subtitles, which are tailored

---

[46] 개쌍년

for an Anglophone audience. The distinction between *ŏnni* and *tongsaeng* is comparable to the difference between *abla* and *kardeşim*, respectively. Nevertheless, pivoting through commercial subtitles and the seeming absence of annotations and auxiliary resources undermine the linguistic potential of Turkish in effectively conveying the subtleties of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c).

The term *ŏnni* also appears in the interactions between Mrs. Park and the domestic workers, Mrs. Kim and Moon-gwang. It is not typical for householders to address housekeepers as *ŏnni* (Jeong, 2022). This idiosyncratic usage of the term *ŏnni* reflects how Mrs. Park approaches housekeepers with familial terms to elicit compliance from them.

> Source Text
> 저기, 언니, 언니. (Bong, 2019a, 1:42:52)
> (Hey, ŏnni, ŏnni.)
>
> Mediating Text
> Sis, in the basement… (Bong, 2019b, 1:42:52)
>
> Target Text
> Bak, bodrumda… (Bong, 2019c, 1:38:44)
> (Look, in the basement…)

The Parks are planning a birthday party for their child, Da-song. During this scene, Mrs. Park requests that Mrs. Kim retrieve tables from the basement. In order to attract her attention, Mrs. Park uses the term *ŏnni*. As with previous instances, this term is translated as *sis* in the English subtitles. This substitution effectively conveys the solidarity between Mrs. Park and Mrs. Kim. Just as *ŏnni* is an unusual term of address for domestic workers in Korean, *sis* is similarly peculiar in English. It may be that the peculiarity of *sis* discouraged the Turkish subtitler from using the previous translation, *kardeşim*, which would have been unnatural in this context.

Instead, *ŏnni* is replaced by the fill-in word *bak* (look), further disconnecting the Turkish subtitles from Mrs. Park's affective interactions with the domestic workers.

The segmentation and spotting used in the English and Turkish subtitles diverge from the Korean closed captions. Hence, both contain an additional information in this subtitle, namely *basement*. As discussed in Section 2.2.1, an analysis of subtitle segmentation and spotting can assist in identifying pivot subtitles. Coupled with previously discussed lexical features, the similarities in segmentation further solidify the argument that the English subtitles originally created for commercial purposes were subsequently adapted as a pivot template for the Turkish translation.

Among the other terms of address used for the domestic workers is *ajumma*[47], which refers to middle-aged women. Throughout the film, the terms *ajumma* and its honorific variant *ajumŏni*[48] appear a total of 29 times. In the English subtitles, both *ajumma* and *ajumŏni* are translated as *ma'am* or *lady*, with each term appearing twice, indicating that 86.2% of instances of *ajumma* and *ajumŏni* are omitted. In the Turkish subtitles, *ajumma* and *ajumŏni* are translated as *hanımefendi* (lady, ma'am). Although *hanımefendi* occurs 12 times, only three of these instances correspond to *ajumma* or *ajumŏni*. The remaining nine instances are translations of *samonim*[49] (address term used for upper-class married women). The *ram-don* example can be revisited, this time, to evaluate the omission of *ajumma*.

---

[47] 아줌마
[48] 아주머니
[49] 사모님

Source Text
저기, 아줌마, 짜파구리 할 줄 아시죠? (Bong, 2019a, 1:15:44)
(Hey, ajumma, you know how to make jjapaguri, right?)

Mediating Text
Listen, do you know how to make ram-don? (Bong, 2019b, 1:15:44)

Target Text
Baksana, ram-don yapmayı biliyor musun? (Bong, 2019c, 1:12:43)
(Look, do you know how to make ram-don?)

As previously mentioned, personal pronouns in Korean are restricted to specific contexts, and addressing elder people by their proper names is considered socially inappropriate. In line with this cultural norm, Mrs. Park addresses Mrs. Kim as *ajumma* to signify the age difference between them. Despite the significant socioeconomic disparity between the two women, Mrs. Park uses honorific expressions to elevate Mrs. Kim's status. The use of the honorific infix *-si* and the casually polite speech level *haeyoch'e*, *ajumma* conveys a relaxed yet respectful relationship between Mrs. Park and Mrs. Kim. Nevertheless, this nuance was compensated for nearly entirely in both the English and Turkish subtitles. Along with the omission of honorific particles and speech levels, the omission of *ajumma* eliminates the subtleties of Mrs. Park's decorum towards the domestic workers.

Other frequent terms of address include the polite-colloquial *ssaem*[50] (teacher) and its honorific variant *sŏnsaengnim*[51] (teacher, master, mister, Mr.). The term *ssaem* appears 31 times throughout the film, while *sŏnsaengnim* occurs 19 times. Five of the instances of *sŏnsaengnim* are not used to address teachers, but to refer to the fictional architect Namgoong Hyunja in the sense of *master* and *mister*.

In the Anglosphere, it is not customary for teachers to be addressed by their professional title. Rather, they are referred to by their last name preceded by *Mr.* or

---

[50] 쌤
[51] 선생님

Mrs., depending on their gender. Alternatively, students may address teachers as *Sir* or *Miss* without mentioning the teacher's name. In contrast, the use of professional titles as a form of address is the norm in formal settings in South Korea. This cultural difference may be perceived as too direct and impolite in the Anglosphere. As a result, *ssaem* and *sŏnsaengnim* are either omitted or substituted with *Mr.* or *Miss*. However, it is worth noting that in the majority of instances, these professional titles are omitted:

> Source Text
> 여기 다혜 영어, 케빈 쌤이라 부르기로. (Bong, 2019a, 0:17:39)
> (This is Da-hye's English tutor, we'll call him Kevin ssaem.)
>
> Mediating Text
> He's Da-hye's tutor. We'll call him Kevin. (Bong, 2019b, 0:17:39)
>
> Target Text
> Da-hye'nin öğretmeni, ona Kevin diyeceğiz. (Bong, 2019c, 0:17:01)
> (Da-hye's teacher, we'll call him Kevin.)

Mrs. Park introduces Kevin (Ki-woo) to the housekeeper Moon-gwang, referring to him by his professional title. However, in both the English and Turkish subtitles, *ssaem* is omitted. In Turkish, this omission eliminates the element of respect conveyed by *ssaem* and fabricates a hierarchy between Mrs. Park (superior) and Kevin (inferior). Additionally, the omission of *yŏngŏ*[52] (English) in both translations illustrates how the norms of condensation and omission commonly employed in Anglo-American subtitling have influenced the Turkish subtitles.

Just as in Korean, teachers are traditionally addressed by their professional title in Turkish. Within this context, the functional equivalents of *ssaem* and *sŏnsaengnim* would be *hoca* and *öğretmen*, respectively. However, despite this

---

[52] 영어

cultural norm, these terms of address are either omitted from the Turkish subtitles or substituted with the English equivalents of *Mr.* and *Miss*, namely *Bay* and *Bayan*:

> Source Text
> 아이고, 네, 네, 케빈 쌤. (Bong, 2019a, 0:17:42)
> (Ah, yes, yes, Kevin ssaem.)
>
> Mediating Text
> Mr. Kevin! (Bong, 2019b, 0:17:43)
>
> Target Text
> Bay Kevin! (Bong, 2019c, 0:17:04)
> (Mr. Kevin!)

In the original Korean text, both Mrs. Park and Moon-gwang address Kevin as *ssaem*. Still, in the English and Turkish subtitles, it is only Moon-gwang that employs this title in her address towards Kevin. In the translations, Mrs. Park addresses Kevin without any terms of address, and instead, uses only his proper name. This discrepancy is likely due to the false perception that Moon-gwang is inferior to both Kevin and Mrs. Park in the English subtitles, while in the original, all speakers engage in a casually polite exchange. Similar to the previous example, both translations exhibit the same omission patterns, such as the omission of the expletive *aigo*[53] (ah) and the exclamation *ne*[54] (yes).

There is one exception in the Turkish subtitles, in which Da-hye, the daughter of the Parks, utters the following sentence:

---

[53] 아이고
[54] 네

Source Text
오늘 오신 제시카 선생님. (Bong, 2019a, 0:17:42)
(That Jessica sŏnsaengnim who came today.)

Mediating Text
That teacher, Jessica. (Bong, 2019b, 0:17:43)

Target Text
Şu Jessica Hoca. (Bong, 2019c, 0:17:04)
(That Jessica hoca.)

Unlike the terms *Bay* and *Bayan*, which originated from an Anglo-American perspective, the use of *hoca* can be considered more appropriate when addressing teachers in Turkish. However, it is important to note that this particular instance is only an anomaly when considering the overall volume of condensations and omissions.

The recycling of commercial subtitles as pivot templates, while potentially cost-effective, results in the introduction of an additional linguistic layer between the audiovisual source material and the target subtitles. Although *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) communicates across multiple channels, this additional layer of pivot text becomes the sole source for the Turkish translation. Turkish viewers thus watch the film from an Anglo-American perspective, partially robbed of its multimodal uniformity. Ideally, commercial subtitles should not be repurposed as pivot templates. Otherwise, pivot subtitling would lead to an Anglo-normative cultural homogenization, whereby Anglo-American values and subtitling norms would marginalize both the source and target cultures.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Pivot subtitling has become part and parcel of today's mediascape with the influx of local content onto streaming services, whether due to cultural waves or regulations. Alongside its ubiquity, the practice has proven resistant to academic scrutiny, as the extent of pivot subtitles is essentially unknown among scholars and viewers due to the obfuscation of indirect translation in the form of pseudo-direct subtitles. Likewise, pivot templates are simply inaccessible, and NDAs prevent subtitlers from disclosing the translation process. In light of these practical limitations, the study of pivot subtitles is unattainable without empirical foundations. This thesis is therefore grounded in an empirical worldview and has drawn on the author's professional experience as a subtitler to posit theories informed by practical knowledge, which is vital to fully understand the process of indirect subtitling with pivot templates, establish instrumental goals, and contribute towards change in the field.

Chapter 2 has contextualized pivot subtitling as an integral part of today's multifaceted mediascape, which is characterized by the dream of instant translation and fueled by diversified content. From a project management perspective, it is practically impossible to abandon the practice considering its vital role in the global circulation of domestic productions in tight turnaround times. Unless automated solutions override the need for pivoting through English (Deryagin, 2021), pivot subtitling is here to stay. Recognizing the complex network of industry stakeholders that rely on pivot subtitling, this thesis does not reject the practice, but aims to offer enhancements that can inform content providers, project managers, subtitlers, templators, and translation scholars.

The first challenge of pivot subtitling research is identifying pivot subtitles, which are typically disguised as pseudo-direct translation. This lack of transparency is a significant reason why pivot subtitling remains under-examined by scholars and largely unknown to viewers. The decision to obscure the indirect nature of subtitles is based on client protocols, which determine the presentation of translator credits. This obfuscation is unethical in part because subscribers to streaming services are denied the information that their access to foreign content is facilitated by indirect translation. From a consumer's perspective, indirect translation may be seen as a mere workaround that hampers communication rather than as a means of promoting domestic productions. Hence, VoD services may prefer not to differentiate between direct and indirect subtitles. The question remains whether it is ethically justifiable to withhold information about the use of mediating languages from paid subscribers, thereby denying them transparency about their access to foreign content.

A potential solution to this conundrum would be to communicate the use of mediating languages in the translator credit subtitle (e.g., *Türkçeye dolaylı olarak İngilizceden çevrilmiştir.*[55]). This disclosure would in turn legitimize pivot subtitles by transparently acknowledging their use and eliminating the instrumentalist censure that obscures the use of indirect translation. Subscribers would be informed about the means by which they access foreign content and subtitlers would maintain credibility in case of errors resulting from indirect translation, as viewers would be knowledgeable about the translation method. The vendor could also be credited to emphasize that the use of indirect translation is a company policy rather than a personal preference of the subtitler. Some streaming services like HBO Max already stipulate vendor credit in their protocol.

---

[55] Translated into Turkish indirectly from English.

The inclusion of information about the indirect translation in the translator credit can also benefit research on pivot subtitling, which partly relies on biographical research and draws conclusions based on the language pairs specified by the subtitlers. As previously discussed, pivot subtitling is not simply a practical necessity, but rather a policy that is employed to streamline translations between non-English language pairs. Even if subtitlers may specify the SL in their language pairs, they may be disincentivized or outright forbidden from deviating from the pivot template, as this would complicate quality assurance, which relies primarily on the mediating language as a benchmark for evaluating the target subtitles. Thus, direct subtitling would require direct quality control. To ensure the integrity of the subtitling pipeline, the pool of quality control professionals proficient in the SL would need to be expanded in proportion to the number of subtitlers.

Irrespective of proficiency in Korean, Turkish subtitlers are incentivized or outright required to translate based on the English pivot template rather than the SL. This is due to the fact that Turkish subtitlers of Korean content on Netflix are typically onboarded onto vendors by taking both an English aptitude test and a translation test from English into Turkish. From the client's perspective, it may be considered unreliable to entrust the localization of content relying solely on the subtitler's claimed proficiency of Korean. This obscurity makes online biographical research highly unreliable because the exact extent of pivot subtitles cannot be verified based on the language pairs specified by subtitlers. Detailing the translation method (i.e., direct or indirect) in the translator credit can help disentangle this complexity.

Textual comparison is another promising yet problematic method for identifying pivot subtitles. Since pivot templates are publicly unavailable, it is

impossible to perform a comparative analysis between the source material, the mediation template, and the target subtitles. This inaccessibility diminishes the accountability of research by limiting comparative evaluation, which also makes it difficult to investigate the translational impact of pivot templates and identify opportunities for improvement. On the other hand, pivot templates are considered confidential and proprietary material, and subtitlers are often legally prohibited from elaborating on the translation process. Combined with the practical inaccessibility of pivot templates, this legal framework further complicates the identification and investigation of pivot subtitles.

It is common for vendors to recycle commercial subtitles as pivot templates presumably for cost- and time-efficiency. In such cases, there is no such variable as an exclusive pivot file, and the target subtitles are based on master commercial subtitles, which serve as the sole source for second translations into other languages. From a scholarly standpoint, this workaround allows for a comparative evaluation of indirect subtitles. However, from a practical perspective, recycling commercial subtitles as pivot templates is noncompliant with ideal industry practices. This is because commercial subtitles are tailored to a target audience and adhere to subtitling norms. When repurposed as pivot templates, these norm-driven commercial subtitles inevitably become a cultural ambassador of the mediating culture, furtively imposing its values on the unsuspecting target viewer. This practice can be considered unethical in terms of manipulating the audience's understanding of the source content within a framework dictated by the mediating culture and language.

A comparison of source captions, commercially available English subtitles, and target subtitles can unveil instances of departures from desirable and optimal practices. Based on Díaz-Cintas and Remael's (2021) shift-based taxonomy of

subtitling strategies, Chapter 2 has presented a methodological framework for determining if commercial subtitles are repurposed as a pivot template for target subtitles. If the target subtitles are significantly different from the source audio track, but align well with the commercially available subtitles, it could suggest a deviation from expected professional standards. The presence of domesticated cultural features and neologisms in target subtitles that parallel commercial subtitles suggest the absence of an exclusive pivot file. Given the pitfalls of biographical research, comparing strategies between commercial and target subtitles has been found to be a more robust method for identifying pivot subtitles that are not based on exclusive intermediary templates.

The present study has attempted to determine the prevalence of pivot subtitles based on the language pairs specified by 182 Turkish subtitlers of 278 Korean dramas and 41 Korean films on Netflix. In order to supplement and support these findings, a complementary survey study (Dallı & Sung, forthcoming) was also conducted. The anonymous survey primarily aimed to verify if Turkish subtitlers translated Korean content directly from the source audio or through English pivot templates. The survey also included closed- and open-ended questions to evaluate the quality of pivot templates and solicit feedback from subtitlers to identify areas for improvement. A total of 78 subtitlers responded to the survey. Of the four subtitlers who indicated Korean in their language pairs, two responded to the survey stating that they translate from pivot templates rather than the SL, suggesting that Korean content on Netflix is consistently translated into Turkish by pivoting through English regardless of subtitlers' proficiency in Korean. Combined with the author's practical exposure to pivot subtitling, this complementary survey study further consolidated the fact that language proficiency per se does not indicate direct translation.

An important insight from Chapter 3 is that pivot subtitling is not just a necessity, but a policy pursued by clients and their vendors. The system builds on and depends on pivot templates, with LSPs maximizing their pool of subtitlers translating from English without the technical knowledge of spotting. It is unfeasible to attribute the use of indirect translation simply to a talent crunch when vendors primarily hire subtitlers translating from English. A comparative evaluation of the relationship between indirect literary translations and pivot subtitles from Korean into Turkish has demonstrated that indirect translation is a matter of medium, and pivot subtitling is a norm enforced by streaming services and their trusted vendors to centralize multi-language projects with a single pivot language template for cost- and time-efficiency. While this centralization facilitates global accessibility to local and peripheral audiovisual content, it also marginalizes virtually all languages and cements the hegemony of English. In this monotonous system, where the overwhelming majority of Turkish translations are funneled through English, investing time and efforts in language learning is essentially futile for Turkish subtitlers, as it holds little to no promise of financial gain or professional advancement. This thesis calls on Netflix to acknowledge a greater variety of language pairs in the Global Rate Card to establish a more equitable financial framework for direct translation, while fostering inclusivity in subtitler pools, with resources prioritized towards underrepresented language combinations.

Chapter 3 has also offered a comparative linguistic framework that highlights the problems and pitfalls of using English as a mediating language in translations between two hearer-sensitive languages, namely Korean and Turkish. By default, English cannot convey the (non-)honorifics encoded in the inflectional particles of Korean. Even when target subtitlers are provided with exclusive pivot templates that

offer a literal translation, English is unable to fully reflect Korean messages simply due to grammatical limitations. This linguistic framework has underscored the need to enhance pivot templates with annotations to mitigate meaning loss. Interpersonal aspects of grammar are crucial for communication in Korean (Sohn, 1999). Hence, annotations of Korean content should aim to elucidate register. Target languages with T–V distinction such as Turkish require speakers to adopt a social stance and position themselves accordingly in the matrix of power and solidarity (Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu, 2001). Honorifics are thus essential to social encounters and their absence may subvert relationships between characters. Without annotations, meaning loss is simply inevitable for Turkish translations of Korean content that pivot through English.

Given that Anglo-American subtitling norms favor condensation, domestication, and omission (Venuti, 2019), relayed subtitles usually offer only a relative interpretation of the original. *Parasite*'s (Bong, 2019b) English subtitles achieve this relativization through the westernization of cultural elements (e.g., substitution of KakaoTalk with WhatsApp), and the representation of Korean social system (e.g., substitution of *ssaem* with *Mr.* or *Miss*). These strategies can be considered successful in their own right, earning *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) four Academy Awards. The commercial success of the English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b), however, does not necessarily make them an appropriate medium for conveying the original into subsequent languages. Still, a comparative analysis of the source captions, English subtitles, and Turkish subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) on Netflix suggests that publicly released English subtitles were repurposed as a pivot template for indirect translation into Turkish.

Through a qualitative investigation of the Turkish pivot subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c), Chapter 4 has established that repurposing commercial subtitles as pivot templates leads to cultural marginalization as well as linguistic homogenization, with the dominant mediating language appropriating the source material and imposing its own values on the target subtitles. The commercial English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) facilitate fluent access to the film for Anglophone viewers, tailored to their expectations. However, when repurposed as a pivot template, they construct an alternative cultural domain that marginalizes Korean culture and imposes Anglo-American perspectives on Turkish viewers.

The only valid method for mitigating cultural and normative relativism in indirect subtitling is to use pivot templates created exclusively for mediation purposes. Commercial subtitles tend to offer an abbreviated version of the original, biased by a relative interpretation of the source content based on what might obscure the meaning for target viewers. The absence of a target audience exempts pivot templates from the subtitling norms pertaining to the mediating culture and allows for a literal rendering of original dialogues. From a practical perspective, subtitlers tend to prefer uncondensed templates (Oziemblewska & Szarkowska, 2020) that provide uninterrupted access to original dialogues. Streaming platforms and their preferred partners should refrain from recycling commercial subtitles as pivot templates and instead allocate funding for the creation of exclusive mediating files. In turn, access to the verbatim transcription of ST dialogues would remove the relevance bias arising from the mediating subtitler's worldview and enable the target subtitler to determine the appropriate level of condensation or omission in accordance with the expectations and subtitling norms of the target culture.

In practice, however, subtitlers are disincentivized or outright prohibited from deviating from pivot templates – be they exclusive mediating files or repurposed commercial subtitles. For example, the Turkish subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) on Netflix conform to the English subtitles in terms of omitting terms of address and (non-)honorifics, such as the honorific infix *-si*, while deviating from the original Korean dialogues. The verbal meaning-making units of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) are defined by the grammatical framework provided by the English subtitles, which serve as the main source for the Turkish pivot subtitles, rather than the Korean audiovisual content. This results in the adaptation of interpersonal pragmatics to an Anglo-American worldview, in which age and socioeconomic status do not play as decisive a role in communication as they do in Korean or Turkish cultures. An unfortunate result of these linguistic constraints and the absence of annotations is false hierarchization, with the Turkish subtitles subverting interpersonal hierarchies and portraying inaccurate linguistic representations of the characters.

Because Turkish speakers must distinguish between polite and impolite speech with inflectional particles, the linguistic limitations of English necessitate annotations on the absence or presence of honorifics in Korean dialogue. Annotations can mitigate the grammatical influence of the mediating language by contextualizing the source content and highlighting the hierarchical network of relationships between the characters. Netflix (2021b) has instituted a comprehensive annotation policy to improve the quality of pivot templates. Since the company is outsourcing most of its subtitling workflows to certified vendors, these guidelines should be streamlined through internal operations for adherence to standards. Through an analytical assessment of the Turkish subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c)

on Netflix, Chapter 4 has demonstrated the inadequacy, or absence thereof, of annotations on honorifics and interpersonal pragmatics in pivot subtitling workflows.

Finally, this thesis posits that multimodality should inform pivot subtitling in both academic research and practical applications. Modern subtitling software provides pivot subtitlers with a bidirectional flow of input that emanates from the pivot template as well as the audiovisual source content. Pivot subtitles are and should be a synthesis of the textual pivot and the audiovisual material, both of which coexist in modern subtitling software. Nevertheless, Chapter 4 is a hallmark of how pivot templates tend to supersede the audiovisual ST as the sole source for indirect translations. The English subtitles of *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) serve as an example of this phenomenon by appropriating the verbal units of the Korean audiovisual ST and becoming the primary source for the indirectly translated Turkish subtitles.

The use of honorifics by the characters in *Parasite* (Bong, 2019b) is reinforced through their reserved body language, forming multimodal unity. The English subtitles primarily rely on visual politeness markers given the absence of inflectional morphemes that imply honorifics, as is the case in Korean. Conversely, in Turkish, speakers have to differentiate between polite and impolite speech. Otherwise, casual speech would simply contradict visuals that signify politeness. The Turkish subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) present a significant discrepancy between the audiovisual Korean content in terms of the use of honorifics. This is primarily due to the fact that the Turkish subtitles are shaped by the linguistic framework provided by English, overlooking the complex and nuanced multimodal distribution of meaning present in the original language. This diminishes the overall impact of the film, as well as subverting the relationships between the characters.

Unless pivot templates are enhanced with plot-pertinent annotations elucidating the source content, pivot subtitlers are constrained by a single input, the textual pivot, while translating multimodal content that communicates across multiple channels. Meaning reduction in pivot subtitling is inevitable without annotations and aids to guide the pivot subtitler. A multimodal approach to pivot subtitling can consolidate the bidirectionality of inputs in pivot subtitling by prompting streaming platforms and LSPs to implement more robust and stringent annotation policies that take into account the polysemiotic nature of audiovisual translation. Setting out from the findings in Chapter 4, it is clear that pivot subtitling workflows are not standardized despite Netflix's (2021b) guidelines that emphasize the need to annotate the multimodal meaning-making units of the audiovisual source content.

Pivot subtitling research should also be guided by a multimodal understanding that evaluates indirect subtitles as a synthesis of textual intermediary templates and audiovisual content. Deciphering the interplay of inputs that influence the pivot subtitler can help improve the practice by pinpointing the pitfalls that diminish the quality of pivot subtitling. Pivot templates tend to fixate on the dialogues, while overlooking other semiotic resources that contribute to meaning-making. Pivot subtitling research that embraces a multimodal perspective can critically deconstruct the multiplicity of inputs that impact indirect translation , and work towards informing industry stakeholders with analytical insights on how to enhance the overall reliability of pivot templates. The present thesis has endeavored to achieve this by adopting a multimodal approach, thus, contributing to the advancement of knowledge and technique in pivot subtitling.

Besides its theoretical contributions to the underexplored yet ubiquitous practice of pivot subtitling, the present thesis is not without its limitations. The first limitation concerns the language pairs under examination, specifically Korean and Turkish. It is challenging to generalize about the prevalence of pivot subtitles based on a single language pair and without considering a more diverse set of data. The lack of insights from other language pairs detracts from the credibility of claims regarding the general ubiquity of pivot subtitles, as these claims are founded not only on theoretical assumptions, but also on the author's practical exposure to pivot subtitling. This limitation underscores the need for further research on a more diverse set of language pairs in order to establish a more comprehensive and convincing understanding of pivot subtitling in the contemporary mediascape.

The quality of pivot subtitles can be contingent upon the relationship between the SL and English, the default mediating language. For instance, the close proximity between English and German may alleviate the fragility of pivot subtitling workflows in terms of adherence to standards, allowing for greater leeway in the indirect translation process. The limited scope of language pairs examined in this research constitutes a limitation. It is imperative to note that there is no *one-size-fits-all* recipe to pivot subtitling, as the overall success and reliability of the practice necessitates the implementation of specific guidelines tailored to the typical pitfalls of each language pair.

The practice of pivot subtitling is impeded by an inflexible legal framework that prohibits practitioners from disclosing information about the process, thereby making it challenging to collaborate with industry stakeholders and gain professional insights. The qualitative analysis of the Turkish pivot subtitles of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) is thus founded on educated estimates and extrapolations rather than verified

statements from the anonymous pivot subtitler. To mitigate the limitation arising from the anonymity of the Turkish subtitler of *Parazit* (Bong, 2019c) the author conducted additional research (Dallı, forthcoming) on the Turkish pivot subtitles of *Squid Game* (Hwang, 2021), but was again limited by the same legal framework that precludes pivot subtitlers from disclosing the process. The lack of transparency in pivot subtitling poses a critical obstacle to the advancement of knowledge in the field and necessitates a reevaluation of the current legal framework to facilitate greater collaboration and understanding of the practice.

This uncompromising legal framework should not be a barrier for researchers to delve into the intricacies of pivot subtitling. As the first scholarly effort in Türkiye to shed light on the practice, the present study represents a significant step towards a deeper understanding of pivot subtitling. This research hopes to serve as a catalyst for future studies and inform the refinement of existing pivot subtitling workflows through a thorough theoretical foundation.

APPENDIX A

TURKISH SUBTITLERS OF KOREAN DRAMAS ON NETFLIX

Netflix Release Year	Title	Episodes	Subtitler(s)	Count	Translation Method(s)
2015	*Boys Over Flowers*	25	Nilgün Konakçı Pelin Rüzgâr Zeynep Ateş Cemile Gidil Gökçen Sinan Güldal Hakan Usta Şeyma Kılıç Akar	7	Subtitling
2015	*Coffee Prince*	17	Büşra Seher Kabakuş Utkun Birsen Ediz Faruk Gülfırat	3	Subtitling
2015	*Doctor Stranger*	20	Ilgın Yıldız Seçil Kıvrak Dilan Toplu Aslıhan Tuna İlkim Sezen Berin Soylu	6	Subtitling
2015	*Good Doctor*	20	Aslıhan Şişman Onur Kavalcı Çetin Soy	3	Subtitling
2015	*My Love from the Star*	21	Mustafa Ergün İlkim Sezen Utkun Birsen	3	Subtitling
2015	*Secret Garden*	20	Çetin Soy	1	Subtitling
2015	*The Moon Embracing the Sun*	20	Simay Antep Salih Cintiriz	2	Subtitling
2015	*You Are Beautiful*	16	Tuğçe Bıçakçı Syed Pelin Rüzgâr	2	Subtitling
2015	*You are My Destiny*	20	Elif Gökçeoğlu Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Mustafa Kılıç	3	Subtitling
2015	*You're All Surrounded*	20	Can Sözer Pelin Rüzgâr Haluk L. Aka Salih Cintiriz	4	Subtitling
2016	*Descendants of the Sun*	16	Feride Nilay Sağlık	1	Subtitling
2016	*Hello, My Twenties!*	26	Yiğit Tokgöz Bilge Gündüz Mehmet Ataman İbrahim Övünç Uygar Ahmet Neşeli Salih Bayram Ayşegül Ataş Çetin Soy Ayşe B. Tosun Aslıhan Şişman Pınar Tezer Eren Gülce Odabaşı Ebru Kiraz Onur Kavalcı Batuhan Taner Zeynep Akkuş	16	Subtitling
2016	*Iris*	20	Anonymous	1	Subtitling
2016	*My Runway*	6	Tilbe Avcı	1	Subtitling
2016	*The Empress Ki*	51	Bilge Gündüz Aslıhan Tuna Seda Yılmaz	3	Subtitling
2016	*White Nights*	20	Çetin Soy Pınar Eren Zeynep Akkuş Tunç Uzgör Ayşe B. Tosun	5	Subtitling
2017	*28 Moons*	2	Reşat Bir	1	Subtitling
2017	*A Korean Odyssey*	20	Kerem Keskiner	9	Subtitling

2017			Ayşe B. Tosun Seda Yılmaz Tunç Uzgör Figen Günel Hülya Demirden Çetin Soy Gülce Odabaşı Buse Teke		
2017	*Argon*	8	Çetin Soy İ. Deniz Gün Ayşe B. Tosun Buse Teke Tunç Uzgör Deniz Lefkeli	6	Subtitling
2017	*Black*	18	Figen Günel Gülce Odabaşı Tunç Uzgör Çetin Soy Seda Yılmaz Ayşe B. Tosun Deniz Lefkeli Barış Deniz	8	Subtitling
2017	*Blood*	20	Zeynep Simpson İlkim Sezen Seda Yılmaz	3	Subtitling
2017	*Jumping Girl*	3	Duygu Mengioğlu Uğur Çoturoğlu	2	Subtitling
2017	*Magic Phone*	2	Reşat Bir	1	Subtitling
2017	*Man to Man*	16	Ayşe B. Tosun	1	Subtitling
2017	*My Little Baby*	16	Engin Gümüş	1	Subtitling
2017	*My Only Love Song*	20	Pınar Eren Onur Kavalcı Ayşe B. Tosun Figen Günel	4	Subtitling
2017	*One More Time*	8	Tilbe Avcı	1	Subtitling
2017	*Part-Time Idol*	5	İlkim Sezen	1	Subtitling
2017	*President*	20	Pınar Tevek Duygu Mengioğlu Ömer Kula Uğur Çoturoğlu Yiğit Tokgöz Ayşe Razak Uğur Bilgin İbrahim Övünç Uygar Bilge Gündüz	9	Subtitling
2017	*Prison Playbook*	16	Çetin Soy Pınar Tezer Eren Barış Deniz Tunç Uzgör Figen Günel	5	Subtitling
2017	*Stranger*	32	Pınar Tezer Eren Ayşe B. Tosun Figen Günel Merve Ceren Yüksel Çetin Soy Dilan Toplu	6	Subtitling
2017	*Strong Girl Bong-soon*	16	Gizem İncegül Gülce Odabaşı Tunç Uzgör Hülya Demirden Çetin Soy Hülya Süngü Aslıhan Şişman Batuhan Taner İ. Deniz Gün Buse Teke	10	Subtitling
2017	*Strongest Deliveryman*	16	Özenç Bilgili Ayşe B. Tosun Sena Gürgen Gülce Odabaşı Figen Günel Buse Teke Gizem İncegül Handan Ünsal Tunç Uzgör	14	Subtitling

			Seda Yılmaz İ. Deniz Gün Çetin Soy Deniz Lefkeli Barış Deniz		
2017	*The Miracle*	12	Tilbe Avcı Ayşe B. Tosun	2	Subtitling
2017	*The Sound of Your Heart*	10	Faruk Berk Yusuf Özyol	2	Subtitling
2017	*Under the Black Moonlight*	2	Reşat Bir	1	Subtitling
2017	*What in the World Happened?*	3	Bilge Gündüz Pınar Tevek	2	Subtitling
2018	*A Love So Beautiful*	24	Ezgi Varol Ayşesu İlemre	2	Subtitling
2018	*Bad Guys: Vile City*	16	Latif Dörtçelik	1	Subtitling
2018	*Beautiful Gong Shim*	20	Ünal Ataman Çağnur Alyüz Aslıhan Tuna Rafet Karakayalı	4	Subtitling
2018	*Beauty Inside*	16	Anıl Can Çetinkaya	1	Subtitling
2018	*Birth of a Beauty*	21	Utkun Birsen Kemal Sürmeli Ömür Gencer Uygar Kibar Simay Antep	5	Subtitling
2018	*Cinderella and the Four Knights*	16	Beyza Yıldız Tuğçe Bıçakçı Syed Gürül Öğüt Mustafa Ergün	4	Subtitling
2018	*Clean with Passion for Now*	16	Aslı Uygun Cheesmar	1	Subtitling
2018	*Doctors*	20	Bilge Gündüz Mustafa Üneşi Rıza Ertuğrul Salih Cintiriz	4	Subtitling
2018	*Don't Dare to Dream*	24	Ayşe B. Tosun Mert Sünteroğlu Burçin Kırant Gülce Odabaşı Kerem Keskiner Buse Teke Onur Kavalcı Ebru Kiraz Çetin Soy	9	Subtitling
2018	*Dr. Romantic*	37	Mustafa Ergün Dilek Özçakır Nimet Tansever Toprak İnce İbrahim Övünç Uygar Salih Bayram Kaan Kasım	7	Subtitling
2018	*Dream High*	16	Ayşe B. Tosun Kerem Keskiner Onur Kavalcı Çetin Soy Buse Teke	5	Subtitling
2018	*Dream High 2*	16	Seda Yılmaz Deniz Lefkeli Figen Günel Onur Kavalcı Gülce Odabaşı Ebru Kiraz	6	Subtitling
2018	*Healer*	20	Çetin Soy	1	Subtitling
2018	*Hwarang*	20	Zeynep Simpson İlkim Sezen Seda Yılmaz	3	Subtitling
2018	*Hyde Jekyll, Me*	20	Mustafa Ergün Berin Soylu Bilge Gündüz	3	Subtitling
2018	*Hymn of Death*	3	Ahmedşah Bilgi	1	Subtitling
2018	*I Hear Your Voice*	18	Kerem Özdural Ebru Kiraz Buse Teke Handan Ünsal Açelya Yağcıoğlu	6	Subtitling

			İ. Deniz Gün		
2018	*Inheritors*	20	Berkin Bölükbaşı Nimet Tansever	2	Subtitling
2018	*Life*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Nimet Tansever	2	Subtitling
2018	*Live*	18	Rıza Ertuğrul Duygu Mengioğlu Pelin Rüzgâr Dilan Toplu Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Nimet Tansever Ahmet Tunca Atilla Kapar Mustafa Kılıç	9	Subtitling
2018	*Love in the Moonlight*	18	Yasemin Memiş Berin Soylu Can Sözer Aslıhan Tuna Kemal Sürmeli	5	Subtitling
2018	*Marriage Contract*	16	Ediz Faruk Gülfirat Salih Cintiriz Çağnur Alyüz Dilek Özçakır	4	Subtitling
2018	*Memories of the Alhambra*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Pelin Rüzgâr	2	Subtitling
2018	*Misty*	16	Yusuf Özyol Hazal Ünlüçay Kaan Kasım Zafer Bayraktar Aslıhan Yıldırım Faruk Berk Merve Gümüşlü Yuji Matthew Seko Ekin Danacı Canan Örmen	10	Subtitling
2018	*Mr. Sunshine*	24	Duygu Mengioğlu Seda Yılmaz Erdem Uğurluol Pelin Rüzgâr	4	Subtitling
2018	*My Girlfriend is a Gumiho*	16	Çınar Tuncer Mustafa Ergün	2	Subtitling
2018	*My ID is Gangnam Beauty*	16	Müge Öznalcı	1	Subtitling
2018	*My Sassy Girl*	16	Çetin Soy	1	Subtitling
2018	*Nice Guy*	20	Mustafa Üneşi Can Sözer	2	Subtitling
2018	*Oh My Venus*	16	İbrahim Melih Tümen Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	2	Subtitling
2018	*Pinocchio*	20	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Seda Yılmaz Ünal Ataman	3	Subtitling
2018	*Pool Ha-woo-seu*	16	Çetin Soy	1	Subtitling
2018	*Reply 1988*	20	Feride Nilay Sağlık Meltem Öznalcı	2	Subtitling
2018	*Rooftop Prince*	20	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Ilgın Yıldız	2	Subtitling
2018	*Saimdang, Memoir of Colors*	28	İlkim Sezen Ünal Ataman	2	Subtitling
2018	*She was Pretty*	16	Serçin Baştürk Atilla Kapar Ediz Faruk Gülfirat	3	Subtitling
2018	*Signal*	16	İrem Başaran Gülmez Gökay Örsel Müge Öznalcı Deniz Fikirdanış Bora İnce Oskay Demir Arda Barişta Mert Hadimlioğlu Berke Beyazay	9	Subtitling
2018	*Sky Castle*	21	Anıl Can Çetinkaya Ömür Gencer Mahir Yıldız Barış Emre Alkım Ece Eroğlu	12	Subtitling

			Reşat Bir Deniz Adısönmez Duygu Mengioğlu Serbay Öznalcı Begüm Seçilmiş İrem Başaran Gülmez Elif Günay		
2018	*Something in the Rain*	16	Salih Cintiriz İlkim Sezen Erdem Uğurluol Engin İlkiz Berin Soylu Can Sözer Toprak İnce Simay Antep Utkun Birsen Berk Ersever	10	Subtitling
2018	*Suspicious Partner*	20	Ediz Faruk Gülfırat İlkim Sezen Serdar Usta Yasemin Memiş Beyza Yıldız Salih Cintiriz Bilge Gündüz	7	Subtitling
2018	*That Winter, the Wind Blows*	16	Ahmet Neşeli Sinem Morgan Mert Hadimlioğlu Çetin Soy Oktar Bumin Aykutlu Engin İlkiz	6	Subtitling
2018	*The Bride of Habaek*	16	Deniz Adısönmez Aykut Ozan Taş	2	Subtitling
2018	*The Girl Who Sees Scents*	16	Bilge Gündüz Sercan Kolay Duygu Mengioğlu Doğa Uludağ	4	Subtitling
2018	*The Lady in Dignity*	20	Ayşe B. Tosun Kerem Keskiner Çetin Soy Tunç Uzgör Seda Yılmaz Deniz Lefkeli Sena Gürgen İ. Deniz Gün Hülya Demirden Barış Deniz Batuhan Taner Figen Günel	12	Subtitling
2018	*The Master's Sun*	17	Buse Teke Deniz Lefkeli Handan Ünsal Çetin Soy Onur Kavalcı İ. Deniz Gün	6	Subtitling
2018	*The Producers*	12	Ayşe B. Tosun Seda Yılmaz Aslıhan Şişman Tunç Uzgör Onur Kavalcı Pınar Tezer Eren	6	Subtitling
2018	*The Sound of Your Heart: Reboot*	20	Ömür Gencer Zeynep Simpson	2	Subtitling
2018	*Uncontrollably Fond*	20	Deniz Lefkeli Ayşe B. Tosun Seda Yılmaz	3	Subtitling
2018	*Voice*	28	Feride Nilay Sağlık Övünç Uygar	2	Subtitling
2018	*W - Two Worlds Apart*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Büşra Seher Kabakuş	2	Subtitling
2018	*Weightlifting Fairy Kim Bok-joo*	16	Çetin Soy	1	Subtitling
2018	*Welcome to Waikiki*	20	Hazal Ünlüçay Merve Gümüşlü Aslıhan Yıldırım Canan Örmen Yusuf Özyol	8	Subtitling

			Zafer Bayraktar Faruk Berk Kaan Kasım		
2018	*Where Stars Land*	16	Büşra Seher Ahmet Diril Zeynep Simpson Seçil Kıvrak	4	Subtitling
2018	*Who are You: School 2015*	16	Nimet Tansever Berk Ersever Aslıhan Tuna	3	Subtitling
2018	*YG Future Strategy Office*	8	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok	1	Subtitling
2018	*Yong Pal*	18	İbrahim Övünç Uygar Sinan Altıparmak Kaan Kasımlı Berkin Bölükbaşı Merve Süzer Ahmedşah Bilgi Ezgi Varol Elif Gökçeoğlu Tuğçe B. Syed Ülkem Özge Sevgiler Oskay Demir Serçin Baştürk Sezer Örnek Ömer Faruk Apak Türkü Naz Altınay Gürül Öğüt Deniz Aksoy Atilla Kapar	18	Subtitling
2019	*Abyss*	16	Engin İlkiz	1	Subtitling
2019	*Another Miss Oh*	18	Özgür Salman Yurdakul Gündoğdu Çetin Soy Serbay Öznalcı Anıl Can Çetinkaya Zeynep Tangün Ozan Molva Elif Günay Deniz Mayadağ	9	Subtitling
2019	*Are You Human?*	18	Gizem Kıroğlu	1	Subtitling
2019	*Arthdal Chronicles*	18	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	1	Subtitling
2019	*Be Melodramatic*	16	Berin Soylu Beyza Yıldız Sezer Örnek Uygar Kibar Mustafa Ergün	5	Subtitling
2019	*Beautiful World*	16	Gürül Öğüt Çağnur Alyüz Engin İlkiz Salih Cintiriz	4	Subtitling
2019	*Black Knight*	20	Ömür Gencer	1	Subtitling
2019	*Chief of staff*	20	Berk Ersever	1	Subtitling
2019	*Chocolate*	16	Elif Sağlam Ilgın Yıldız	2	Subtitling
2019	*Crash Landing on You*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	1	Subtitling
2019	*Designated Survivor: 60 Days*	16	Berkin Bölükbaşı Mustafa Ergün	2	Subtitling
2019	*Fight for My Way*	16	Feride Nilay Sağlık	1	Subtitling
2019	*Flower Crew: Joseon Marriage Agency*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Ediz Faruk Gülfırat Elif Sağlam Ilgın Yıldız	4	Subtitling
2019	*Good Manager*	20	Müge Öznalcı	1	Subtitling
2019	*Her Private Life*	16	Gürül Öğüt Ilgın Yıldız Berkin Bölükbaşı Mustafa Ergün	4	Subtitling
2019	*Hotel del Luna*	16	Aslıhan Tuna Hazal Varol Sezer Örnek Duygu Mengioğlu Ezgi Varol	5	Subtitling
2019	*I'm Not a Robot*	16	Nimet Tansever Sarper Aman	3	Subtitling

Year	Title		Translator(s)		Method
			Ayşesu İlemre		
2019	*Kingdom*	12	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2019	*Legal High*	16	Büşra Seher Kabakuş Ahmet Diril	2	Subtitling
2019	*Love Alarm*	14	Latif Dörtçelik Ünal Ataman Serçin Baştürk	3	Dubbing Subtitling
2019	*Moment of Eighteen*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Ayşesu İlemre Ezgi Evrim Özkol Fulden Ötgür	4	Subtitling
2019	*My Country: The New Age*	16	Utkun Birsen Bilge Gündüz	2	Subtitling
2019	*My First First Love*	16	Ahmedşah Bilgi Atakan Karakış Ünal Ataman	3	Dubbing Subtitling
2019	*My Golden Life*	52	Feride Nilay Sağlık Gizem Kıroğlu Arda Barişta Mahir Yıldız Mert Hadimlioğlu	5	Subtitling
2019	*My Secret Romance*	14	Can Çelik Gökçe Kara	2	Subtitling
2019	*One Spring Night*	16	Beyza Yıldız	1	Subtitling
2019	*Pasta*	20	Figen Günel	1	Subtitling
2019	*Persona*	4	Rafet Karakayalı Büşra Seher Kabakuş	2	Subtitling
2019	*Possessed*	16	Dilek Özçakır	1	Subtitling
2019	*Queen for Seven Days*	20	Duygu Mengioğlu	1	Subtitling
2019	*Radio Romance*	16	Oskay Demir	1	Subtitling
2019	*Romance Is a Bonus Book*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	1	Subtitling
2019	*Rookie Historian Goo Hae-ryung*	20	Ünal Ataman	1	Subtitling
2019	*School 2017*	16	Feride Nilay Sağlık	1	Subtitling
2019	*Search: WWW*	16	Toprak İnce Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Beyza Yıldız Ahmet Tunca Atilla Kapar Gürül Öğüt	6	Subtitling
2019	*The K2*	16	Anonymous	1	Subtitling
2019	*The Legend of the Blue Sea*	20	Nuri Baltalıoğlu Deniz Adısönmez Gamze Ülkü Barış Emre Alkım Bora İnce Cem Köse Sibel Yıldırım	7	Subtitling
2019	*The Lies Within*	16	Serçin Baştürk	1	Subtitling
2019	*The Light in Your Eyes*	12	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling
2019	*The Wind Blows*	16	Tuğçe Erteki Seval Özdemir Simay Antep Mustafa Ergün	4	Subtitling
2019	*Touch Your Heart*	16	İlkim Sezen Çağnur Alyüz Ülkem Özge Sevgilier Rafet Karakayalı	4	Subtitling
2019	*Vagabond*	16	Orhan Cevher Can Tükel	2	Subtitling
2019	*Warm and Cozy*	16	Salih Cintiriz Seçil Kıvrak Büşra Seher Kabakuş Sarper Aman	4	Subtitling
2019	*Welcome to Waikiki 2*	16	Elif Sağlam Bilge Gündüz Seda Yılmaz Aslıhan Tuna	4	Subtitling
2019	*When the Camellia Blooms*	20	Kaan Kasımlı	1	Subtitling
2020	*100 Days My Prince*	16	Sinto Sinop	1	Subtitling
2020	*Angel's Last Mission: Love*	18	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Mustafa Ergün	2	Subtitling
2020	*Because This Is My First Life*	16	Berke Beyazay Anıl Can Çetinkaya	5	Subtitling

2020			Gökay Örsel Yurdakul Gündoğdu Mert Hadimlioğlu		
2020	*Dear My Friends*	16	Dilan Toplu Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Mustafa Üneşi Duygu Mengioğlu	4	Subtitling
2020	*Do Do Sol Sol La La Sol*	16	Sarper Aman Erdem Uğurluol	2	Subtitling
2020	*Doctor John*	16	Sinto Sinop İbrahim Yapıcı Mustafa Kılıç	3	Subtitling
2020	*Doctor Prisoner*	16	Seda Yılmaz Berkin Bölükbaşı Can Sözer Bilge Gündüz	4	Subtitling
2020	*Extracurricular*	10	Salih Cintiriz Mustafa Ergün	2	Dubbing Subtitling
2020	*Familiar Wife*	16	Ömür Gencer	1	Subtitling
2020	*Find Me in Your Memory*	16	Begüm Hanağasıoğlu Salih Bayram İbrahim Yapıcı	3	Subtitling
2020	*Goedam*	8	Sencer Coşkun	1	Subtitling
2020	*Graceful Friends*	17	Zeynep Simpson Bilge Gündüz Yasemin Memiş Tilbe Avcı	4	Subtitling
2020	*Hi Bye, Mama!*	16	Toprak İnce	1	Subtitling
2020	*Hospital Playlist*	24	Oskay Demir	1	Subtitling
2020	*Hot Stove League*	16	Gizem Doğançay Gökçenur Şehirli Salih Bayram Övünç Uygar Mustafa Kılıç	5	Subtitling
2020	*Hyena*	16	Ahmedşah Bilgi	1	Subtitling
2020	*Itaewon Class*	16	Berk Ersever	1	Subtitling
2020	*It's Okay to Not Be Okay*	16	İlkim Sezen	1	Subtitling
2020	*Live Up to Your Name*	16	Ömür Gencer Ece Eroğlu	2	Subtitling
2020	*Lovely Horribly*	16	Salih Cintiriz Kaan Kasımlı Fulden Ötgür Ünal Ataman	4	Subtitling
2020	*Lovestruck in the City*	17	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	1	Subtitling
2020	*My Father is Strange*	52	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Toprak İnce Ilgın Yıldız Dilan Toplu Berk Ersever Zeynep Simpson Kemal Sürmeli	7	Subtitling
2020	*My Fellow Citizens*	18	Ayse Kim Çınar Tuncer Zeynep Simpson	3	Subtitling
2020	*My Holo Love*	12	Berkin Bölükbaşı Sarper Aman Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	3	Dubbing Subtitling
2020	*My Mister*	16	Dilek Özçakır Berkin Bölükbaşı Dilan Toplu Salih Cintiriz	4	Subtitling
2020	*My Only One*	53	Kaan Kasımlı Uygar Kibar Ülkem Özge Sevgilier Atakan Karakış Elif Sağlam Sezer Örnek Pelin Rüzgâr Sumru Temur	8	Subtitling
2020	*My Shy Boss*	16	Zeynep Simpson Kemal Sürmeli Tilbe Avcı	3	Subtitling
2020	*Mystic Pop-up Bar*	12	Ilgın Yıldız	1	Subtitling
2020	*Oh My Baby*	16	Ilgın Yıldız	3	Subtitling

			Mustafa Üneşi Övünç Uygar		
2020	*Old School Intern*	12	Kaan Kasım Gizem Doğançay Övünç Uygar	3	Subtitling
2020	*Once Again*	50	Çınar Tuncer Ezgi Evrim Özkol Ayşesu İlemre Mustafa Ergün Can Rıdvan Ahmet Tunca	6	Subtitling
2020	*Private Lives*	16	Ahmedşah Bilgi	1	Subtitling
2020	*Record of Youth*	16	Oskay Demir	1	Subtitling
2020	*Reunited Worlds*	20	Tunç Uzgör Deniz Lefkeli Gizem İncegül Buse Teke	4	Subtitling
2020	*Revolutionary Love*	16	Engin İlkiz Rafet Karakayalı Seval Özdemir Tuğçe Erteki	4	Subtitling
2020	*Rugal*	16	Anonymous	1	Subtitling
2020	*Run On*	16	Pelin Rüzgâr Ediz Faruk Gülfırat	2	Subtitling
2020	*Start-Up*	16	Ediz Faruk Gülfırat Erdem Uğurluol	2	Subtitling
2020	*Strangers From Hell*	10	Sarper Aman Merve Süzer	2	Subtitling
2020	*Sweet Home*	10	Ayse Kim	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2020	*The Fiery Priest*	20	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok Ayşesu İlemre Ezgi Evrim Özkol Fulden Begul Elif Sağlam	5	Subtitling
2020	*The Good Detective*	16	Mustafa Ergün Büşra Seher Kabakuş Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk İbrahim Melih Tümen	4	Subtitling
2020	*The Guest*	16	Orhan Cevher	1	Subtitling
2020	*The King: Eternal Monarch*	16	Berk Ersever	1	Subtitling
2020	*The Nokdu Flower*	24	Orhan Cevher	1	Subtitling
2020	*The School Nurse Files*	6	Dilek Özçakır	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2020	*The Secret Life of My Secretary*	16	Berin Soylu Sezer Örnek Beyza Yıldız Uygar Kibar	4	Subtitling
2020	*The Tale of Nokdu*	16	Mustafa Kılıç Toprak İnce	2	Subtitling
2020	*The Uncanny Counter*	16	İbrahim Yapıcı Salih Bayram	2	Subtitling
2020	*VIP*	16	Begüm Hanağasıoğlu Gökçe Kara Kaan Kasım Deniz Adısönmez Sinto Sinop	5	Subtitling
2020	*Was It Love?*	16	Tilbe Avcı	1	Subtitling
2020	*What Happens to My Family?*	53	Ediz Faruk Gülfırat Berkin Bölükbaşı Salih Cintiriz Latif Dörtçelik Merve Süzer Büşra Seher Kabakuş Ayse Kim Fulden Ötgür Merve Süzer	9	Subtitling
2020	*When My Love Blooms*	16	Seda Yılmaz Berkin Bölükbaşı Can Rıdvan Tilbe Avcı	4	Subtitling
2021	*Alice*	16	Aslıhan Tuna Mustafa Ergün Ahmedşah Bilgi	4	Subtitling

2021			Merve Süzer		
2021	*Beyond Evil*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Merve Süzer	2	Subtitling
2021	*Couple on the Backtrack*	12	Beyza Yıldız Serçin Baştürk	2	Subtitling
2021	*D.P.*	6	Berk Ersever	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*Do You Like Brahms?*	16	Beyza Yıldız Dilan Toplu Toprak İnce	3	Subtitling
2021	*Flower of Evil*	16	Beyza Yıldız Ezgi Evrim Özkol Can Rıdvan Mustafa Ergün	4	Subtitling
2021	*Hellbound*	6	Mustafa Ergün	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*Hello, Me!*	16	Ayse Kim Merve Süzer	2	Subtitling
2021	*Hometown Cha-Cha-Cha*	16	Ilgın Yıldız Can Rıdvan	2	Subtitling
2021	*Inspector Koo*	12	Ilgın Yıldız Ediz Faruk Gülfırat	2	Subtitling
2021	*Into the Ring*	16	Kaan Kasımlı Mustafa Ergün	2	Subtitling
2021	*Law School*	16	Salih Bayram İbrahim Yapıcı	2	Subtitling
2021	*Lawless Lawyer*	16	Büşra Seher Kabakuş Ayşesu İlemre	2	Subtitling
2021	*Liver or Die*	20	Merve Süzer Ilgın Yıldız	2	Subtitling
2021	*Love (ft. Marriage and Divorce)*	32	Zeynep Simpson Çınar Tuncer Can Rıdvan Seval Özdemir Ayse Kim	5	Subtitling
2021	*Mad Dog*	16	Aslıhan Tuna Sezer Örnek Bilge Gündüz Ediz Faruk Gülfırat	4	Subtitling
2021	*Mad for Each Other*	13	Ayşesu İlemre Çınar Tuncer	2	Subtitling
2021	*Mine*	16	Kaan Kasımlı	1	Subtitling
2021	*Move to Heaven*	10	Duygu Mengioğlu	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*My Name*	8	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*Navillera*	12	Erdem Uğurluol	1	Subtitling
2021	*Nevertheless*	10	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling
2021	*Our Beloved Summer*	14	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling
2021	*Partners for Justice*	32	Murat Lû	1	Subtitling
2021	*Racket Boys*	16	Aslıhan Tuna Can Rıdvan	2	Subtitling
2021	*Rain or Shine*	16	Hande Öncü	1	Subtitling
2021	*Reflection of You*	16	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2021	*She Would Never Know*	16	Ilgın Yıldız Pelin Rüzgâr	2	Subtitling
2021	*Sisyphus: The Myth*	16	Berk Ersever Sezer Örnek	2	Subtitling
2021	*So Not Worth It*	12	Büşra Seher Kabakuş Mustafa Kılıç	2	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*Squid Game*	9	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*Taxi Driver*	16	Dilan Toplu Can Rıdvan	2	Subtitling
2021	*The Crowned Clown*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk Ediz Faruk Gülfırat	2	Subtitling
2021	*The King's Affection*	20	Serçin Baştürk	1	Subtitling
2021	*The Silent Sea*	8	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2021	*To All The Guys Who Loved Me*	16	Dilan Toplu Beyza Yıldız	2	Subtitling
2021	*Vincenzo*	20	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok	1	Subtitling
2021	*Witch at Court*	16	Kaan Kasımlı	4	Subtitling

			Utkun Birsen Ülkem Özge Sevgilier Can Rıdvan		
2021	*You Are My Spring*	16	Salih Cintiriz Pelin Rüzgâr	2	Subtitling
2021	*Zombie Detective*	12	Büşra Seher Kabakuş Ayşesu İlemre	2	Subtitling
2022	*A Model Family*	10	Başak Çelikoğlu Arıkan	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*Alchemy of Souls*	20	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2022	*All of Us Are Dead*	12	Ilgın Yıldız Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	2	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*Backstreet Rookie*	16	Çınar Tuncer	1	Subtitling
2022	*Behind Every Star*	12	Ilgın Yıldız	1	Subtitling
2022	*Birthcare Center*	8	Aslıhan Tuna	1	Subtitling
2022	*Bulgasal: Immortal Souls*	16	Serçin Baştürk	1	Subtitling
2022	*Business Proposal*	12	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling
2022	*Café Minamdang*	18	Aslıhan Tuna	1	Subtitling
2022	*Dali & Cocky Prince*	16	Berk Ersever Büşra Seher Kabakuş	2	Subtitling
2022	*Extraordinary Attorney Woo*	16	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2022	*Forecasting Love and Weather*	2	Aslıhan Tuna Can Rıdvan	2	Subtitling
2022	*Glitch*	10	Müge Öznalcı	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*Green Mothers' Club*	16	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling
2022	*Homemade Love Story*	50	Ilgın Yıldız Büşra Seher Kabakuş	2	Subtitling
2022	*Juvenile Justice*	10	Pelin Rüzgâr	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*Little Women*	12	Ilgın Yıldız	1	Subtitling
2022	*Missing: The Other Side*	12	Can Rıdvan	1	Subtitling
2022	*Money Heist: Korea - Joint Economic Area*	6	Aslı Uygun Cheesmar	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*My Liberation Notes*	16	Beyza Yıldız	1	Subtitling
2022	*My Unfamiliar Family*	16	Can Rıdvan	1	Subtitling
2022	*Narco-Saints*	6	Başak Çelikoğlu Arıkan	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*Never Give Up*	16	Mustafa Ergün	1	Subtitling
2022	*Once Upon a Small Town*	12	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling
2022	*One the Woman*	16	Pelin Rüzgâr Berk Ersever Can Rıdvan	3	Subtitling
2022	*Our Blues*	20	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2022	*Police University*	16	Kaan Kasımlı Aslıhan Tuna	2	Subtitling
2022	*Remarriage & Desires*	8	Arda Barişta	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*Revolutionary Sisters*	50	Seval Özdemir Berk Ersever Ahmet Tunca	3	Subtitling
2022	*Sell Your Haunted House*	16	Merve Süzer	1	Subtitling
2022	*Somebody*	8	Başak Çelikoğlu Arıkan	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*The Cursed*	12	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2022	*The Fabulous*	8	Elif Günay	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*The Glory*	8	Yasemin Memiş	1	Dubbing Subtitling
2022	*The Sound of Magic*	6	Müge Öznalcı	1	Subtitling
2022	*Thirty-Nine*	12	Ayse Kim Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	2	Subtitling
2022	*Through the Darkness*	12	Seval Özdemir Ilgın Yıldız Kaan Kasımlı	3	Subtitling
2022	*Tomorrow*	16	Ilgın Yıldız	1	Subtitling
2022	*Trolley*	16	Hasan Hüseyin Yelok	1	Subtitling
2022	*Twenty-Five Twenty-One*	16	Serçin Baştürk	1	Subtitling
2022	*Under the Queen's Umbrella*	2	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2022	*Welcome to Wedding Hell*	12	Ayse Kim	1	Subtitling
2022	*Wok of Love*	19	Tunç Uzgör Deniz Lefkeli Gizem İncegül	9	Subtitling

Year	Title		Names		Subtitling
			Buse Teke Ece Coşkun Ece Kuruçay Ecem Turhal Zeynep Akkuş Ayse Kim		
2022	*Would You Like a Cup of Coffee?*	12	Zeynep Simpson	1	Subtitling
2022	*Young Lady and Gentleman*	52	Çınar Tuncer Zeynep Simpson	2	Subtitling
2022	*Youth of May*	12	Mustafa Kılıç	1	Subtitling

APPENDIX B

TURKISH SUBTITLERS OF KOREAN MOVIES ON NETFLIX

Netflix Release Year	Title	Subtitler(s)	Translation Method(s)
2015	*The Host*	Çınar Tuncer	Subtitling
2016	*Silenced*	Murat Çetinbakış	Subtitling
2016	*26 Years*	Tilbe Avcı	Subtitling
2016	*Miss Granny*	Anıl Can Çetinkaya	Subtitling
2017	*Pandora*	Çetin Soy	Dubbing, Subtitling
2017	*Lucid Dream*	Tilbe Avcı	Dubbing, Subtitling
2018	*The Reservoir Game*	Ünal Ataman	Subtitling
2018	*The Bros*	Berin Soylu	Subtitling
2018	*The Chase*	Ünal Ataman	Subtitling
2018	*Forgotten*	Mustafa Üneşi	Subtitling
2018	*Along with the Gods: The Two Worlds*	Mustafa Kılıç	Subtitling
2018	*Steel Rain*	Pınar Tezer Eren	Subtitling
2018	*Psychokinesis*	Zeynep Simpson	Subtitling
2018	*Illang: The Wolf Brigade*	Eda Söylerkaya	Dubbing, Subtitling
2019	*The Fortress*	Can Sözer	Subtitling
2019	*Revenger*	Ünal Ataman	Subtitling
2019	*High Society*	Kaan Kasımlı	Subtitling
2019	*The Drug King*	Serdar Usta	Subtitling
2019	*Along with the Gods: The Last 49 Days*	Mustafa Kılıç	Subtitling
2019	*Jo Pil-ho: The Dawning Rage*	Denizsu Nihan Nurata	Dubbing, Subtitling
2019	*Svaha: The Sixth Finger*	Berin Soylu	Subtitling
2019	*Tune in for Love*	Pelin Rüzgâr	Subtitling
2020	*Parasite*	Anonymous	Subtitling
2020	*Time to Hunt*	Anonymous	Subtitling
2020	*Call*	Ayse Kim	Subtitling
2020	*#Alive*	Beyza Yıldız	Subtitling
2020	*Night in Paradise*	Ayse Kim	Subtitling
2021	*What Happened to Mr. Cha?*	Duygu Mengioğlu Neşeli	Subtitling
2021	*Wish You*	İbrahim Yapıcı	Subtitling
2021	*Sweet & Sour*	Beyza Yıldız	Subtitling
2021	*The 8th Night*	Samet Konuksal	Subtitling
2021	*Space Sweepers*	Tuğçe Erteki	Dubbing, Subtitling
2021	*Kingdom: Ashin of the North*	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	Dubbing, Subtitling
2022	*Celeb Five: Behind the Curtain*	Kaan Kasımlı	Subtitling
2022	*Love and Leashes*	Ozan Molva	Dubbing, Subtitling
2022	*The Pirates: The Last Royal Treasure*	Can Rendeci	Subtitling
2022	*Carter*	Begüm Hanağasıoğlu	Dubbing, Subtitling
2022	*Yaksha: Ruthless Operations*	Kerim Melih Evci	Subtitling
2022	*Cyber Hell: Exposing an Internet Horror*	Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	Dubbing, Subtitling
2022	*20th Century Girl*	Başak Çelikoğlu Arıkan	Dubbing, Subtitling
2022	*Seoul Vibe*	Başak Çelikoğlu Arıkan	Dubbing, Subtitling

APPENDIX C

KOREAN LITERATURE IN TURKISH

(EXCLUDES CHILDREN'S LITERATURE)

Year	Title	Publishing House	Translator(s)
1993	*Kâhin*	İletişim Yayınları	Sevgi Tamgüç
2001	*Kore Öyküleri*	İletişim Yayınları	Nana Lee
2002	*İmparatordan Bir Armağan*	Aykırı Yayınları	Gülçin Aldemir
2004	*Io Adası*	Everest Yayınları	Nana Lee
2004	*Merhametsiz Yaşam*	Agora Kitaplığı	S. Yeşim Ferendeci
2005	*Açelya Çiçeği*	Agora Kitaplığı	Hatice Köroğlu Türközü
2006	*Değişen Kahramanımız*	İmge Yayınları	S. Göksel Türközü S. Yeşim Ferendeci
2007	*Kendimi Yıkmaya Hakkım Var*	Agora Kitaplığı	Nana Lee
2007	*Silinen Geçmiş*	Erko Yayınevi	Merve Kurt
2008	*Göğe Dönüş*	Özgür Yayınları	Nana Lee - Fahrettin Arslan
2010	*Uzak ve Güzel Mahalle*	Delta Yayınları	S. Göksel Türközü
2011	*Lütfen Anneme İyi Bak*	Doğan Kitap	Belgin Selen Haktanır
2011	*On Bin Can*	Ürün Yayınları	Eunkyung Oh
2011	*Şair*	Delta Yayınları	Nana Lee
2011	*Yarın Destanı*	Ürün Yayınları	Eunkyung Oh
2013	*Başka Topraklarda Rüzgâr Sert Eser*	Martı Yayınları	S. Göksel Türközü
2013	*Türkiye - İslamın Nefes Aldığı Mitolojik ve Mukaddes Topraklar*	Ürün Yayınları	S. Göksel Türközü
2015	*So Ji Sub'un Yolu*	Martı Yayınları	Yeşim Atış
2016	*Vejetaryen*	April Yayıncılık	S. Göksel Türközü
2017	*Dalga*	MEAV	Dila Altındiş Balcı
2017	*Kore Öyküleri*	Yitik Ülke Yayınları	Hatice Köroğlu Türközü
2017	*Prenses Bari*	Doğan Kitap	S. Göksel Türközü
2017	*Yuva*	Timaş Yayınları	Rabia Elif Özcan
2018	*Cadı Avcısı – Witch Hunter 1*	Marmara Çizgi Yayınları	Tayfun Kartav
2018	*Cadı Avcısı – Witch Hunter 2*	Marmara Çizgi Yayınları	Tayfun Kartav
2018	*Gökyüzü, Rüzgâr, Yıldızlar ve Şiir*	Dedalus Kitap	Mehmet Sait Şener
2018	*Gölge*	MEAV	Sima Özkan
2018	*Manken*	Çınar Yayınları	Burcu Uluçay
2018	*Mutlu Günlerimiz*	Mona	Mahinur Zehra Karahan
2018	*Tanıdık Şeyler*	Doğan Kitap	S. Göksel Türközü
2019	*Cadı Avcısı – Witch Hunter 3*	Marmara Çizgi Yayınları	Tayfun Kartav
2019	*Cadı Avcısı – Witch Hunter 4*	Marmara Çizgi Yayınları	Tayfun Kartav
2019	*Çocuk Geliyor*	April Yayıncılık	S. Göksel Türközü
2019	*Gümüş Somon'un Büyük Yolculuğu*	Doğan Egmont Çocuk Kitapları	S. Göksel Türközü
2019	*Komplocular*	Doğan Kitap	S. Göksel Türközü
2019	*Küller ve Kızıl*	Doğan Kitap	Tayfun Kartav
2019	*Yakıcı Susuzlukla*	Ürün Yayınları	Eunkyung Oh
2020	*Ağaçların Yetiştiği Bina*	Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları	Nana Lee
2020	*Haydi Bitkileri Keşfedelim!*	Matara Çocuk	Mehmet Sait Şener
2020	*Haydi Bitkileri Keşfedelim!*	Matara Çocuk	Mehmet Sait Şener
2020	*Haydi Bitkileri Keşfedelim!*	Matara Çocuk	Mehmet Sait Şener
2020	*Haydi Bitkileri Keşfedelim!*	Matara Çocuk	Mehmet Sait Şener
2020	*Haydi Bitkileri Keşfedelim!*	Matara Çocuk	Mehmet Sait Şener
2020	*Kore Masalları*	Kara Karga Yayınları	Servin Sarıyer
2020	*Mucize Çocuk*	Doğan Kitap	S. Göksel Türközü
2020	*Nunçi: Korelilerin 5000 Yıllık Başarı ve Mutluluk Sırrı*	Kuraldışı Yayıncılık	Seda Toksoy
2020	*Sultan ve İmparator*	Lotus Yayınevi	S. Göksel Türközü Hatice Köroğlu Türközü
2020	*Uçabileceğini Hayal Eden Tavuk*	Genç Timaş	Pınar Savaş
2021	*Badem*	Peta Kitap Yayıncılık	Tayfun Kartav
2021	*Beyaz Kitap*	April Yayıncılık	S. Göksel Türközü
2021	*Büyülü Fırın*	Lotus Yayınevi	Tayfun Kartav
2021	*Çukur*	Doğan Kitap	Tayfun Kartav
2021	*Gökyüzü Altındaki Huzur*	SMS Yayınları	Ezgi Cengizer
2021	*Hayal Kurmaya Cesaret Eden Köpek*	Timaş Genç	Sanem Üner
2021	*İyi Evlat*	Doğan Kitap	S. Göksel Türközü

2021	*Kim Ji Yeong Doğum: 1982*	A7 Kitap	Betül Tınkılıç
2022	*Balina*	Lotus Yayınevi	Tayfun Kartav
2022	*Bir Katilin Güncesi*	Timaş Yayınları	Açelya Yavuz Özlem Gökçe
2022	*Yedi Yıllık Karanlık*	Doğan Kitap	Derya Çelik
2022	*Cennetten Kaçan Çocuk*	Doğan Kitap	S. Göksel Türközü
2022	*Çalışmanın Hüznü ve Neşesi*	Lotus Yayınevi	Peren Ercan

REFERENCES

Adinarayan, T. (2021, October 18). *Netflix stock in winning spot month after 'Squid Game' release*. Bloomberg. Retrieved March 14, 2022, from https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-10-18/netflix-stock-in-winning-spot-month-after-squid-game-release

Ainslie, M., Lipura, S., & Lim, J. (2017). Understanding the potential for a Hallyu 'Backlash' in Southeast Asia: a case study of consumers in Thailand, Malaysia and Philippines. *Kritika Kultura*, *0*(28), 63–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.13185/KK2017.02805

Baker, M. (1992/2011). *In other words: a coursebook on translation*. London: Routledge.

Baker, M. (2005). Linguistic models and methods in the study of translation. In H. Kittel, A.P. Frank, N. Greiner, T. Hermans, W. Koller, J. Lambert, and F. Paul (Eds.), *Übersetzung, translation, traduction* (pp. 285–294). Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Bassnett, S. (2013). History of translation theory. In *Translation studies* (4th ed., pp. 50–87). London and New York: Routledge.

Bayyurt, Y., & Bayraktaroğlu, A. (2001). The use of pronouns and terms of address in Turkish service encounters. In. A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic politeness across boundaries: the case of Greek and Turkish* (pp. 209–240). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bond, E. (2018, October 19). *Why Netflix shut down its translation portal Hermes*. Slator. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from https://slator.com/why-netflix-shut-down-its-translation-portal-hermes/

Bong, J. H. (Writer & Director) (2019a, May 21). 기생충 [Parasite] [Film]. CJ Entertainment.

Bong, J. H. (Writer & Director) (2019b, May 21). *Parasite* [기생충] [Translated film]. CJ Entertainment.

Bong, J. H. (Writer & Director) (2019c, May 21). *Parazit* [기생충] [Translated film]. CJ Entertainment.

Brondeel, H. (1994). Teaching subtitling routines. *Meta*, *34*(1), 26–33. https://doi.org/10.7202/002150ar

Casas-Tost, H., & Bustins, S. (2021). The role of pivot translations in Asian film festivals in Catalonia: Johnny Ma's Old Stone as a case study. *Journal of Audiovisual Translation*, *4*(1), 96–113. https://doi.org/10.47476/jat.v4i1.2021.85

Catford, J. C. (1965). *A linguistic theory of translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chae, Y.-G., & Oh, C.-J. (2013). Constructing culturally proximate spaces through social network services: the case of Hallyu (Korean Wave) in Turkey. *International Relations*, *10*(38), 77–99. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43926250

Cho, J. (2021, October 14). *Squid Game and the 'untranslatable': the debate around subtitles explained*. The Conversation. Retrieved October 28, 2021, from https://theconversation.com/squid-game-and-the-untranslatable-the-debate-around-subtitles-explained-169931

Chung, H. S. (2015). Hating the Korean Wave in Japan: the exclusivist inclusion of Zainichi Koreans in Nerima Daikon Brothers. In S. Lee and A. M. Nornes (Eds.), *Hallyu 2.0: The Korean Wave in the Age of Social Media* (pp. 195–211). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Chung, H. S., & Diffrient, D. S. (2015). Conclusion: into 'spreadable' spaces: Netflix, YouTube, and the question of cultural translatability. In *Movie migrations: transnational genre flows and South Korean cinema* (pp. 240–254). News Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press.

Cillizza, C. (2020, February 21). *Donald Trump's fundamentally un-American 'Parasite' critique.* CNN. Retrieved August 17, 2022, from https://edition.cnn.com/2020/02/21/politics/donald-trump-parasite-gone-with-the-wind

Cotton, J. (1996). Korea. In A. Milner & M. Quilty (Eds.), *Communities of thought* (pp. 78–99). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Çavuşoğlu, N. (2019). *The Hallyu and a comparative semiotic analysis between K-dramas and Turkish adaptations on TV* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Yeditepe University.

D'Ydewalle, G., & Rensbergen, J.V. (1989). Developmental studies of text-picture interactions in the perception of animated cartoons with text. *Advances in Psychology*, *58*, 233–248.

Dallı, H. (forthcoming). Pivot subtitling on Netflix in the Korean-Turkish context: the case of Squid Game [Manuscript submitted for publication].

Dallı, H. & Sung, S. (forthcoming). The quality of pivot templates: a survey on Turkish subtitlers of Korean content [Manuscript submitted for publication].

Di Giovanni, E. (2021). Films, subtitles and subversions. *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series – Themes in Translation Studies*, *6*, 51–65. https://doi.org/10.52034/lanstts.v6i.179

Díaz-Cintas, J., & A. Remael (2007). *Audiovisual translation: subtitling*. London and New York: Routledge.

Díaz-Cintas, J., & A. Remael (2021). *Subtitling: concepts and practices*. London and New York: Routledge.

Dollerup, C. (2000). 'Relay' and 'support' translations. In A. Chesterman, N. G. S. Salvador, and Y. Gambier (Eds.), *Translation in context: selected contributions from the Est Congress, Granada 1998* (pp. 17–26). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

European Union. (2020). Guidelines pursuant to Article 13(7) of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive on the calculation of the share of European works in on-demand catalogues and on the definition of low audience and low turnover. In *Official Journal of the European Union C223* (Vol. 63, pp. 10–16). European Union. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ:C:2020:223:TOC

Gambier, Y. (2003). Introduction: Screen transadaptation: perception and reception. *The Translator*, *9*(2), 171–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2003.10799152

Garcia, S. E. (2020, February 17). *After 'Parasite,' are subtitles still a one-inch barrier for Americans?*. The New York Times. Retrieved October 13, 2021, from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/12/movies/movies-subtitles-parasite.html

Georgakopoulou, P. (2012). Challenges for the audiovisual industry in the digital age: the everchanging needs of subtitle production. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 17, 78–103. https://jostrans.org/issue17/art_georgakopoulou.pdf

Gottlieb, H. (1994). Subtitling: diagonal translation. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, *2*(1), 101–121. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.1994.9961227

Gottlieb, H. (2004). Subtitles and international anglification. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, *3*(1), 219–230.

Grawunder, S., & Winter, B. (2011). The polite voice in Korean: searching for acoustic correlates of contaymal and panmal. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, *19*, pp. 419–431.

Grawunder, S., & Winter, B. (2012). The phonetic profile of Korean formal and informal speech registers. *Journal of Phonetics*, *40*(6), pp. 808–815. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wocn.2012.08.006

Grigaravičiūte, I., & Gottlieb, H. (1999). Danish voices, Lithuanian voiceover. the mechanics of non-synchronous translation. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, *7*(1), 41–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.1999.9961347

Groskop, V. (2021, October 14). *Lost in translation? The one-inch truth about Netflix's subtitle problem*. The Guardian. Retrieved October 16, 2021, from https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2021/oct/14/squid-game-netflix-translations-subtitle-problem

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1999). Three lines of meaning in the clause. In *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (4th ed., pp. 82–87). London and New York: Routledge.

Hwang, D. (Director), Uhm, Y., Bae, J., & Na, B. (Producers). (2011). 도가니 [Silenced]. Samgeori Pictures. https://www.netflix.com/title/70241118

Hwang, D. (Writer & Director) (2021). 오징어 게임 [Squid Game]. Siren Pictures Inc.; Netflix. https://www.netflix.com/title/81040344

Ivarsson, J., & Carroll, M. (1998). *Subtitling*. Simrishamn: TransEdit.

Jeong, K. Y. (2022). Gender and class in Parasite. In In Y. Kim (Ed.), *The soft power of the Korean Wave: Parasite, BTS and drama* (pp. 79–89). London and New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003102489-4

Jewitt, C., Bezemer, J., & O'Halloran, K. (2016). *Introducing multimodality*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jin, D. Y. (2016). *New Korean Wave: transnational cultural power in the age of social media*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

Kang, I. (Director), Kang, B. (Director), & Lee Duk Gun (Producer). (2004). 해신 [Emperor of the Sea]. Kim Jong-hak Production.

Kiaer, J. (2018). *The Routledge course in Korean translation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Kiaer, J. (2019). Translating invisibility: the case of Korean-English literary translation. In J. Guest and X.A. Li (Eds.), *Translation and literature in East Asia* (pp. 81–117). London and New York: Routledge.

Kiaer, J., & Kim, Loli. (2022). One-inch-tall barrier of subtitles: translating invisibility in Parasite. In Y. Kim (Ed.), *The soft power of the Korean Wave: Parasite, BTS and drama* (pp. 90–103). London and New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003102489-7

Kim, D., & Kim, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Hallyu: influence of Korean popular culture in Asia and beyond*. Seoul: SNU Press.

Kim, Y. (2022). Introduction: popular culture and soft power in the social media age. In Y. Kim (Ed.), *The soft power of the Korean Wave: Parasite, BTS and drama* (pp. 1–38). London and New York: Routledge.

König, G. (1990). Türkçede sen/siz adıllarının ikinci tekil şahıs için kullanımına Toplum-bilimsel bir yaklaşım [A Sociolinguistic approach to the use of Sen/Siz second person pronouns in Turkish]. In S. Özsoy & H. Sebüktekin (Eds.), *IV. Dilbilim Sempozyumu bildirileri* (pp. 175–184). Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları.

Kress, G. (2017). What is mode?. In C. Jewitt (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of multimodal analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 60–75). London and New York: Routledge.

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: the modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Arnold.

Lee, B. (Director), & Jo, J. (Producer). (2003). 대장금 [Jewel in the Palace]. MBC.

Lee, D. (2019). 영화 <기생충> 연구 - 희비극으로 재현한 계급 공존의 불가능성 [A Study On The Film <Parasite>: Impossibility of Coexistence Between Classes Reenacted by Tragic Comedy]. *Ŏmunyŏn'gu*, *101*, 283–303. http://doi.org/10.17297/rsll.2019.101..011

Lee, H. (2019, June 14). *'Parasite' subtitle translator: comedies are a fun challenge*. Korea.net. Retrieved October 13, 2021, from https://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Culture/view?articleId=171974

Lee, I., & Ramsey, R. (2000). *The Korean language*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Lee, S. (2015). A decade of Hallyu scholarship: toward a new direction in Hallyu 2.0. In S. Lee and A.M. Nornes (Eds.), *Hallyu 2.0: the Korean Wave in the age of social media* (pp. 1–27). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lee, T., Kim, S., Ham, Y., Choi, H., & Park, J. (Directors). (2016). 청춘시대 [Hello, My Twenties!]. Drama House. https://www.netflix.com/title/80128686

Lim, J. (2021, October 17). *Lost in 'Squid Game' translation. The Korea Times*. Retrieved October 28, 2021, from https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/opinion/2021/10/352_317138.html

MacDonald, J. (2022, November 5). *From subtitles to indies: Darcy Paquet captures the best of Korean cinema*. Forbes. https://www.forbes.com/sites/joanmacdonald/2022/11/05/from-subtitles-to-indies-darcy-paquet-captures-the-best-of-korean-cinema/

Mangiron, C., & O'Hagan, M. (2006). Game localisation: unleashing imagination with 'restricted' translation. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, *6*(1), 10–21. https://www.jostrans.org/issue06/art_ohagan_spare.php

Martínez-Tejerina, A. (2014). Subtitling for film festivals: process, techniques and challenges. *Revista de traductología*, *18*, 215–225. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10230/33950

Merican, S. (2021, February 26). *Netflix will invest $500 million in Korean content this year*. Forbes. https://www.forbes.com/sites/saramerican/2021/02/26/netflix-will-invest-500-million-in-korean-content-this-year/

Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2006). *Statistics in the cultural industry*. Seoul: MCT

Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism. (2011). *The music industry whitepaper of 2010.* Seoul: MCST.

Murillo, M. Y. (2020, April 24). *See what I mean?: the subtitler for Bong Joon Ho and Hong Sangsoo talks about the nuances of on-screen translation and working with filmmakers*. Film Comment. Retrieved October 13, 2021, from https://www.filmcomment.com/article/see-what-i-mean-subtitles-darcy-paquet-bong-joon-ho-hong-sangsoo/

Namkung, V. (2021, October 13). *Translators, experts weigh in on 'Squid Game' subtitle debate*. NBC News. Retrieved October 13, 2021, from https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/translators-experts-weigh-squid-game-subtitle-debate-rcna2568

Netflix. (2021a, January). *Annual report on form 10-K of Netflix, Inc.* (No. 001–35727). United States Securities and Exchange Commission. https://s22.q4cdn.com/959853165/files/doc_financials/2020/ar/8f311d9b-787d-45db-a6ea-38335ede9d47.pdf

Netflix. (2021b, July 9). *Timed text style guide: subtitle templates*. Netflix: Partner Help Center. Retrieved April 19, 2022, from https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/219375728-Timed-Text-Style-Guide-Subtitle-Templates

Nikolić, K. (2018) Reception studies in audiovisual translation – interlingual subtitling. In Y. Gambier and E. Di Giovanni (Eds.), *Reception studies and audiovisual translation* (pp. 179–197). Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Nornes, A. M. (1999). For an abusive subtitling. *Film quarterly*, *52*(3), 17–34. https://doi.org/10.2307/1213822

Nornes, A. M. (2007). *Cinema Babel: translating global cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Nye, J.S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign Policy*, *80*, 153–171. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1148580

Odar, B. bo, (Director) & Friese, J. (Producer). (2017). *Dark*. Wiedemann & Berg Television. https://www.netflix.com/title/80100172

Oh, I. (2009). Hallyu: the rise of transnational cultural consumers in China and Japan. *Korea Observer*, *40*(3), 425–459.

Oh, J. (Director), & Moon, B. (Producer). (2015). 용팔이 [Yong-pal]. HB Entertainment. https://www.netflix.com/title/80998966

Oh, Y. J. (2022). The transcultural logic of capital: the house and stairs in Parasite. In Y. Kim (Ed.), *The soft power of the Korean Wave: Parasite, BTS and drama* (pp. 67–78). London and New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003102489

Oziemblewska, M., & Szarkowska, A. (2020). The quality of templates in subtitling. A survey on current market practices and changing subtitler competences. *Perspectives*, *30*(3), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2020.1791919

Pedersen, J. (2011). *Subtitling norms for television*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pérez-González, L. (2014). *Audiovisual translation: theories, methods and issues*. London: Routledge.

Pérez-González, L. (2020). Multimodality. In M. Baker & G. Saldanha (Eds.), *Routledge encyclopedia of translation studies* (3rd ed., pp. 346–351). London and New York: Routledge.

Pięta, H. (2017). Theoretical, methodological and terminological issues in researching indirect translation: A critical annotated bibliography, *Translation Studies*, *10*(2), 198–216. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2017.1285248

Popovič, A. (1971/2011). The concept 'shift of expression' in translation analysis. In J. Holmes (Ed.), *The nature of translation: essays on the theory and practice of literary translation*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110871098

Press Trust of India. (2021, October 14). *Bong Joon-ho's interpreter, Sharon Choi, has revised subtitles of Squid Game*. NEWS9LIVE. Retrieved December 6, 2021, from https://www.news9live.com/entertainment/bong-joon-ho-interpreter-sharon-choi-revised-subtitles-of-squid-game-after-receiving-criticism-126216

Rochlin, M. (2019, October 19). *'Ramdon' or jjapaguri: on the Korean dish in Bong Joon Ho's 'Parasite'*. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved August 22, 2022, from https://www.latimes.com/food/story/2019-10-19/parasite-ramdon-bong-joon-ho-ramen-udon-jjapaguri

Roettgers, J. (2018, March 6). *Netflix's drama 'Dark' may be from Germany, but 90% of its viewers are not*. Variety. Retrieved December 12, 2022, from https://variety.com/2018/digital/news/netflix-dark-international-audience-1202719270/

Rosa, A.A., Pięta, H., & Bueno Maia, R. (2017). Theoretical, methodological and terminological issues regarding indirect translation: An overview. *Translation Studies*, *10*(2), 113–132. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2017.1285247

Sandford, J. (2015, September 22). *The impact of subtitle display rate on enjoyment under normal television viewing conditions*. BBC. Retrieved March 9, 2022, from https://www.bbc.co.uk/rd/publications/whitepaper306

Seo, G. (2019, July). 번역가 - 〈기생충〉: 번역가 달시 파켓 '영화 속 캐릭터에 가장 가깝게 표현하는 게 나의 일.' [Translator of 〈Parasite〉: translator Darcy Paquet says 'It's my job to express characters as closely as possible.']. Topclass. Retrieved October 13, 2021, from https://topclass.chosun.com/board/view.asp?catecode=Q&tnu=201907100012

Shim, D. (2006). Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia. *Media, culture & society*, *28*(1), 25–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443706059278

Shin, K. (2006). 한류 열풍은' 아시아 공통문화 창출'의 키워드: 일본의 한류 [The Hallyu wind is the key word to the creation of Asian common culture: Korean Wave in Japan]. In Yoon-Whan Shin and Han-Woo Lee (Eds.), *Tongasiaŭi Hallyu* (pp. 221–261). Seoul: Chŏnyewŏn.

Sims, D. (2020, February 10). *How Bong Joon Ho invented the weird world of Parasite*. The Atlantic. Retrieved August 17, 2022, from https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2019/10/bong-joon-ho-parasite-interview/600007/

Sohn, H. (1999). *The Korean language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Squid Game subtitles 'change meaning' of Netflix show. (2021, October 4). BBC. Retrieved October 13, 2021, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-58787264

Stasimioti, M. (2022, May 4). *What to do about the talent crunch in media localization*. Slator. https://slator.com/what-to-do-about-the-talent-crunch-in-media-localization/

Titford, C. (1982). Sub-titling: constrained translation. *Lebende Sprachen*, 27(3), 113–116.

Toury, G. (2012). A lesson from indirect translation. In *Descriptive studies and beyond* (rev. ed., pp. 161–178). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Türközü, S. G. (2009). *Korece ve Türkçe arasındaki benzerlikler: dil-kültür bağıntısına Korece ve Türkçe* [Similarities between Korean and Turkish: Korean and Turkish in the language-culture context]. Ankara: Likya.

Türközü, S.G. (2018). Kültürel çeviri bağlamında Korece-Türkçe çeviri çalışmaları [Korean-Turkish translation studies in the context of cultural translation]. *Turnalar, 1*, pp. 5–12.

Venuti, L. (2019). The trouble with subtitles. *Contra instrumentalism* (pp. 127–172). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvgc62bf.8

Vermeulen, A. (2011). The impact of pivot translation on the quality of subtitling. *International Journal of Translation*, *23*(2), 119–134. http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-4211129

Vinay, J. P., & Darbelnet, J (1958/1995). *Comparative stylistics of French and English: a methodology for translation* (J.C. Sage & M.J. Hamel, Eds. & Trans.). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vivarelli, N. (2021, May 21). *Why Turkish dramas are conquering Hispanic audiences in the U.S. on Univision*. Variety. Retrieved January 2, 2023, from https://variety.com/2021/tv/news/turkish-dramas-u-s-hispanic-audiences-univision-1234978398/

Walden, M. (2021, October 6). *Squid Game subtitles and dubbing prompt online debate over Netflix's translation*. ABC News. Retrieved October 27, 2021, from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-10-06/squid-game-translation-controversy-netflix-korean-english/100514482

Yoon, K. (2004). Not just words: Korean social models and the use of honorifics. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, *1*(2), 189–210. https://doi.org/10.1515/iprg.2004.1.2.189

Yun, G. (2009). 중국의 한류 수용양상: 선택적 수용, 저항 그리고 변용 및 주변화 [Hallyu in China: selective reception, resistance, transformation, and marginalization]. *Chung-so Yŏn'gu*, *32*(4), 98–130. http://doi.org/10.21196/aprc.32.4.200902.004

Zeyrek, D. (2001). Politeness in Turkish and its linguistic manifestations: A socio-cultural perspective. In. A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic politeness across boundaries: the case of Greek and Turkish* (pp. 43–73). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Zilberdik, N. J. (2004). Relay translation in subtitling. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, *12*(1), 31–55. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2004.9961489

Zorrilla, M. M. (2022, February 1). *Netflix top 10: Korean dramas, thrillers and romance series continue to dominate*. Variety. Retrieved January 2, 2023, from https://variety.com/2022/tv/news/netflix-all-of-us-are-dead-squid-game-our-beloved-summer-top-10-1235169273/