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The modal forms *must* and *should* in English academic discourse by Spanish postgraduates

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a corpus linguistics study investigating the use and functions of the modal verbs, *must* and *should,* in academic discourse. The study analyses a corpus of doctoral dissertations within two distinct fields of knowledge, written in English and submitted to Spanish universities between 2011 and 2021. By employing corpus linguistics, we could interrogate this compilation to obtain concordances that could be analysed from a horizontal perspective, ensuring that each sample was appraised appropriately within its context of occurrence. The frequency and distribution of these modals in various contexts were examined. The findings revealed that *must* and *should* are utilised with differing frequencies and in diverse ways, depending on the academic discipline and the rhetorical purpose of the discourse. The paper contends that the use of modality, particularly deontic modality, is a vital aspect of academic writing, as it signals the writer's stance and the level of necessity, recommendation or obligation in their argumentation.

Keywords: *modality; must; should; academic discourse; corpus linguists.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The study of academic language has been a subject of interest for linguists for several decades, as it is considered a critical mode of communication across various disciplines. Understanding its unique features, structure and use is essential for effective communication and dissemination of knowledge. Examples of this interest include Swales' (1990) influential book, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*, which provides a framework for analysing academic genres and discourse communities, emphasising the importance of understanding the social and rhetorical context of academic writing. Similarly, Halliday and Martin's (1993) book, *Writing Science: Literacy and Discursive Power*, explores the role of language in constructing scientific knowledge and how linguistic features contribute to creating disciplinary identities. In recent years, scholars such as Hyland (2004), Hyland and Bondi (2006), Flowerdew and Peacock (2012) and Álvarez-Gil and Bondi (2021) have focused on the role of discourse and genre in academic writing, highlighting the significance of understanding the conventions and expectations of different genres and the impact of disciplinary and cultural contexts on academic communication.

Furthermore, academic discourse is characterised by a high level of formality and a specific set of conventions expected to be followed by its participants. One of the key elements in this type of discourse is the use of modality (Alonso-Almeida, 2015), which plays a crucial role in conveying the writer's stance and attitude towards the information presented (Alonso-Almeida, 2014). Within the realm of modality in scientific texts, deontic modals have received significant attention due to their ability to express obligations, permissions, recommendations and prohibitions, as evidenced in works such as Portner (2009), Charlow and Chrisman (2016), Carr (2017), Alonso-Almeida and Álvarez-Gil (2019) and Álvarez-Gil (2021).

This article explores the use of selected deontic modals in academic discourse, specifically focusing on doctoral dissertations written in English and presented at Spanish universities between 2011 and 2021. To achieve this goal, we compiled a corpus of 220 doctoral dissertations representing major fields of knowledge. Our objective is to provide insights into the frequency and distribution of deontic modals in the corpus and to identify usage patterns across different fields of knowledge. We also draw on relevant literature related to modality in academic discourse to provide a theoretical framework for our analysis (Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2021; Carrió-Pastor, 2014; Collins, 2009; Gao, 2012; Pic & Furmaniak, 2012; Recski, 2006). Our analysis will contribute to understanding deontic modality in academic discourse and developing effective communication strategies for academic writers in the form of didactic materials reflecting standard uses of modal verbs in the language to achieve specific discourse and pragmatic meanings.

This article is structured as follows. In the first section, we provide an overview of the relevant literature on modality, paying particular attention to the deontic type. In the second section, we describe our corpus and methodology. In the third section, we present our findings, discussing the frequency and functions of deontic modals in the corpus and identifying usage patterns across different fields of knowledge. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings for academic writing and the role of deontic modals in expressing authority in academic discourse.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Modality

In academic discourse, the use of modal verbs is a crucial aspect of conveying meaning and expressing authority. However, while research on the epistemic modality in English is plentiful (Alonso-Almeida, 2015; Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2019; Alonso-Almeida & Carrió-Pastor, 2017; Caffi, 1999, 2007; Czerwionka, 2012), the area of deontic modality in academic discourse remains underrepresented in the literature. In this article, the aim is to address this gap by analysing the use of deontic modality in a corpus of doctoral dissertations, with the analysis of the data for detecting deontic meaning primarily based on Collins (2009), while the understanding of modality draws on Hoye (1997), Palmer (1990, 2001) and Collins (2009).

This analysis explores how authors use deontic modality to indicate authority in expressing scientific thought. While there is a general tendency to evaluate mitigation in scientific discourse, a certain degree of imposition and commitment to truth is necessary to effectively communicate scientific ideas. The strategic use of deontic and epistemic modalities can also contribute to the author's reputation in that they may enhance their authority or, otherwise, mitigate the propositional context.

Furthermore, expressing necessity in the scientific domain may be closely linked to argumentative reasoning (Alonso Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2021), making the use of deontic modals unavoidable. However, it is important to balance this with the need for mitigation to avoid potential face-threatening acts, as a lack of determinacy may result in a lack of reliance by potential expert readers. By examining the use of deontic modality in academic discourse, this article seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of modal verbs in conveying authority and expressing scientific ideas.

II.1.1. Deontic modality

Modality is frequently associated with expressing possibility, probability, obligation and necessity. Ormelius-Sandblom and Elisabet (1996, p. 102) define modality more broadly as qualifying a proposition or the content of an utterance. In other words, modality modifies the contents of a proposition to convey the speaker's communicative intentions (Lyons 1977, p. 452). Various language devices can express modality, but this article focuses exclusively on modal verbs.

The literature presents several classifications of modal meanings, but the tripartite division among epistemic, dynamic and deontic modality is widely accepted. Epistemic modality concerns matters of knowledge or belief, allowing speakers to express judgments about states of affairs, events or actions (Hoye, 1997, p. 42). Dynamic modality, a subcategory of Palmer's event modality (2001), involves the speaker's willingness and ability to perform an activity. Alonso-Almeida and Álvarez-Gil (2020,

p. 64) argue that ‘dynamic modality is an important language feature in technical texts, as uses of modals can only be justified according to the notions of dispositions and potentiality’.

Deontic modality is often defined as the ‘necessity of acts in terms of which the speaker gives permission or lays an obligation for the performance of actions at some time in the future’ (Hoye, 1997, p. 43). This definition includes notions of permission and obligation, which are commonly associated with deontic modality (Cann, 1993, p. 279). Auwera and Plungian (1998, p. 81) describe deontic modality as ‘identifying the enabling or compelling circumstances external to the participant as some person(s) often the speaker, and/or as some social or ethical norm(s) permitting or obliging the participant to engage in the state of affairs’. Mortelmans et al. (2009, p. 16) suggest that this modality type offers insight into the degree of moral desirability of a state of affairs, as seen in the example ‘We should pay the bill this time’.

Collins (2009, p. 22) explicitly links deontic meaning with authority, stating that it ‘occurs when the factors impinging on the actualisation of the situation referred to in the utterance involve some type of authority – as when a person or a set of rules or a social convention is responsible for the imposition of an obligation or a granting of permission’. This emphasises the importance of authority in the notion of deontic modality and how it can be perceived from various perspectives. According to Portner (2009, p. 2), deontic modality is related to right and wrong according to a system of rules, which implies an evaluative dimension. This evaluative aspect of deontic modality makes it useful for rhetorical purposes, as noted by Charlow and Chrisman (2016, p. 3), who describe it as a phenomenon encompassing normative concepts and thought, such as practical reasoning. It is crucial to distinguish between deontic possibility (or permission) and deontic necessity (or obligation), which include meanings related to what is permitted and what is required, respectively (Auwera & Plungian, 1998, pp. 82–98). These different types of deontic modalities are exemplified in the following examples (a), (b) and (c):

(a) *You may bring a friend to dinner if you like.* (Deontic possibility)

In example (a), the speaker permits the listener to bring a friend to dinner. The deontic modality here is related to what is permitted.

(b) *You must submit the report by the end of the week.* (Deontic necessity)

In instance (b), the speaker imposes an obligation on the listener to submit the report by the end of the week. The deontic modality here relates to what is necessary or required.

Various linguistic forms can express modalities, such as adverbials, modal verbs, clitics and lexical matrices. For this research, we have chosen to focus on modal verbs to analyse the texts in my selected corpus of doctoral dissertations and to compare them to other registers in future studies. Biber et al. (1999, p. 483) identified nine central modal verbs in present-day English: *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would* and *must*. Moreover, there are peripheral or marginal modals, such as *need (to)*, *should*, *dare (to)* and *used to*, as well as periphrastic idiomatic expressions, such as *have to* and *be supposed to* (Biber et al., 1999, p. 484). However, my investigation is confined exclusively to central modal verbs.

Denison (1993, p. 292) elucidated the morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria employed to classify modal verbs. These criteria include the absence of non-finite forms, tense distinction, the lack of third-person singular present indicative suffixes, the capacity to contract and function as clitics in negative forms, the absence of imperative forms, the requirement of a bare infinitive, scope over propositional content, the possibility of co-occurring with other modal verbs in some dialects and sharing the same set of NICE properties as operators, as exemplified below:

A: May I use your phone for just a second?

B: Of course, you may.

II.2. Corpus description and methodology

This study utilises a corpus of 220 English-written doctoral dissertations submitted to Spanish universities between 2011 and 2021. The corpus comprises two sub-corpora so that major fields of knowledge are represented: (1) social sciences and law and (2) natural sciences. Each sub-corpus encompasses 10 theses per year from its respective field of study. The dissertations were sourced from the institutional repositories of 11 public universities across various regions in Spain, ensuring a diverse corpus in terms of the authors' backgrounds.

The total word count in the corpus exceeds 10 million, distributed almost evenly between the sub-corpora. This count includes all relevant sections of the theses pertinent to this study, excluding metatextual material such as tables of contents, acknowledgements, dedications, bibliographies and biographical data. Table 1 presents the distribution of words and texts per sub-corpus, and the specific disciplines included within each field of knowledge are as follows:

- **Natural sciences:** Chemistry; marine science; geology; astronomy and astrophysics; physics
- **Social sciences and law:** Economics and business; sociology; law and political sciences.

Table 1. *Number of words and texts distributed per corpus.*

Sub-corpus	Number of texts	Number of words
Natural sciences	110	5,331,257
Social sciences and law	110	5,605,840
Total	220	10,937,097

Employing corpora for analysing linguistic phenomena, such as deontic modals, presents distinct advantages by facilitating the examination of instances within authentic contexts found in extensive text collections. In the present study, we adopt a corpus-based approach, utilising the corpus linguistics software tool, AntConc, to extract and analyse occurrences of deontic modals within the corpus. Nevertheless, a notable limitation of computer-based research lies in its inability to automatically evaluate the pragmatic dimension, even if the corpus contains part-of-speech tagging. Pragmatic interpretation considers all types of contexts and this may require visual inspection of the texts. Consequently, manual context assessment becomes essential for disambiguating meanings and comprehending pragmatic and discursive functions. This study employed a combination of computer interrogation of PhD texts and meticulous visual inspection of instances within specific contexts to address this limitation.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results section of this work presents a comparative analysis of the modal verbs, *should* and *must,* in two distinct subcorpora. The study aims to provide insight into the different functions that modal verbs can perform within academic discourse. Instances from the two subcorpora will be given ensuring that the examples were from dissertations presented in different years and authored by diverse individuals. The comparative analysis is based on identifying the functions performed by *should* and *must* in both compilations, encompassing recommendations, obligations, deductions and predictions. The findings of this study offer a valuable contribution to understanding the usage of these modal verbs in academic discourse and can inform future research in this field.

Concerning the absolute frequency of these modal verbs in the two subcorpora analysed, it is shown below in Figure 1.

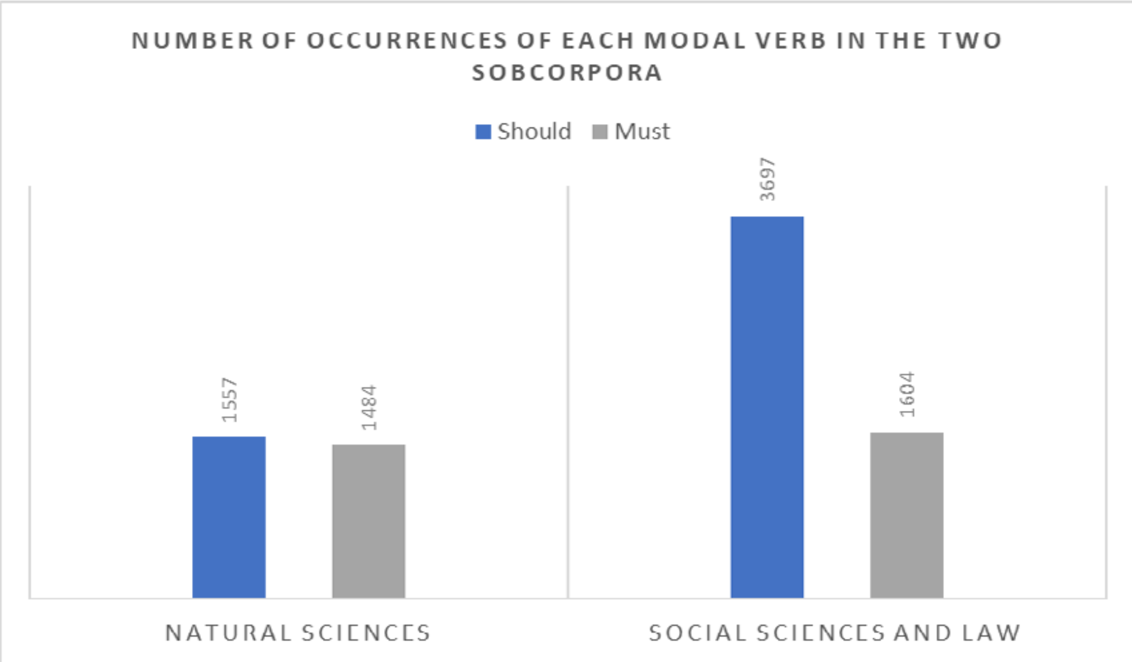

Figure 1. *Occurrences of must and should per subcorpora.*

Table 2. *Absolute and relative frequencies of each modal verb per subcorpora.*

	Natural Sciences		Social Sciences and Law	
Modal verb	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 10k tokens)	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (per 10k tokens)
must	1,484	2.78	1,604	2.81
should	1,557	2.92	3,697	6.48

As can be seen from Table 2, the relative frequencies of must is almost identical in both subcorpora. However, it is in the case of should, in which a great variation can be found since the frequency of this modal verb in the case of the subcorpus of Social Sciences and Law is more than doble the frequency in the subcorpus of Natural Sciences.

An analysis of selected examples from both subcorpora leads to the conclusion that deontic modals in our corpus can be classified into three main groups according to the function they serve in a specific sentence: (a) recommendation or suggestion, (b) obligation and (c) necessity.

III.1. Expression of recommendation or suggestion: Deontic possibility

The following examples belong to dissertations within the sub-corpus of natural sciences:

1. A cartoon of the block face was drawed [sic] with the cut-off corner on a block sheet and the area of interest that **should** appear in the ultrathin sections sketched (Benítez-Santana, 2011).
2. That means that it **should** exist a more general theory [sic], which includes the Standard Model as a valid approximation for low energy. This more general theory **must** give answers to the previous unresolved questions (Calancha-Paredes, 2011).
3. This fact illustrates that downscaling exercises based on a single configuration of parameters **should** be interpreted with extreme caution (García-Bustamante, 2011).

In (1), the modal *should* is employed to convey a recommendation or suggestion, indicating that the area of interest in ultrathin sections holds importance and thus should be included. In contrast, in (2), the speaker suggests that a more general theory is expected to exist, encompassing the standard model as a valid approximation for low-energy scenarios. The use of *should* also implies that this expectation is founded on logical reasoning or evidence. Conversely, *must* is utilised to express a necessity or an obligation. The speaker asserts that this more general theory is required to address previously unresolved questions, signifying that no other option or alternative exists. It is intriguing to observe that in (2), the author's involvement varies when using *should* in the first sentence – employed to convey their opinion – while *must* is used in the second sentence to indicate a fact resulting from the aforementioned 'general theory'. In instance (3), *should* is employed to express a recommendation, suggesting that interpreting downscaling exercises based on a singular configuration of parameters necessitates careful consideration.

4. As a consequence, the energy demand will increase exponentially. To solve the problem, we **should** not rely on oil/carbon for the forthcoming years, as we would surely increase the CO_2 [sic] emissions and air pollution. Also, we **should** not depend on nuclear energy because it represents a perilous road, as demonstrated by accidents like Fukushima or Chernobyl (Buencuerpo-Fariña, 2017).

In (4), *should* is employed to articulate a recommendation or suggestion. The speaker contends that resolving the growing energy demand necessitates alternative oil, carbon and nuclear energy solutions. Utilising *should* implies that the speaker deems these recommendations as the most suitable or desirable courses of action based on their judgement and values. The speaker insinuates that dependence on oil, carbon or nuclear energy may result in adverse consequences, such as increased CO_2 emissions, air pollution or threats to human health and safety. By deploying *should*, the speaker refrains from presenting these recommendations as incontrovertible facts, but rather as preferred actions aligned with their beliefs and values.

5. We do not know if this method works for any structure of this type. To deal with this problem, we **should** define properly the type of solution that we consider valid (García-Segador, 2020).

6. As mentioned above (Fig. 4), in order to form the macrocycles, all the monomers comprising the assembly **must** adopt exclusively a syn conformation exclusively. This is a degree of freedom that is lost when comparing open and cyclic oligomers and **must** contribute to a reduction of the maximum attainable EM value of the systems (Serrano-Molina, 2021).

In (5), the modal verb *should* conveys a suggestion or recommendation. The speaker indicates that defining the type of solution deemed valid is necessary or advisable to address the issue of uncertainty regarding the method's efficacy for any structure of this kind. The usage of *should* implies that the speaker offers a recommendation or advice. The sentence communicates the idea that determining the valid solution type can help ensure the method's effectiveness across various structures of this kind. Conversely, in (6), the modal verb *must* is utilised to express a conclusion. The speaker proposes that the loss of a degree of freedom in the monomers comprising the assembly inevitably contributes to a decrease in the system's maximum attainable EM value. The use of *must* signifies the speaker's belief that this is a necessary or unavoidable consequence of the loss of a degree of freedom. The sentence conveys the notion that the loss of a degree of freedom in the monomers is a factor that must be considered when examining the system's maximum attainable EM value.

7. In any case, since the properties of bulk systems can be represented by summing up pairwise interactions by virtue of the Clausius' virial theorem, the characteristics and properties of the (energy-volume) curve **must** recall those of the one-dimensional potential energy curve. Under this simplified view, the rupture limit of a one-dimensional interaction **must** be determined by the same conditions than [sic] in bulk but considering the distance, force and stretching force constant instead of the volume, pressure and bulk modulus, respectively. (Lobato-Fernández, 2019).

In the sentence, 'The characteristics and properties of the energy-volume curve must recall those of the one-dimensional potential energy curve' (7), the modal verb *must* is employed to convey a logical conclusion or inference. The speaker suggests that, based on the representation of bulk systems using pairwise interactions and Clausius' virial theorem, the energy-volume curve should possess characteristics and properties akin to those of the one-dimensional potential energy curve. The use of *must* signifies the speaker's conviction that this is a necessary or inescapable outcome of representing bulk systems through pairwise interactions. Similarly, in the sentence, 'The rupture limit of a one-dimensional interaction must be determined by the same conditions as in bulk', the modal verb *must* is once more utilised to express a logical conclusion or inference. The speaker posits that the conditions determining the rupture limit of a one-dimensional interaction should resemble those that govern rupture in bulk, albeit with different variables. The employment of the modal verb underscores the speaker's belief that the conditions dictating rupture in the one-dimensional case can be inferred from those in bulk.

The sub-corpus of social sciences and law also features instances of deontic possibility, as evidenced in the following example:

8. To this end, organizations **should** develop and apply measures in which ceiling effects can be avoided so that individuals ranging from mildly to extremely talented […] (Gallardo-Gallardo, 2013).

In conclusion, example (8) utilises the modal verb *should* to convey a recommendation or suggestion. The speaker advocates for the desirability of organisations to develop and implement measures to circumvent ceiling effects. The statement communicates the notion that organisations can adopt strategies to prevent ceiling effects, thereby ensuring that individuals with diverse levels of talent receive recognition and appreciation.

9. […] potential historical origins of East and Southeast Asian regional integration. Effectively, this is the main motivation of the present work, which, in order to be demonstrative, **should** cover the longest possible time span before the era of multilateralism began after World War II (Ayuso-Díaz, 2021).

Lastly, in (9), *should* functions to convey a recommendation or suggestion. The speaker proposes that the current study should encompass the most extensive time span possible before the emergence of multilateralism following World War II to ensure its illustrative value. Nevertheless, this is not an inflexible prerequisite.

10. As a matter of fact, if two different risky positions perfectly depend on the same risk factor, they **should** not benefit from diversification effects. Thus, in risk management, we **should** always use comonotonic additive risk measures (García-Jorcano, 2017).

In statement (10), the modal verb *should* is employed to convey a recommendation or a desirable course of action grounded in the speaker’s judgement. In this instance, the author advocates the use of comonotonic additive risk measures in risk management, with the aim of precluding potential loss in diversification effects. Furthermore, *should* is utilised in the initial sentence to denote a hypothetical scenario, suggesting that if two distinct risky positions exhibit perfect dependence on an identical risk factor, they should not benefit.

III.2. Expression of necessity: Deontic necessity

In the sub-corpus of natural sciences, we can find the following instances from three different doctoral dissertations in which the modal verb serves to express deontic necessity:

11. The metal centers **must** undoubtedly be considered as important building constituents in MOFs, due to the fact that they transfer their chemical and physical inherent properties to the final material (Platero-Prats, 2011).

In example (11), *must* is used to convey a sense of necessity, indicating that metal centres play an important role in MOFs and cannot be overlooked when considering their inherent properties. Combining the modal verb and the adverb undoubtedly reinforces the sense of necessity mentioned above.

12. In addition, in the assumptions of the multiscattering formalism it is implicitly assumed that the objects are stationary, at fixed positions in space, so all results shown here are valid for quasistatic processes. Therefore, we **must** carefully consider when this quasistatic assumption does not apply, because the stationary system could abandon equilibrium, requiring more careful study. (Rodríguez López, 2012).

In example (12), *must* conveys a sense of necessity, indicating that the quasistatic assumption is crucial to the results' validity and that the system's departure from equilibrium requires more careful study.

13. For a clearer interpretation of the following figures, one **must** keep in mind that the x-axis shows the time in UTC, and [sic] vertical axis indicates temporal scales […] (Román-Cascón, 2016).

In the case of *must* in example (13), it is used to convey a sense of necessity, indicating that readers need to keep in mind that the x-axis shows the time in the UTC, and the vertical axis indicates temporal scales for a clearer interpretation of the following figures.

On the other hand, in the corpus of social sciences and law, we find the following examples that illustrate this function:

14. The literature review suggested that the in-store fashion experience **should** be an enjoyable and pleasurable experience and the hedonic elements are crucial on [sic] this (Blazquez-Cano, 2014).

In example (14), the modal verb *should* is used to express the idea that hedonic elements are crucial for an enjoyable and pleasurable in-store fashion experience. This implies that the inclusion of hedonic elements is necessary to create a positive experience for the customers.

15. However, from the point of view of an investor who **must** decide whether to diversify across countries or industries, these underlying reasons are irrelevant and we therefore [sic] do not study them (Bermejo, 2016).

In example (15), *must* is used to convey necessity. The author explains that while there may be underlying reasons for diversifying across countries or industries, these reasons are irrelevant to the investor's decision-making process. The use of *must* emphasises the idea that these underlying reasons are not necessary to consider when making investment decisions.

16. An assessment of the contributions made by IEOs about Moroccan integration seems to indicate that, while Morocco **must** still make certain efforts to improve economic stability in the domestic sphere and competitiveness in the international market, its commitment to insertion [ ] (Fernández-Fernández, 2018).

Meanwhile, in example (16), the modal verb *must* is used to indicate a necessity. In this case, the author suggests that Morocco must make certain efforts to improve economic stability in the domestic sphere and competitiveness in the international market if it wants to integrate effectively into the global economy.

III.3. Expression of requirement: Deontic obligation

Finally, a collection of excerpts was selected to exemplify the employment of the modal verbs *must* and *should* in their deontic obligation function. The initial instances presented below are derived from the natural sciences sub-corpus.

17. The existence of a FP implies that ETGs are well-virialised systems, have self-similar structures and contain stellar populations that **must** follow tight age and metallicity constraints (Domínguez-Sánchez, 2012).

In example (17), the term *must* serves to express a requirement or a compulsory condition. The speaker posits that the stellar populations within ETGs must adhere to strict age and metallicity constraints. This suggests that any deviation from these constraints would be incompatible with the existence of an FP. The employment of *must* indicates that these constraints are crucial for both the formation and preservation of the self-similar structures characteristic of ETGs and the virialisation of their systems.

18. To obtain asymptotically flat solutions, the metric functions **should** satisfy the following set of boundary conditions at infinity […] (Blazquez-Salcedo, 2014).
19. Depending upon the target's electrical conductivity the electric field supply **must** have different specificities (Pérez-Muñóz, 2018).

In example (18), *should* is employed to convey a requirement, signifying that the metric functions must meet a series of boundary conditions to derive asymptotically flat solutions. In contrast, example (19) utilises the modal verb *must* to express obligation. The speaker indicates that it is essential for the electric field supply to possess distinct specificities based on the target's electrical conductivity. The use of *must* implies that there will be consequences if the specificities are not suitably adjusted. The speaker underscores the significance of tailoring the electric field supply to the target's electrical conductivity for achieving the intended outcome.

The following presents a selection of examples from the social sciences and law sub-corpus, accompanied by their respective comments:

20. Public pension systems have appeared to be a powerful instrument to reduce poverty among the aged population and this is an aspect we should not renounce. As a consequence, the parametric reforms **must** try to simultaneously satisfy these two objectives. (Peinado-Martínez, 2011).

In (20), the modal verb *must* conveys a sense of obligation. The speaker argues that parametric reforms are required to reduce poverty among the ageing population and preserve the public pension system as an influential tool. This sentence communicates the crucial nature of satisfying both goals for parametric reforms to successfully maintain the public pension system as a potent instrument for alleviating poverty among the elderly population.

21. Finally, it is notable that there are important normative issues to be addressed about what roles universities **should** and **should** not undertake in the knowledge economy, as well as issues about whether we truly understand the diverse and multiple impacts that they actually do have (García-Estevez, 2012).
22. Respondents **must** assess 41 different indicators such as the social, economic, functional and physical situation of their own city. Telephone interviews using the CATI system are used for this purpose (Computer Assisted Telephone Interview) (Cuadrado-Ballesteros, 2012).

In example (21), the modal verb *should* is employed to convey a sense of obligation or duty. The speaker implies that addressing normative issues concerning the roles universities should undertake or avoid in the knowledge economy is both obligatory and responsible. The use of *should* signifies the speaker's belief in the importance and necessity of this action. The sentence conveys the notion that resolving these normative issues is crucial for delineating the roles of universities within the knowledge economy.

In example (22), *must* is utilised to express obligation or requirement. The speaker implies that the respondents are obliged or required to evaluate the 41 distinct indicators using the CATI system. The sentence communicates that it is the respondents' responsibility to assess these indicators to furnish accurate information regarding their city's social, economic, functional and physical aspects.

23. Before the IPO, the company **must** perform the required disclosure obligations (Alfonso-Pérez, 2014).

24. To develop our predictions, we build on the recent literature that suggests monitors possess limited time and attention and **must** rationally allocate their effort, challenging the view that all independent directors behave as efficient and diligent monitors [ ] (Vázquez-López, 2019).

In the instance of the modal verb *must* in (23), it conveys a compulsory action required prior to the IPO. This highlights the significance and necessity of meeting disclosure obligations to adhere to regulations and offering pertinent information to potential investors. In the case of (24), *must* is utilised to signify an obligation. The sentence implies that monitors represented here by independent directors possess limited time and attention; consequently, they should rationally allocate their efforts. The employment of *must* suggests that this action is essential for independent directors to fulfil their monitoring role effectively.

25. This law established that employers, landlords and hospitals **should** verify the immigration status of prospective tenants, employees and patients (Ortiz-Valverde, 2020).

26. The main idea is that German firms were embedded into an institutional setting that prevented unilateral or discretional decisions, so they **must** focus on long-term strategies and pursue economic returns in the long run. (Herrero-Alba, 2020).

In example (25), *should* is employed to convey a sense of obligation. The statement, 'The law established a requirement for employers, landlords and hospitals to verify the immigration status of prospective tenants, employees and patients', indicates that *should* implies a recommendation rather than an absolute necessity. In contrast, example (26) utilises *must* to express a compulsory obligation. The speaker asserts that the institutional setting precluded German firms from making unilateral or discretionary decisions, necessitating a focus on long-term strategies and pursuing economic returns over an extended period.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this study has shown the use of two significant modal verbs, *must* and *should*, in English academic discourse in Spanish universities. Our analysis has revealed that these modal verbs convey varying degrees of obligation, necessity and recommendation. Moreover, we have pinpointed specific contexts where these modal verbs are employed and the ramifications of their usage for the text's overall meaning. While it is accurate that in both sub-corpora, the deontic modals examined chiefly convey obligation, necessity and suggestion, their utilisation differs between the fields of social sciences and law and natural sciences. After analysing the data, we discovered that the employment of deontic modals with the meaning of deontic obligation is more prevalent in the social sciences and law, while there is a heightened inclination to use them to express deontic possibility in the natural sciences. Furthermore, the data indicate a predilection for using *should* to convey deontic possibility, while *must* is employed more frequently to express deontic obligation and necessity.

Overall, this study underscored the importance of comprehending the use of modal verbs in academic discourse and its influence on the clarity and persuasiveness of the text. We expect that this paper will contribute to the evolution of effective writing practices and foster communication across various academic disciplines. In addition to the interpersonal nuances associated with the use of deontic modals, it is evident that employing such modal meanings in thesis writing serves a textual purpose. Specifically, they aid in establishing clear argumentative patterns where the notion of necessity is pivotal and fundamental in conveying the candidate's overall perspective on the subject matter. Future studies should delve further into these aspects, as the persuasive meaning of deontic modals plays a significant role in the process of PhD writing.

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Psychological stress experienced by Arab simultaneous interpreters

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the psychological stress faced by interpreters proficient in the Arabic <> English language pair. Using a five-Likert-point survey, the study seeks to ascertain the perceptions of simultaneous interpreters regarding the stress-inducing elements they encounter during their professional engagements. The findings highlight that primary stress precipitators encompass subpar remuneration, an intensified sense of accountability for the interpreted content, and the lack of cooperation from private clientele. Concurrently, approximately two-thirds of the identified stressors trigger moderate stress levels. These include specialized terminology, inadequate speaker visibility, and the need for frequent travel, among other factors. The medical manifestations of this stress are prominently throat irritation, characterized by dryness and headaches, compromised concentration, somnolence, back pain, fatigue, eye irritation, and minimal rates of insomnia. The implications of this study could contribute significantly to the existing body of knowledge on stress dynamics within the realms of translation and interpreting and addressing human-centered concerns within the context of court interpreting.

Keywords: Psychological Stress; Simultaneous Interpreting; Job Satisfaction; Interpreting Coping Strategies

I. INTRODUCTION

The domain of translation and interpreting holds a crucial place in a globalized world, bridging the communication divide between diverse language groups. Interpreters and translators function as essential communication facilitators between parties that do not share a common linguistic code. Their task is not merely to convert words from one language to another but to convey the original communication's essence, context, and nuances. They must possess a profound and holistic command of source and target languages to do so. This implies a deep understanding of grammar and vocabulary and an awareness of cultural subtleties and contextual specificities associated with each language. Such a comprehensive grasp allows for the delivery of high-quality services that ensure accurate and effective communication. In addition to language mastery, interpreters and translators must continually broaden their knowledge and develop domain-specific expertise. Given that they might work across different fields such as law, medicine, technology, and more, they need to master the specialized terminology, concepts, and norms associated with each. Such understanding enables them to accurately transfer the information contained in the original text or speech, ensuring that the communication is accurate and coherent.

The profession of translation and interpreting, often perceived as a mere linguistic bridge, is a complex field characterized by a myriad of challenges that extend far beyond basic language conversion. Interpreters, whether engaged in simultaneous or consecutive modes, are required to navigate not just linguistic differences but also the intricate demands of diverse cultural and situational contexts (Pratiwi, 2022). This multi-faceted role transcends basic linguistic abilities, encompassing cognitive processing, emotional labor, and cultural intelligence (Fischbach & Schneider, 2022). These dimensions are critical, especially in high-stress environments such as courtrooms, international conferences, and healthcare settings, where interpreters must exhibit linguistic dexterity and high emotional resilience and adaptability (Kudrya & Lyzhina, 2019).

Scholarly works, such as Beeby et al. (2003) and Chabasse and Kader (2014), have underscored the importance of psychophysiological skills in interpreting. These include self-confidence, which allows interpreters to trust their skills and judgment; motivation, which drives them to maintain high-quality work; memory, which supports the retention and recall of information; emotion control, which aids in managing high-pressure situations; and stress management, which helps them maintain performance under demanding conditions.

In the same vein, Korpal (2021) stresses the importance of cognitive and non-cognitive skills in interpreting. Cognitive skills encompass a mastery of language, broad knowledge, and cognitive abilities like problem-solving and analytical thinking. On the other hand, non-cognitive skills involve self-control, resilience, personality traits, and motivation. A balance of cognitive and non-cognitive skills equips interpreters with the tools to manage their profession's demands effectively. However, constantly honing and improving these skills can appear daunting to future translators and interpreters. This is especially true considering the high-stress environments they might have to work in, such as courtrooms or hospitals. These settings pose unique challenges that demand advanced technical knowledge, emotional resilience, and strong stress management skills. Hence, developing these competencies becomes essential to thrive and perform effectively in these demanding scenarios. This study, therefore, aims to provide an in-depth understanding of these stress factors and their implications, contributing valuable insights to the field of translation and interpreting studies.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Background on Interpreting

Interpreting has evolved through several key developments, including the emergence of standardized practices, the recognition of multilingualism in modern society, and the founding of professional associations that have helped establish interpreting as a discipline. As a result, interpreting has grown significantly over recent decades into a well-established area of research with bright prospects for the future. At the same time, it maintains a pivotal role in facilitating communication across languages in many critical domains such as healthcare, international relations, community services, and others. Advanced technological tools such as the Interpreting Delivery Platform have also enhanced interpreters' ability to navigate the multi-faceted linguistic, cultural, and logistical issues that can arise before and during the interpretation process.

Fundamentally, the practice of interpreting goes beyond literal word-for-word conversion between languages. The interpreter's role is to comprehend the original message's meaning and intention and accurately convey that message into the target language without altering the original tone, register, or nuance (Napier, 2021). This complex process involves multiple steps. First, interpreters must grasp the entire meaning of the spoken or signed source message. This comprehension extends beyond essential linguistics to encompass subtle cultural contexts, unstated inferences, and the communicator's intentions (Angelelli, 2004). Next, interpreters analytically process the content and determine how to interpret the target language best accurately. This demanding task requires remarkable cognitive dexterity, deep linguistic proficiency in multiple languages, and keen cultural competence (Gile, 2009).

Interpreting typically follows one of two primary delivery modes: consecutive or simultaneous. In consecutive interpreting, the interpreter listens to the speaker deliver messages segmented by pauses, then provides interpreted renditions of those messages in the target language during those deliberate pauses. This format provides the interpreter sufficient time to cognitively process the speaker's statements and formulate accurate translations (Pöchhacker, 2011). In contrast, simultaneous interpreting requires the interpreter to convey the speaker's messages in the target language in real time, with only a slight lag of a few seconds behind the original speech, which continues uninterrupted. This modality places significant additional cognitive demands upon the interpreter due to the need for rapid mental translation and information processing even as the speaker continues delivering new content (Gile, 2009).

While interpreting offers intellectual rewards and satisfaction from enabling cross-cultural communication, the practice poses numerous core challenges (Bontempo & Napier, 2011). In particular, simultaneous interpreting can impose considerable stress upon practitioners stemming from this modality's real-time, high-stakes nature, as will be explored in this literature review (Moser-Mercer, 2003).

II.2. Cognitive Demands of Simultaneous Interpreting

Simultaneous interpreting pushes the limits of human cognitive capabilities due to the complex mental processing and multi-tasking this modality inherently demands. According to influential cognitive psychology models, such as Baddeley's (2000) seminal theoretical framework detailing the components of working memory like the phonological loop and central executive, simultaneous interpreters must continuously perceive, encode, and analyze the meaning of incoming speech; rapidly access relevant terminology in long-term memory; formulate coherent renditions in the target language; monitor their output for accuracy; and process subsequent incoming information nearly simultaneously. This necessitates seamlessly alternating between comprehension, production, and self-monitoring with only seconds of lag between the source and interpreted speech (Gile, 2009; Sweller, 2011).

Specifically, the real-time multi-channel processing simultaneous interpreting requires heavy taxes on the brain's limited cognitive capacity. Interpreters must constantly divide their attention between fully comprehending the newest input speech, committing key fragments to memory, conducting contextual and cultural analysis, producing fluent, coherent output in the target language, monitoring their delivery for mistakes, and preparing to process the next segment concurrently. This simultaneity of demands readily exceeds the limits of ordinary human working memory, according to extensive research on cognition and mental resource allocation. The result is an intrinsically heavy real-time mental processing burden (Christoffels & Groot, 2005; Pöchhacker, 2016).

Abundant psycholinguistic evidence from empirical studies demonstrates that the intrinsically high demands of simultaneous interpreting consistently overwhelm human cognitive capabilities. This frequently results in interpreters making significantly more omission, approximation, and imprecision errors while experiencing substantial mental fatigue that gradually degrades their output quality over time. For example, Gile's influential Effort Models of simultaneous interpreting elegantly demonstrate the trade-offs between the different cognitive components involved and illustrate how cognitive saturation occurs, leading to declining accuracy and fluency in the interpreted speech as mental resources are depleted (Gile, 2009).

Furthermore, controlled experimental research confirms that even among highly experienced professional interpreters, prolonged periods of simultaneous interpreting lead to measurable increases in lexical and phrasal approximations, omission of content details, distortion of meaning, and overall loss of precision in the interpretation as mental fatigue inevitably builds across a session.

Therefore, an extensive foundation of empirical literature supports the conclusion that without proper mitigation tactics and adequate recovery time between assignments, the heavy innate cognitive processing load imposed by the real-time demands of simultaneous interpreting will readily exceed the sustainable mental capacity of most practitioners. If consistently unchecked over time, this chronic overload can result in exhaustion, progressively deteriorating job performance, increased risks of both mental and cardiovascular health issues, and eventual burnout. These evidenced risks underscore the tremendous importance of comprehensive interpreter training that imparts scientifically validated cognitive load management strategies, psychological resilience-building techniques, and organizational workplace support systems tailored to meet interpreters' unique needs.

II.3. Emotional Labor and Demands

Interpreting in high-stress settings such as legal proceedings and healthcare environments often requires emotional labor on behalf of the interpreter. They are regularly exposed to sensitive, emotionally intense, or disturbing content while needing to maintain professional composure. For example, healthcare interpreters frequently must communicate tragic news to patients and families or interpret painful medical examinations. Legal interpreters may be repeatedly exposed to graphic accounts of violence, abuse, or trauma while translating witness testimony. Such occupational exposure increases the risk of vicarious trauma for interpreters (Hsieh, 2007; Valero-Garcés, 2014).

These significant cognitive demands of simultaneous interpreting are further compounded by the emotional labor inherently required to process and relay such sensitive content while regulating internal reactions and displaying appropriate outward professionalism (Bontempo & Napier, 2011; Gavioli & Baraldi, 2011). Extensive research conducted across human services professions demonstrate that the effort involved in managing one's natural internal emotions in order to exhibit expected external reactions is mentally demanding. Over time, this emotional labor can lead to psychological exhaustion, depersonalization, and a diminished sense of personal accomplishment (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 2012).

In particular, simultaneous interpreters very often work in emotionally complex settings such as legal proceedings, healthcare facilities, and social services, where they are repeatedly exposed to ethically ambiguous dilemmas, cultural dissonance, power imbalances, and narratives involving psychological trauma (Hsieh, 2007; Valero-Garcés, 2014). Needing to maintain composure despite personal reactions in such situations can lead to moral distress when internal values conflict with professional interpreting duties and code of ethics (Williamson et al., 2020). Furthermore, prolonged occupational exposure to profoundly disturbing material and accounts increases the risk of vicarious trauma and compassion fatigue, similar to other trauma-exposed professions like counseling and social work (Bontempo & Malcolm, 2012; Conrad & Kellar-Guenther, 2006; Craig & Sprang, 2010).

Potential adverse psychological effects include post-traumatic stress symptoms, emotional burnout, and chronic emotional distress. Recommended mitigation tactics to equip interpreters include limiting the frequency of exposure to deeply traumatic content where feasible providing training in self-care techniques like mindfulness and counseling support (Bontempo & Malcolm, 2012; Harrison & Westwood, 2009; Splevins et al., 2010).

The high-stakes nature of simultaneous interpreting adds further pressure and mental load, as interpreters must maintain total composure and professionalism while managing their own emotions even as they deliver empathetic, emotionally laden content. If unaddressed, attempting to balance regulated outward behavior with authentic inner reactions during continuous high-cognitive demand tasks can lead to immense emotional strain and psychological burnout (Dean & Pollard, 2005).

Therefore, comprehensive interpreter training programs should include education in emotional intelligence development, scientifically validated stress coping skills, fundamentals of trauma psychology, the establishment of peer support networks, and advocacy for supportive working conditions. Such initiatives will be crucial for mitigating the known emotional hazards of interpreting and ensuring sustainable career longevity, especially when serving vulnerable populations (Crezee et al., 2013; Hubscher-Davidson, 2017).

II.4. Job Satisfaction and Well-being

Given the established fast-paced, chronically high-stress nature of simultaneous interpreting work, the organizational environment and management practices play a critical role in preventing or directly contributing to practitioners' experiences of fatigue, burnout, and job dissatisfaction. Multiple studies confirm that persistently high levels of occupational stress and burnout negatively impact professional interpreters' job satisfaction and elevate turnover intentions (Huang et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2017).

An extensive body of research has consistently emphasized that granting simultaneous interpreters greater perceived autonomy and an enhanced internal sense of control over managing their workflow and process promotes self-efficacy, professional empowerment, and increased resilience in successfully handling multi-faceted occupational demands (Dean & Pollard, 2001; Mikkelson, 2016).

For example, workplace policies enabling flexibility by providing adequate preparation time, sufficient resources, regular breaks, and the ability to pace assignments are beneficial. These allow practitioners to prepare optimally for assignments and deliver their highest-quality interpretation work while minimizing mental fatigue (Angelelli, 2004; Baistow, 1994).

Additionally, providing abundant, continuous skills enhancement and upgrading opportunities through access to training workshops, mentors, and structured specialization tracks satisfies intrinsic human needs for ongoing learning and competency development. These are critical for sustaining passion, enabling career advancement, and supporting personal growth in a cognitively demanding profession over the long term (Hubscher-Davidson, 2017).

Implementing transparent advancement pathways and protocols for benchmarking compensation levels to proven expertise also helps. This objectively recognizes achievements, fulfills higher-order esteem needs, and enhances perceived success and job retention rates by making simultaneous interpretation practitioners feel valued, engaged, and motivated to excel (Angelelli, 2004; Bontempo & Napier, 2011).

Finally, the provision of customized workplace wellness programs offering counseling, stress and fatigue management, and mindfulness practice tailored to address the known and well-documented rigors of simultaneous interpreting are additionally beneficial. Ergonomic equipment and physical office environments optimized for peak cognitive functioning also provide vital infrastructure to support practitioner health. However, it remains equally important for individual interpreters themselves to proactively take personal ownership of their sustainability and resilience. This can involve purposefully utilizing personalized stress coping strategies, building professional peer support networks to share experiences, and actively prioritizing self-care practices, including maintaining healthy work-life balance and boundaries (Crezee et al., 2013).

II.5. Implications for Training and Support

Given the substantial cognitive, emotional, and occupational demands faced by practitioners of simultaneous interpreting, as thoroughly evidenced in the contemporary scientific literature, several crucial implications emerge for designing and implementing tailored training programs, mentorship frameworks, and organizational policies appropriately. The goal is to genuinely equip these professionals for peak effectiveness, career sustainability, and resilience (Okoniewska, 2022).

First, educational curriculums aimed at developing the next generation of practitioners must integrate rigorous instruction in a diverse range of strategies empirically shown to be effective for managing the intrinsically high cognitive load during the fast-paced demands of simultaneous interpreting tasks. Such cognitive load management techniques that should be explicitly taught include methods of strategically chunking input speech into meaningful units, effective note-taking strategies to optimize the capture and retrieval of data, and mindfulness exercises designed to enhance concentration skills and sustain focus even amidst significant performance pressure (Moser-Mercer, 2003).

Given the evidenced risks of vicarious trauma and burnout stemming from frequent occupational exposure to highly distressing content, training programs must also prioritize providing foundational education in evidence-based stress management tactics, psychological resilience-building activities tailored to the known rigors of interpreting, and peer support network creation. This will help equip learners with essential career-coping skills as early as possible (Hubscher-Davidson, 2017).

Furthermore, implementing thoughtfully designed mentorship opportunities that purposefully pair entry-level interpreters with highly seasoned veteran practitioners for extended guided practice can provide invaluable experiential guidance. Such mentoring frameworks enable novice interpreters to learn directly from experts who can share wisdom and proven strategies for proactively navigating the multi-faceted cognitive, emotional, interpersonal, and ethical challenges inherent to delivering truly high-caliber simultaneous interpretation performance in real-world, intrinsically high-pressure interpreting settings across community, medical, educational, and legal contexts (Hubscher-Davidson, 2017; Okoniewska, 2022).

Finally, from an organizational management perspective, workplace environments, online knowledge databases, physical resources, ergonomic equipment provisions, workload policies, and interpreter scheduling protocols should all be collaboratively designed to structurally align with and support the extensive evidence-based insights into proven interpreter needs that have emerged from the scientific literature (Fu et al., 2020). Organizations can support interpreters by allowing adequate preparation time and regular breaks during assignments, educating other staff about interpreter stress, and fostering work-life balance through reasonable schedules.

III. METHODOLOGY

Embarking upon a comprehensive exploration of psychological stress among simultaneous interpreters, this study employed a robust quantitative approach. An intricate online questionnaire developed via Google Forms was deployed as a primary data collection tool. The questionnaire was meticulously designed to encapsulate interpreters' perceptions, experiences, and potential stressors during their professional engagements. Notably, the survey comprised two sections: one designed to gather demographic data and another segmented into six key constructs or variables. These variables were carefully chosen to extensively probe the intricacies of the interpreters' professional experiences, including stressful situations, job-related stressors, health symptoms as an aftermath of stress, job satisfaction levels, strategies used to alleviate stress, and their attitude towards stress as a correlate of their professional experience.

The researchers extensively reviewed previous studies and surveys on stress management strategies in related fields to enhance the survey's robustness. This meticulous process enriched the survey's breadth and depth, making it adept at capturing various experiences and perceptions. For instance, stressors, health symptoms, and job satisfaction categories were incorporated, drawing inspiration from Fitchett's (2012) research. Additional variables were adopted from Korpal's (2016) and Valero-Garcés's (2005) seminal studies to ensure the comprehensive assessment of potential stress-related health symptoms. Lastly, valuable insights into stress management strategies were gathered from noteworthy surveys by Carver et al. (1989) and Endler and Parker (1990), thus providing a holistic view of coping mechanisms in stressful work conditions.

III.1. Population and Sample

Aiming for a targeted yet encompassing analysis, the study focused on simultaneous interpreters based in Jordan. An ambitious outreach program was embarked upon, with the survey reaching 150 interpreters across the region. The crucial assistance from Mr. Abd Al-Latif Al-Najjar, the chair of the Jordan Association of Interpreters, was instrumental in this broad-based distribution, as he kindly agreed to share the survey among the association members. Furthermore, leveraging the potential of digital media, the survey was disseminated through emails and professional social media platforms like LinkedIn and Facebook. Each participating interpreter was requested to score each variable on a five-point Likert scale, thereby providing their assessment of each construct and adding a rich subjective layer to the data collected.

III.2. Questionnaire Reliability

The questionnaire was scrutinized by a panel comprising three accomplished experts in translation studies to ensure its reliability and validity. They critically evaluated the survey, offering constructive feedback on its comprehensiveness, relevance, and the effectiveness of variables in capturing the constructs of interest. This feedback was thoroughly reviewed and judiciously incorporated to enhance the questionnaire's effectiveness. Subsequently, an internal consistency test was conducted using the Cronbach Alpha statistic to ascertain the survey's reliability further. A pilot study, comprising a sample size of 20 participants, was undertaken. The promising Cronbach Alpha score of 0.87, exceeding the standard threshold, underscored the survey's reliability and internal consistency, aligning with the reliability benchmarks set by Nunnally and Bernstein (1994), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Reliability Analysis (Cronbach Alpha) for the questionnaire's constructs*

Construct	No. of Items	Cronbach Alpha
Stressor Situations	10	0.78
Stressors of Job Experience	16	0.90
Health Symptoms	10	0.80
Job Satisfaction	8	0.78
Stress Management Strategies	12	0.83
Attitude of Stress	8	0.76

III.3. Data Analysis

Upon successful data collection, a comprehensive data analysis process was set in motion using the sophisticated Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software, version 25. Frequency analysis was conducted as the primary analysis method, designed to record the number of occurrences of each response, revealing prevalent trends among the responses. The analysis used aggregated data to ensure a thorough and nuanced understanding of the results, allowing the study to generate detailed insights and draw far-reaching conclusions about the stress experiences of simultaneous interpreters in Jordan. This approach ensures that the observations and conclusions drawn reflect the collective experience, providing a comprehensive picture of the professional landscape these interpreters navigate.

IV. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

IV.1. Demographic Information

The demographic section of the survey was composed of five detailed questions designed to gain insight into the participants' backgrounds and professional profiles, as shown in Table 2 below. These questions were specifically crafted to gather information regarding the participants' gender, age group, education level, professional experience, years of experience, and the frequency with which they perform interpreting services.

Data analysis indicated a significant representation of women in the participant group, constituting 62.1% (93 out of 150) of the total respondents, compared to the 37.9% (n = 57) representation by male counterparts. The demographic dispersion across age groups revealed that a significant proportion of participants, 57.3%, belonged to the age bracket of 31-50. This was followed by those aged 50 and above, comprising 26.7% of respondents, and the youngest group of 20-30, representing 16% of the total respondents.

Regarding the participants' educational qualifications, most interpreters (48.1%; n = 72) held a Bachelor's degree in Translation, indicating a specific academic background relevant to their profession. Interestingly, individuals holding degrees in other fields of study but do interpreting made up the smallest demographic, with a mere 3.8% representation. The analysis of professional experience unveiled that a substantial proportion of participants (almost two-thirds) boasted 11-20 years of active involvement in interpreting services. This depth of experience was juxtaposed with a minimal proportion of participants (the smallest demographic subset) with only 0-1 year of professional experience, highlighting the seasoned nature of most respondents.

Finally, an exploration of the frequency with which interpreting services were rendered demonstrated that nearly 44.3% (n = 67) of respondents provided such services on a weekly basis. A substantial group of 39.2% (n = 59) conducted interpreting tasks daily, whereas a relatively smaller percentage, 11.4% (17 out of 158), offered their services every month. These statistics underscore the significant demand for such services and the frequency with which interpreters must engage in their professional activities.

Table 2. *Demographic Information*

Question	Classification	Frequency (150)	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	52	34.6
	Female	98	65.4
Age	20-30	24	16.0
	31-50	86	57.3
	50 and above	40	26.7
Education Level	BA in Translation or English Specialties	76	50.6
	MA in Translation or English Specialties	51	34
	Ph.D. in Translation or English Specialties	17	11.4
	Any relevant field	6	4
How long have you been an interpreter?	0-1	18	12
	2-5	28	18.6
	6-10	24	16
	11-20	53	35.4
	21 and above	27	18
How often do you provide interpreting services?	Daily	62	41.3
	Weekly	70	46.7
	Monthly	18	12

IV.2. Stressor Situations

In examining the dynamics of stress in interpreting, the study's respondents were asked to evaluate and rate a range of stress-inducing situations using a three-point scale. The scale was composed of low, moderate, and extreme stress, intending to capture the broad range of potential stress levels experienced in interpreting. These items are explained in Table 3 below. This assessment was crucial to understanding the significant factors contributing to interpreter stress and, thus, better comprehending their professional environment.

The second construct of the questionnaire encompassed twenty-six stressors intrinsic to interpreting, offering a comprehensive range of factors impacting interpreters in their routine professional engagements. When considering the cumulative results for the entire participant group, the study discovered that most items in this construct, precisely twenty items or 73.1%, were perceived as causing moderate stress among respondents. Conversely, a smaller proportion of stressors, six items or 26.9%, were categorized as provoking extreme stress, indicating a higher degree of emotional or psychological impact on interpreters.

An examination of these extreme stressors revealed several insightful findings. Notably, unstable income emerged as the most significant stressor, with 54.3% of interpreters rating it as such (n = 84), which shows the precarious financial conditions interpreters often find themselves in. Following closely were unsatisfactory rates and a sense of responsibility for each item's content, registering a 45.6% (n = 69) incidence of extreme stress among respondents. Other factors that ranked high on the extreme stress scale included uncooperative private clients and non-cooperative judicial authorities, such as situations with no access to files before the trial (41.8%; n = 63), fast delivery rate, and poor working conditions relating to temperature (39.9%; n = 60), and lastly, uncertainty regarding the future of the profession (38%; n =57).

At the same time, the majority of the study's items, more than two-thirds, were identified as moderate stressors. These included specialist terminology (69.7%; n=105), limited visibility of the speaker, frequent travel (65.8%; n=98), insufficient time to prepare for an assignment (65.3%; n=98), and lack of available materials before an assignment (64%; n=96). Emotional content in texts, such as themes of war and death, also proved stressful for 58.1% (n=87) of respondents. Other moderately stressful factors included public speaking (54.5%; n=82), long working hours (54.3%; n=82), speaker's accent (53.8%; n=81), and poor organization of work (e.g., materials not sent in advance to interpreters) (53.2%; n=80). Further factors, such as an imbalance between work and private life, challenges in client negotiations, the responsibility of interpreted content, incomprehensible source text, and poor working conditions, were also prominent. These findings follow the studies by Korpal (2016, 2021) and highlight the multi-faceted nature of stressors faced by interpreters.

Understanding these stressors is essential for any entity hiring interpreters, as these factors directly impact interpreters' performance. Therefore, the relevant stakeholders must recognize and ideally mitigate these stressors to foster a conducive working environment for interpreters.

Table 3. *Stressor Situations*

Statement	Low stress	Moderate Stress	Extreme Stress
Public speaking	47 (29.7%)	86 (54.5%)	17 (10.8%)
Poor working conditions – room acoustics	29 (18.4%)	65 (41.1%)	56 (35.4%)
Poor working conditions – temperature	29 (18.4%)	58 (36.7%)	63 (39.9%)
Limited visibility (of the speaker)	29 (18.4%)	104 (65.8%)	17 (10.8%)
Fast delivery rate	29 (18.4%)	58 (36.7%)	63 (39.9%)
Speaker's accent	24 (15.2%)	85 (53.8%)	46 (31.1%)

Statement	Low stress	Moderate Stress	Extreme Stress
No materials are available before an assignment	35 (22.5%)	93 (64%)	22 (13.9%)
Interpreting read-out speeches	29 (18.4%)	82 (56%)	39 (24.7%)
No time to prepare for an assignment	35 (22.2)	81 (65.3%)	34 (21.5%)
Frequent travel	46 (34.2%)	104 (65.8%)	------------------
Fear of making a mistake	33 (22.8%)	84 (53.1%)	33 (22.8%)
Sense of responsibility for the interpreted content	12 (7.6%)	69 (45.5%)	69 (45.5%)
Poor working conditions – clients calling late in the evening / at night	30 (19%)	63 (42.9%)	57 (38%)
No time for private life	40 (26.6%)	70 (45.5%)	40 (26.6%)
Specialist terminology	18 (11.4%)	104 (69.7%)	28 (19%)
The emotional content of the texts (e.g., war, death)	29 (19%)	87 (58.1%)	34 (22.8%)
Incomprehensible source text	17 (11.4%)	65 (44.1%)	68 (45.5%)
Non-cooperative private clients	23 (15.2%)	59 (39.3%)	68 (45.5%)
Non-cooperative judicial authorities (e.g., no access to files before the trial)	29 (19%)	59 (39.1%)	62 (41.8%)

Statement	Low stress	Moderate Stress	Extreme Stress
Poor organization of work (e.g., materials not sent to translators/ interpreters in advance)	17 (11.4%)	80 (53.2%)	53 (34.2%)
Non-cooperative translators/interpreters (e.g., dumping rates)	12 (7.2%)	60 (40.2%)	78 (52.6%)
Long working hours	12 (7.6%)	81 (54.3%)	57 (38%)
Unstable income	18 (11.5%)	51 (34.2%)	81 (54.3%)
Uncertain future of the translator's/ interpreter's profession	40 (26.6%)	53 (35.4%)	57 (38%)
Unsatisfactory rates	24 (15.2%)	58 (39.3%)	68 (45.5%)
Negotiations with clients	29 (19%)	76 (50.6%)	45 (30.4%)

IV.3. Stress: Medical Symptoms

The third construct of the survey aimed to identify and evaluate the physical and medical symptoms interpreters might encounter during their professional activities. The participants were presented with a list of potential health issues related to their jobs and were asked to select those they had personally experienced.

Upon examination of the responses, it became evident that throat irritation (manifested as dryness) and headaches were the most frequently reported medical symptoms among the interpreters, with 32.7 between these health issues and the act of interpreting. This result is not unique to this study; a similar trend was discovered in a study conducted by Fitchett (2012) on interpreters, further reinforcing the link between these symptoms and the interpreting profession. In addition to throat irritation and headaches, respondents also reported problems with concentration and somnolence, suggesting that the cognitive demand of interpreting might induce these symptoms. Back pain was another common complaint, which could be attributed to prolonged periods of sitting, which is common in the profession. Additionally, fatigue and eye irritation were prevalent, potentially linked to long work hours, especially when using computers or dealing with texts. Insomnia was the least commonly reported symptom, although its occurrence cannot be dismissed.

The fact that fatigue followed back pain and eye irritation in the survey results further illustrates the physically and mentally demanding nature of interpreting work. While these findings might not be entirely unexpected, considering the nature of the work, they provide crucial empirical evidence of the strain put on interpreters in their work environment. The simultaneous occurrence of these symptoms might be partially attributable to factors such as extended work hours, the sedentary nature of the job, continuous computer usage, and the repetitive process involved in interpreting legal documents.

Therefore, considering these findings when creating strategies for managing and reducing stress among interpreters is of utmost importance. Also, it highlights the need for appropriate ergonomic and health measures in the workspaces for interpreters to prevent or mitigate these medical symptoms. Further research is necessary to fully understand this profession's health implications and develop suitable solutions.

Table 4. *Stress Medical Symptoms*

Valid Items	Frequency (150)	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percent
Fatigue	14	8.9	9.0
Throat Irritation/throat Dryness	37	24.6	25
Somnolence	19	12.6	13

Valid Items	Frequency (150)	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percent
Back pain	17	11.3	11
Eye irritation	8	5.3	5
Problems with concentration	22	14.6	15
Headaches	24	16	16
Coughing	14	9.3	9
Insomnia	1	.6	0.6

IV.4. Job Satisfaction

The fourth construct of the survey was dedicated to investigating job satisfaction among simultaneous interpreters. As reflected in Table 5, one of the primary objectives of this section was to gauge the satisfaction levels of interpreters concerning the subject matter of the speeches they were tasked with interpreting. Surprisingly, a substantial majority (61.9%; n = 93) expressed satisfaction with the content of the speeches they interpreted, pointing to a considerable degree of content engagement among the interpreter community. An indeterminate 38.1% (n = 57) of respondents did not voice either satisfaction or dissatisfaction in this area. Notably, all respondents were satisfied with the topics they were interpreting. These results reflect a certain level of professional contentment, aligning with the findings of prior research by Korpal (2016) and Piecychna (2019), demonstrating a satisfaction rate of approximately 65% among interpreters regarding their assigned topics.

The survey further sought to determine how respondents perceived different facets of their work (items 1 to 8). Most respondents agreed with the statements in these items, indicating a relatively high level of job satisfaction. However, one area that emerged as a point of dissatisfaction was the matter of compensation for interpreting services. A significant number of interpreters, 41.8% (n=63), were satisfied with their rates. This echoes findings from other studies, such as those conducted by Courtney and Phelan (2019) and Piecychna (2019), suggesting a common issue among interpreters globally. In the Jordanian context, the discrepancy in pay for interpreting services stands out, with many interpreters feeling underpaid compared to international standards. This discrepancy is a pressing issue, likely reflecting the absence of a standardized pay scale or set rates for interpretation services in the country. Such findings serve as a valuable basis for future discussions on developing comprehensive compensation standards and rates for interpreters in Jordan.

Table 5. *Job Satisfaction Constructs*

Statement	Satisfied	Neutral	Unsatisfied
The subject matter of interpreted speeches	61.9% (n=93)	38.1% (n=57)	--------
Relationship with private clients	53.9% (n=81)	34.2% n=51)	11.4% (n=17)
Relationship with the judicial authorities	60.8% (n=91)	39.2% (n=59)	--------
Lack of routine	51.1% (n=76)	34.2% (n=51)	15.2% (n=23)
Interpreting rates	41.8% (n=63)	34.4% (n=53)	22.8% (n=34)
Adrenaline rush when providing interpreting services	49.9% (n=75)	42.6% (n=64)	7.6% (n=11)
Professional status of the interpreter	49.4% (n=74)	35.4% (n=53)	15.2% (n=23)
The prestige of the interpreter profession	49.3 (n=74)	42.5% (n=65)	7.6% (n=11)

IV.5. Stress Management Strategies

Comprehending the strategies interpreters employ to manage the occupational stressors illuminated in the previous sections constitutes a crucial aspect of this study. According to the findings detailed in Table 6, interpreters lean towards particular coping mechanisms to navigate their profession's inherent challenges and pressures. One dominant strategy observed from the survey responses is the interpreters' emphasis on systematic planning and prioritizing tasks. By ensuring control and structure in their work process, interpreters successfully minimize feeling overwhelmed, thus reducing potential stress. Specifically, the strategy most frequently reported involves maintaining focus on the task at hand, a testament to the significance of attentiveness and precision in their profession. This reaffirms that stress management often relies on fostering concentration and efficiency, allowing interpreters to navigate their demanding work environment effectively.

Moreover, the study shows interpreters also engage with more holistic stress management techniques and task-focused strategies. For instance, religious meditation emerged as a commonly used strategy (54.5%; n = 82), reflecting the influence of Jordan's rich cultural and religious landscape on stress management practices. Beyond this, interpreters underscored the importance of planning their tasks well (50.7%;n = 76), cultivating positive outlooks during challenging circumstances (45.6%; n = 68), and ensuring adequate sleep 43.1%; n = 65). The prevalence of these strategies underlines the interpreters' understanding of the multi-faceted nature of stress, which extends beyond the psychological to encompass physical well-being.

Despite the tendency towards individual coping mechanisms, the study's responses also reflected the occasional reliance on social support networks for stress relief (38.3%; n = 57). Interpreters reported deriving comfort and relaxation from spending time with friends and relatives, though this strategy is less consistently applied than others. Similarly, finding positive aspects to problems, maintaining regular eating habits, and engaging in physical activities emerged as occasional but effective coping mechanisms. Conversely, the study found that interpreters seldom use other stress management strategies such as seeking advice from friends and relatives, avoiding tasks, and indulging in passive leisure activities such as watching TV or going to the cinema. These less prevalent strategies reflect the unique demands of the interpreting profession, where specific traditional stress management techniques may not be as effective.

The study's results align with the conclusions drawn in previous research by Endler and Parker (1990), Folkman (2013), Kao and Craigie (2013), and Korpal (2016). This consistency underlines that stress management strategies can vary significantly among interpreters due to individual differences and the nature of the work environment. The findings of this study are valuable not only for interpreters to enhance their coping mechanisms but also for interpreter training programs and organizations. They can use this information to create supportive work environments that foster resilience and promote stress management among interpreters.

Table 6. *Stress Management Strategies*

Statement	Never	Sometimes	Always
Planning the tasks to be performed	11.4% (n =17)	38% (n=57)	50.7% (n=76)
Spending time with friends and relatives	11.4% (n=17)	49.4% (n=74)	38.3% (n=57)
Following the advice given by friends and relatives	68.7% (n=104)	15.4% (n=23)	15.9% (n=23)
Focus on the task	11.4% (n=17)	22.8% (n=34)	65.9% (n=99)
Avoiding thinking about problems	22.8% (n=33)	38% (n=57)	40.3% (n=60)
Avoiding doing the task	54.5% (n=82)	22.8%(n=34)	22.8% (n=34)

Statement	Never	Sometimes	Always
Looking for positive aspects of problems	11.4% (n=17)	41.8% (n=63)	45.6% (n=70)
Sleep	22.8% (n=34)	34.2% (n=51)	43.1% (n=65)
Eating	26.6% (n=40)	41.8% (n=62)	31.7% (n=48)
Physical activity	26.6% (n=40)	41.8% (n=62)	31.7% (n=48)
Watching TV/ cinema	45.6% (n=68)	26.8% (n=41)	27.6% (n=41)
Religious meditation	30.4% (n=45.6)	15.2% (n=23)	54.5% (n=82)

IV.6. Attitude of Stress

The sixth part of the survey focused on the interpreters' attitudes toward the impact of stress on their job performance, using a five-point scale to gauge their level of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements related to this subject. This segment crucially connected the subjective experiences of stress with its possible tangible consequences in interpreting, thereby providing a holistic view of the implications of stress in the professional environment. The range of aspects covered by these statements included, among others, the potential increase in errors due to stress, its effect on job satisfaction, and even the possible disruption it might cause in career progress.

Analyzing these responses offered valuable insight into the interpreters' perceptions of stress, revealing their attitudes about how it influences their professional lives, as shown in Table 7. Whether they see stress as an obstacle to effective performance or a motivator that promotes resilience and adaptation, these attitudes contribute significantly to understanding the psychological dimension of professional interpreting. Furthermore, these findings are expected to facilitate more effective structuring of support systems and training programs by interpreting institutions and organizations, informed by the nuanced perspectives of the interpreters themselves. It also empowers interpreters with self-awareness about their stress responses, potentially prompting them to adopt more suitable stress management strategies, thus fostering personal well-being and professional efficacy.

Table 7. *Attitudes of Stress*

Statement	Agreed	Neutral	*Disagreed*
I experience a lot of stress working as an interpreter.	50.6% (n=76)	19% (n=29)	30.4% (n=46)
Stress motivates me to work.	31.3% (n=47)	26.9% (n=40)	41.8% (n=63
Stress has a positive effect on my work results.	23.6% (n=35)	30.8% (n=47)	45.6%(n=68)
Stress negatively affects the results of my work.	43.9 (n=65)	30.8% (n=45)	26.9% (n=40)

Table 7 summarizes the relationship between interpreters' job experience and their perception of stress, a complex dynamic that intertwines stress's negative and positive aspects at work. Most respondents acknowledged a high level of stress in their jobs, but interestingly, many also noted that they recognize the potential benefits of stress, implying a nuanced understanding of stress. These benefits can manifest in various forms, such as honing problem-solving skills, fostering resilience, or stimulating motivation and focus. However, it was also underscored that stress predominantly negatively impacts their job performance, corroborating the conventional view of stress as a detrimental factor in the workplace. It was observed that respondents considered stress less likely to foster a positive work environment, likely due to its potential to exacerbate tensions, hinder communication, and lower overall job satisfaction. This dichotomy in the interpreters' perceptions underscores the intricate nature of stress at work, underscoring the need for a balanced approach that acknowledges its challenges and opportunities in the context of the interpreting profession.

V. CONCLUSION

The primary focus of this study was to delve into the various facets of stress, including its causes, health consequences, impact on job satisfaction, and mitigation strategies among simultaneous interpreters operating within the Arabic-to-English language pairing in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The study revealed various stress factors, delineated into extreme, moderate, and low-stress categories, shaping the interpreters' working environment.

Extreme stressors included unsatisfactory rates, a pervasive sense of responsibility for the interpreted content, non-cooperative private clients and judicial authorities, a fast-paced delivery rate, and substandard working conditions. Simultaneously, the moderate stressors encompassed a wide range of challenges, including specialist terminology, limited visibility of the speaker, frequent travel, insufficient preparation time for assignments, unavailability of materials before a task, emotionally charged content (like war and death), interpreting read-out speeches, public speaking, lengthy working hours, speaker's accent, poorly organized work conditions (for instance, materials not sent to interpreters in advance), limited time for personal life, negotiations with clients, incomprehensible source text, non-cooperative colleagues (for example, those offering services at dumping rates), and poor working conditions such as clients calling late in the evening or at night.

Most participants reported common health symptoms associated with their profession, such as throat irritation (dryness) and headaches, potentially attributable to the intensive vocal and mental exertion involved in interpreting. On a positive note, the study highlighted various stress management techniques interpreters employ. The respondents often prioritized tasks and planned meticulously to stay focused and lessen workplace stress. The primary coping strategies included always concentrating on the task, resorting to religious meditation, strategic planning, finding positive aspects in challenging situations, and maintaining adequate sleep.

The findings of this study significantly enrich the research landscape on the stress within translation and interpreting professions and the ergonomics of these professions. By unveiling the myriad stressors interpreters encounter and their strategies to manage them, this study could improve interpreter well-being and enhance interpreting quality, underscoring the crucial need for comprehensive and tailored stress management.

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Strategies of Subtitling Egyptian Idiomatic Expressions and Proverbs into English

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ABSTRACT

Several platforms, such as Netflix, offer subtitles of different works and movies in several languages, including Arabic and English. In this study, the researchers discuss the strategies used to overcome the challenges subtitlers face when translating Egyptian phraseological units, such as idiomatic expressions and proverbs, into English. A parallel corpus of four movies, namely تيتا رهيبة *My horrible grandma,* عسل أسود *Bittersweet,* الباشا تلميذ *The Student cop*, and عمارة يعقوبيان *Yacoubian Building*, was compiled from scratch. The idiomatic expressions and proverbs were identified and analyzed according to Baker's (1992) taxonomies. The translation strategy of "*paraphrasing*" was the most frequently used in translating proverbs. In rendering idiomatic expressions, the subtitlers mostly resorted to the strategy of **"***translating by paraphrasing using unrelated words to deal with the non-equivalent expression*". "*Mistranslation*" was detected in some cases, most likely due to the lack of the target culture knowledge and not finding appropriate equivalents. The subtitlers sometimes used literal translation, which distorted the meaning and resulted in unnatural translations. The results also revealed that some expressions that were repeatedly used in the movies were translated differently according to the context. This study can be beneficial to translators and translation students, especially those interested in subtitling movies and translating proverbs and idiomatic expressions.

Keywords: *subtitling; translation strategies; idiomatic expressions; proverbs; Arabic; English*

I. INTRODUCTION

Translation is the process of transferring a text from one language to another, taking into consideration the cultural aspects of the two languages. It is a process of conveying not only words but also the sense of the text. According to Nida and Taber (1974, p. 12), translation is defined as “reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style.”

One of the aspects of translation prosperity is the emergence of some new sub-fields in translation studies. One of these fields is Audiovisual Translation (AVT). AVT is defined as “a specialized branch of translation which deals with the transfer of multimodal and multimedia texts into another language and/or culture” (González, 2009, p. 13). It has become more popular since the film industry has flourished. The film industry has widely developed in different regions with productions in other languages, especially English. This led to a great cultural exchange between different countries and cultures. This study focuses on the Arab and Western cultures and how AV products became available and intelligible to the peoples of different cultures, thanks to audiovisual translation.

Nowadays, there are many platforms, such as Netflix, which offer subtitles in different languages (Al-Abbas & Haider, 2021; Haider & Hussein, 2022; Samha et al., 2023). In the Arab world, the subtitles of foreign movies are now available in Arabic. Similarly, Arabic movies are now subtitled in different languages. In this study, the researchers discuss the challenges faced by subtitlers when translating idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Egyptian movies. In addition, the translation strategies that are used to overcome these challenges are also examined. The present study investigates four movies: “تيتا رهيبة *My horrible grandma,”* “عسل أسود *Bittersweet,”* “تلميذ الباشا *The Student cop,”* and *“*عمارة يعقوبيان *Yacoubian Building*.”

II. Research Gap, Significance and Questions

Languages are containers and carriers of cultures. Transferring cultural and linguistic components is challenging due to the incongruence between the target and source cultures' norms (Al-Khalafat & Haider, 2022; Al Saideen et al., 2022). This study investigates how Egyptian idiomatic expressions and proverbs are subtitled in a way that conveys the intended meaning with a minimum loss. Most idiomatic expressions have connotative and implicit meanings, requiring translators to have deep knowledge of Egyptian culture on the one hand and Western culture on the other to deliver the meaning accurately. Phraseological units, such as Idiomatic expressions and proverbs, need special strategies to be rendered appropriately. For example, the Egyptian proverb إن غاب القط العب يا فار, which is translated literally as *when the cat is away, the mouse will play,* is said to show a lack of confidence, i.e., when the person is not present in the place, other people might take the opportunity and do whatever they want.

Several studies have investigated subtitling English movies and series into Arabic (Al-Zgoul & Al-Salman, 2022; Debbas & Haider, 2020; Silwadi & Almahasees, 2022). However, only a few examined the problems and strategies of subtitling Arabic movies into English. In this study, the process of the English subtitling of Phraseological units, such as idiomatic expressions and proverbs in four Egyptian movies, is investigated. Subtitlers have limited space and time to convey the message, so they are expected to develop a translation that suits the spatial and temporal constraints. Georgakopoulou (2009) classified the challenges faced by the subtitler into three categories, namely, technical, textual, and linguistic constraints. Nowadays, many platforms, such as Netflix, offer subtitles in different languages. In the Arab world, the subtitles of foreign movies are now available in Arabic. Similarly, Arabic movies are now subtitled in different languages. In this study, the researchers discuss the challenges the subtitlers face when translating Phraseological units, such as idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Egyptian movies. The translation strategies they resort to overcome these challenges are also examined.

This study investigates the problems subtitlers may face when translating Phraseological units, such as idiomatic expressions and proverbs in some Egyptian movies, into English. Moreover, it discusses the strategies that are used in rendering these expressions in the following four Egyptian movies, namely, "تيتا رهيبة *My horrible grandma,"* "عسل أسود *Bittersweet,"* "الباشا تلميذ *The Student cop,"* and *"*عمارة يعقوبيان *YYacoubian Building*."

The current study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the challenges that subtitlers face when translating idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Egyptian movies into English?
2. What are the strategies used in translating Egyptian idiomatic expressions and proverbs into English?

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews the theoretical background related to translation strategies and reviews some empirical studies that discuss the same topic.

Audiovisual Translation and Subtitling

Bassnett (2013) discussed the history of translation studies and how the field has become a necessary academic discipline. She argued that "translation today is an increasingly common human condition, and the rapid rise of electronic media has also served to heighten awareness of the importance of communicating across cultures" (Bassnett, 2013, p. 1). Similarly, Mayoral et al. (1988, p. 2) discussed the challenges that the translator faces when translating "texts in association with other communication media." Chiaro (2012, p. 30) defined AVT as "the term used to refer to the transfer from one language to another of the verbal components contained in audiovisual works and products." In addition, although the word "audiovisual" has two main parts, namely *audio* (something to be heard) and *visual* (to be seen). AVT has many types, such as subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, and audio description. Subtitling is defined as:

> "a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavors to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off)." (Díaz-Cintas & Remael, 2014, p. 8)

As noted above, audiovisual translation is a sub-discipline of translation that is gaining popularity. It is also referred to as multimedia translation. Pérez-González (2014) discussed that within translation studies, audiovisual translation is the fastest-expanding field. The need for more robust theoretical frameworks to investigate emerging text types is addressed. Moreover, addressing new methodological challenges (such as the compilation, analysis, and reproduction of audiovisual data) and comprehending new discourse communities bound together by the production and consumption of audiovisual texts are also highlighted. AVT is a general umbrella that comprises different modes, mainly subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, and audio description. These modes help people get access to audiovisual materials in different languages.

The focus of this study is on subtitling, which is defined as captions that are usually written at the bottom of the screen. So, subtitlers transfer the spoken code into a written one. According to De Linde and Kay (2016), subtitling is divided into intralingual (closed caption), which allows the viewer to turn on or off the subtitles on the screen, and interlingual (open caption), in which the viewer cannot turn the subtitles off. Subtitling is also known as on-screen translation and film translation. Gottlieb (2004) investigated whether subtitling is considered a type of translation or not and argued that "I will suggest labelling all types of interlingual transfer 'translation,' as they all share one basic quality: verbal messages are recreated in another language" (Gottlieb, 2004, p. 219). The subtitling process is governed mainly by two aspects, namely, spatial and temporal constraints.

Subtitling, which is also known as on-screen translation, is usually no longer than two lines on the bottom of the screen. Dubbing, on the other hand, is a replacement of the original audio track with a new audio track in the target language (Alrousan & Haider, 2022). Subtitling and dubbing make the cultural exchange easier, and films are part of this cultural exchange (Abu-Rayyash et al., 2023; Haider et al., 2023). For example, monolingual Arab people are now able to watch films in other languages and enjoy them because the subtitles are available. The same applies to foreign non-Arab audiences who can enjoy Arabic films because of the availability of different AVT modes, mainly subtitling and dubbing. Subtitling is generally preferable to dubbing by production companies because it costs less, enables people to learn a new language, and gives people with hearing impairment the opportunity to have access to AV products, to mention a few.

Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2014) thoroughly investigated subtitling and argued that subtitlers should be able to make three things: spotting, rendering, and adaptation. They emphasized the importance of teaching AVT under the umbrella of translation studies. Moreover, they outlined different translation strategies that are viewed as the best taxonomy for subtitling. These include calque, substitution, lexical recreation, loan translation, explicitation, transposition, compensation, omission, and addition. Diaz -Cintas (2005) highlighted the strong relationship between subtitling and technology. He pointed out that subtitling has many advantages, making it the preferred mode of AVT. The three essential points that characterize subtitling are the fastest mode, the lowest in cost, and the most flexible because it can be used to render almost all kinds of AV programs and movies.

Translating phraseological Units

The study of words and phrases used in a certain language or context is known as phraseology. It includes the study of idioms, collocations, and other fixed or semi-fixed expressions that have a clear meaning that cannot be deduced from the meanings of the words that make up each expression. Phraseology is crucial in disciplines like linguistics, lexicography, translation and language teaching because it can help us better comprehend linguistic usage patterns and enhance our communication abilities.

The study of proverbs, their history, interpretations, and applications is known as paremiology. Proverbs are brief sayings that frequently employ metaphor or analogy to express a universal truth or nugget of wisdom. Paremiology involves investigating how proverbs are employed in modern language and literature as well as the cultural and historical circumstances in which they first appear. Since proverbs are frequently transmitted orally and can disclose a lot about a culture's values and beliefs, this field of study is frequently linked to folklore and anthropology. Paremiology can be used to examine how proverbs continue to influence our communication and worldviews, as well as to gain a deeper understanding of language and society.

Larson (1984, p. 20) defined idioms as "a string of words whose meaning is different from the meaning conveyed by the individual words". In contrast, proverbs are defined as "special, fixed, unchanged phrases which have special, fixed, unchanged meanings" (Ghazala, 1995, p. 138). The meanings of idioms and proverbs do overlap. They are considered formulaic sequences. These items may include collocations, idioms, proverbs, and lexical phrases and bundles, to mention a few (Wray & Perkins, 2000). In contrast, Wood (2019) argued that some researchers used "idioms" in a broader sense encompassing slang expressions and proverbs. Corpas Pastor (2013) differentiated between idioms and proverbs are both examples of figurative language that is used frequently in speech. There are some distinctions between them, though, as Table 1.

Table 1. *Differences between idioms and proverbs (Corpas Pastor, 2013)*

Differences	Idioms	Proverbs
Definition	Idioms are expressions that have a metaphorical meaning that cannot be grasped from the literal meaning of the words.	Proverbs are short sayings that represent a universal truth or piece of wisdom.
Origin	Proverbs are typically passed down through generations as a part of a culture	Idioms can be more recent and frequently develop in response to certain cultural or historical events
Structure	Proverbs frequently adhere to a predetermined format and are frequently expressed as whole sentences.	idioms might be shorter and do not always have a comprehensive grammatical structure

Differences	Idioms	Proverbs
metaphorical vs. Literal	Idioms are always metaphorical and cannot be understood literally	Proverbs are frequently intended to be taken literally and offer sound advice
Uses	Idioms are more frequently employed to convey a specific tone or emotion	but Proverbs can be used to offer advice, make a point, or depict a situation
Examples	Pulling someone's leg = To make fun of someone	Actions speak louder than words

As Table 1 shows, idioms, on the one hand, are patterns whose meaning cannot be understood from the meaning of individual words. For example, "*to be fed up with someone*" means to be irritated and annoyed with them. Proverbs, on the other hand, are popular short sayings that express some obvious truth or familiar experience. They carry a moral or practical social message. An example of a proverb is "*those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones*".

Idiomatic expressions and proverbs are essential to any culture (Akbari, 2013). They are used in daily conversations by native speakers of any language. So, when translating them, subtitlers should consider the culture of the two languages, i.e., the source language (SL) and the target language (TL). Every language has its idioms and proverbs that make it distinct. Nida (1964) stated that the source language meaning is influenced and incorporated by the cultural context in which it was developed. Given the above, it is evident that there are some differences between the Arab and Western cultures, which made rendering some linguistic and cultural aspects difficult. Therefore, translators need to be aware of such differences to overcome any cultural differences that may hinder the primary purpose of the translated text.

Conveying meanings from one language to another is not an easy task. Moreover, literal translation is not the best solution in all cases. Translation strategies are ways of solving problems that translators face. Some of the distinguishing features of translation for subtitling include condensing and reformulating content (Romero-Fresco, 2009).

Unlike other translation methods, subtitles have a limited amount of space and must be timed to the action on screen, thus, the translator must say the same thing in less time. As a result, subtitle translators must cut down lengthy passages of conversation or text into briefer, easier-to-read words for the audience. They must also take into account the average viewer's reading speed, the language's complexity, and the setting in which the conversation is being used.

In subtitling, content can be rephrased because some cultural or linguistic intricacies could be difficult to translate accurately into another language. This calls for subtitle translators to figure out how to express the dialogue's intended meaning while also taking into account the linguistic and cultural distinctions between the source and target languages. Overall, accurate, succinct, and viewer-friendly material must be condensed and reformulated in order to translate subtitles successfully. This takes a high level of linguistic and cultural competence.

Mughazy (2016) highlighted the importance of studying the translation process from morphemes and words to the discourse level, highlighting translation problems and strategies. He focused on translating Arabic texts into English and discussed different translation strategies, mainly deletion, substitution, morphological unpacking, paraphrasing, and transliteration. Mughazy (2016, pp. 26-43) explained each strategy in detail:

1) **Translation by deletion:** is to leave out some words without translation.
2) **Translation by substitution:** translators resort to substitution when they deal with cases of less-than-perfect equivalence, such as time expressions and units of measurement.
3) **Translation by morphological unpacking**: translators use it when translating morphologically complex words.
4) **Translation by paraphrasing**: it is also called rewording. It is the restatement of the meaning of the passage using other words. Moreover, paraphrasing can be used in cases of ambiguity and with Arabic names that have particular connotations.

5) **Translation by transliteration**: is to write the source Arabic word in English letters.

Similarly, Baker (1992, pp. 26-42) highlighted the need for a systematic approach to translation studies connecting translation difficulties and strategies. Baker provided a solid foundation for professional translation training by finding a balance between theory and practice and suggested some strategies to be used. These include:

- **Translation by more general words (superordinate):** It is one of the most familiar strategies for dealing with non-equivalence, particularly propositional meaning. The main idea of this strategy is to render a hyponym with a more general word or superordinate. For example, *beef* or *lamb* can be translated as لحم (*meat*).
- **Translation by more neutral/ less expressive words:** Translators use it to deal with the differences in expressive meaning. For example, the word زكاة *Zakat* does not have equivalence in English, so it is translated as *obligatory charity*.
- **Translation by cultural substitution:** replacing some cultural terms from the source language with relevant cultural terms in the target language to suit the existing culture of the target language; for example, a sentence that reads "*this man is extremely generous*" can be translated as هذا الرجل كحاتم الطائي (Lit. *This man is like Hatim al-Taei).* The name حاتم الطائي *Hatim al-Taei is* used as a symbol of generosity in the Arab world.
- **Translation by using a loan word or loan word plus explanation:** This strategy is used to translate the cultural-specific item. Loan words alone or with an explanation can be used to overcome this translation problem. For instance, "*a plastic cap*" can be translated as *"كاب"* أي قبعة بلاستيكية (Lit. *a "cap" is a plastic hat).*
- **Translation by paraphrasing using a related word:** This is used when the source text has a word or expression that has a lexical equivalence in the target language, but in a different form. For example, "*her hair is silky and long"* is translated as شعرها طويل و جميل يشبه الحرير (Lit. *Her hair is long and beautiful, like silk)*. According to Ouirk et al. (1985), lexicalizing a term means having a word for it. Lexicalization makes the meaning of the idiom or expression more explicit.

- **Translation by paraphrasing using unrelated words** is used to deal with the non-equivalent expression. For example, “*I don’t want to be a rat”* can be translated as لا أريد ان اكون خائنا/غير مخلصا (Lit. *I don’t want to be disloyal/unfaithful*).
- **Translation by omission:** Following this strategy, the words that are not vital to the development of the text are sometimes deleted. However, this strategy should be the last resort for translators. For example, sex related words such as fuck and whore are sometimes omitted when they are translated into Arabic.
- **Translation by illustration:** Translators use illustrations when the source expressions lack an equivalent in the target language. For example, الحُكشة *Hushka* can be translated as “*Hockey-like game.”*

As mentioned above, idioms and proverbs are part of any culture, so they need special strategies to be conveyed from one language to another without losing their meaning. Ordudari (2007) argued that the connotative meaning of an idiom or illusion in the source language and culture is not necessarily the same in the target language. Accordingly, Baker (1992, pp. 71-78) introduced strategies to overcome problems in translating idioms and proverbs. These strategies are:

- Using an idiom of similar meaning and form to the source language. For example, “*To shed crocodile tears*” can be translated as “يبكي بدموع التماسيح” (Lit. *shed crocodiles’ tears*).
- Using an idiom of similar meaning but a different form. For example, “لكل مقام مقال” (Lit. *everything really did have a place*) can be rendered as “*a word in season*”.
- Translation by using paraphrasing is the most common way of translating idioms. For example, “*have no backbone*” is rendered as “ضعيف الإرادة أو الشخصية” (Lit. *Weak-willed*).
- Translation by omission is to omit the whole idiom and not be translated into the TL text.

In this study, the researchers mainly use the translation strategies proposed by Baker (1992, pp. 71-78) to examine the translation of proverbs, while the taxonomy proposed by Baker (1992, pp. 26-42) was used to investigate the translation strategies of rendering idiomatic expressions.

Empirical studies

Translating idiomatic expressions and proverbs has attracted the attention of several researchers. For example, Strakšienė (2009) investigated the translation of English idioms into Lithuanian and the obstacles the translator faced during translation. Toury's, Newmark's, Moon's, and Baker's theories were used in the theoretical section. The researcher found that paraphrasing, both stylistic and explanatory, proved to be the most popular translation approach. In the current study, we examine the most commonly used strategies in translating Arabic idiomatic expressions into English.

Likewise, Farghal and Al-Hamly (2015) investigated the semiotic/pragmatic value of using proverbs in Arabic literature and how translators render them in discourse. The corpus consists of 24 proverbs collected from the Arabic novel "*Banat al-Riyadh"* and their English translation extracted from the English version "*Girls of Riyadh"*. The researchers found that omission was the most used strategy, followed by literal and functional translations. Similarly, Thalji and Dweik (2015) examined the difficulties Jordanian beginner translators face when rendering proverbs from Arabic into English and vice versa. Twenty male and female translators were chosen to do a translation test. The test contained ten Arabic proverbs and another ten English proverbs to be translated. The proverbs are based on Speake's (2008) categorization of proverbs. The researchers then interviewed four academic and professional translators to get more information about all the issues related to the translation of proverbs. The results showed that the translators could not render the culture-bound expressions correctly. They did not give an appropriate equivalent in the TL. Moreover, they used literal translation and had mistakes in many aspects, stylistically, grammatically, and linguistically. The results also showed that unfamiliarity with translation strategies and techniques is a serious problem.

In the same vein, Fahmi (2016) examined some common Arabic proverbs and their English equivalents to shed light on the socio-cultural variations. She chose the sample of proverbs based on their thematic categorization. The results of the analysis showed that translators need to be familiar with the SL (Source Language) and TL

(Target Language) cultures, customs, and traditions. Moreover, the translations of proverbs must be carried out systematically and not be rendered literally, keeping in mind the proverbs' cultural, religious, and historical context to maintain the essence of meaning. Likewise, Ali and Al-Rushaidi (2017) investigated the difficulties faced by sixty Omani undergraduate students studying English language teaching and literature when translating idiomatic expressions into Arabic. The findings showed that the students could not find an appropriate equivalent, misunderstood the idiom's meaning, used literal translation, and deleted the entire or some parts of the idiom without compensation.

Moreover, Destaria and Rini (2019) examined the strategies used to translate English idioms in the subtitle of "*Pitch Perfect 3*" into Bahasa Indonesia. They used Baker's taxonomy in analyzing the examples. The research is descriptive and qualitative in nature. After identifying the translation strategies used, they examined whether the meaning of the English idioms is conveyed appropriately in Bahasa Indonesia or not. The results showed that four idioms were rendered using idioms with similar meanings but dissimilar forms. In contrast, forty-six idioms were rendered using the paraphrasing strategy, while the omission strategy was used to translate one idiom. The meanings of thirty-six idioms were transferred accurately, four idioms less accurately, and eleven idioms were classified as inaccurate translations. Likewise, Al-assaf (2019) examined the English idioms and fixed expressions used by Agatha Christie in her novel "*Appointment with Death*" and how these idioms and expressions were rendered into Arabic by Omar Abdulaziz Ameen. Baker's strategies were the basis of the theoretical part of the study. The results revealed that the paraphrasing strategy was the most used in translating the idioms and expressions in the novel. In addition, there is a lack of equivalent idioms in Arabic.

In this section, the researchers highlighted the differences between idiomatic expressions and proverbs and discussed the translation strategies proposed by Baker. Although several studies examined the translation strategies used in rendering idioms across languages, including Arabic and English, little attention has been paid to similar studies in the context of audiovisual translation. Therefore, this study fills this gap by examining the translation of idioms and proverbs in four Egyptian movies into English.

IV. Methods and Procedures

The researchers analyze the English subtitling of the idiomatic expressions and proverbs that are used in the Egyptian Movies "تيتا رهيبة *My horrible grandma,*" "عسل أسود *Bittersweet,*" "الباشا تلميذ *The Student Cop,*" and "عمارة يعقوبيان *Yacoubian Building*." The researchers watched the movies on the Netflix platform and wrote down the Arabic scripts of the movies in Egyptian vernacular. The English subtitles of the movies were extracted directly from www.Netflix.com. The utterances in the Egyptian vernacular were aligned with their English equivalence and then checked by three MA candidates in Audiovisual Translation. The researchers identified the incidents of idiomatic expressions and proverbs to be further analyzed manually. The parallel corpus of movies including the Arabic script along with the English subtitles was given to MA students enrolled in the "Subtitling and Dubbing" course, which is part of an MA program in Audiovisual Translation to find formulaic sequences including idioms and proverbs. They were also asked to watch the four investigated movies and spot the incidents of formulaic sequences. The researchers' list was compared with the candidates'. The expressions and phrases that were found in the two lists are further investigated in this study.

Netflix Policy of Subtitling

When it comes to subtitling, Netflix has a rigid guideline that covers both spotting and synchronization. While synchronization entails timing the subtitles to coincide with the dialogue or action on screen, spotting refers to the process of deciding when and where subtitles should show on the screen. Netflix's objective is to provide subtitles that are as accurate and clear to read as possible while maintaining the original content's intended tone and meaning. This includes ensuring that subtitles are readable by all viewers by taking into account things like reading speed, line breaks, and font size. In order to accomplish this, Netflix employs qualified subtitlers and makes use of advanced tools and software to guarantee that the subtitles are accurate and consistent throughout all of its content. To guarantee that subtitles are formatted appropriately and are in time with the audio, subtitlers are given style sheets and instructions. Additionally, Netflix offers subtitles in a variety of languages, demonstrating its international clientele and dedication to making material available to viewers everywhere.

The Selected Movies

Different factors were considered to decide which types of movies to select. These include the movie's genre and revenues. The genres of the four films are drama and comedy. The gross earnings and revenues for the investigated movies were good. Table 2 includes some information about the movies; genre, year of production, duration, and revenues.

Table 2. *Movies' genre, year of production, duration, and revenues*

No.	The name of the movie	Genre	Year of Production	Duration	Revenues
1	My horrible grandma (تيتا رهيبة)	Comedy/ Drama	2012	1h 44m	14,825,470 EGP
2	Bittersweet (عسل إسود)	Comedy/ Drama	2010	2h 10m	15,600,000 EGP
3	Yacoubian Building (عمارة يعقوبيان)	Drama/ Comedy	2006	2h 10m	19,427,000 EGP
4	The Student Cop (الباشا تلميذ)	Comedy/ Romance	2004	1h 50m	7,214,475 EGP

Yacoubian building is a drama movie. It gained worldwide acclaim and was rated by many critics as one of the best films in Arab cinema. *My horrible grandma, Bittersweet, and The Student Cop* are drama/comedy films that attained popular success. They discuss many issues concerning Egyptian society and the Arab community in a comedy way.

Data Collection and Corpus Compilation

A parallel corpus of the four movies was compiled and analyzed manually. The researchers watched the movies on Netflix, and then extracted the English subtitles from www.Netflix.com. The researchers wrote down the scripts of the movies in Egyptian vernacular. Using an Excel sheet, the researchers aligned the Arabic source texts in Egyptian vernacular with their English subtitles. The idiomatic expressions and proverbs were identified to be further analyzed, as Table 3 shows.

Table 3. *Aligning the Arabic texts, including idioms and proverbs, with their English subtitles*

Source Text (Egyptian Vernacular)	Target Text (English)
حضرتك يعني يخلق من الشبه أربعين كل الناس بتقول كده ولا لأ	**A lot of people look alike.** People say that, right?
سالي مش ممكن تنسجم إلا مع كلب ألماني زيها، الدم بيحن	Sally would only like a German dog like her. **Blood is thicker than water.**
قال إيه اللي رماك عالمر!	**Ask about what made us do that!**
حضرتك أنا ولعت صوابعي العشرة شمع وما فيش فايدة	**I did everything I could do** but to no avail.
وبعدين الراجل اللي ملوش كرش ما يسواش قرش	Besides, **a man is worth his beer belly.**
صدق اللي قال ارقص للقرد في دولته	The saying is true: **dance for the monkey when it rules.**
هذا الشبل من ذاك الأسد	**The apple doesn't fall far from the tree.**
أعلى ما في خيلك اركبو	**Do whatever you want**
رؤوف مش ابني، حفيدي، و زي ما بقولوا أعز الولد ولد الولد	They always say: **"you'll love your grandson more than you love your son."**

Table 3 shows examples of the Arabic scripts aligned in an Excel sheet with the English subtitles. The first column (to the left) contains the source text in Arabic, while the second includes the target subtitles in English.

Each Arabic movie with English subtitles is watched, and the scenes that contain culture-bound expressions are identified. The examples to be investigated are categorized into two thematic groups. These include proverbs and idiomatic expressions. To ensure that the categorization is accurate, the researchers asked three university lecturers, who are native speakers of Arabic, specializing in applied linguistics and translation studies, to check the classification based on the definition of Wood (2019, pp. 30-34) discussed above. If two of them shared the same comments, their feedback would be considered and incorporated. The researchers also consulted Arabic sources to verify the classification. Table 4 shows that the total number of examples in this study is forty-six.

Table 4. *Number of examples*

Name of movie	Proverbs	Idiomatic Expression	Total
My Horrible Grandma	7	12	19
Yacoubian Building	2	8	10
The Student Cop	3	7	10
Bittersweet	2	5	7
Total	14	32	46

The researchers compared the idiomatic expressions and proverbs in the Arabic movies with their English equivalents. We examine the challenges and problems that the subtitlers faced while translating idiomatic expressions and explore the translation strategies used to render these expressions. In this study, the researchers provide a literal translation of the Arabic script into English to make things clearer for non-Arabic readers, as Table 5 shows.

Table 5. *Literal translation of the Arabic source texts, including idioms and proverbs in English*

Source Text	Literal Translation	Target Text
بلاش تواضع يا إبراهيم، ده إيدو تتلف فحرير	Don't be modest, Ibrahim; his hand should be wrapped with silk.	Don't be modest, Ibrahim. He's too sweet
على رأيك إن بعض الظن إثم	As you said, some thoughts are considered sinful actions	You're right; we shouldn't judge
و إن الضيق بعدو فرج بإذن الله	Distress is followed by relief, if Allah wills	After the rain comes the sun.
صوابعك مش زي بعضها	Not all your fingers are the same.	Not everybody is the same
بقلك إيه أنا عفاريت الدينا بتتنطط في وشي	Listen, all the demons in the world are jumping in front of my face	Listen. I'm not in the mood.
دي كانت عزومة مراكبية	It was a false invitation	I didn't really mean it
ابلع ريقك شوية	Swallow your saliva	Stop talking, Okay?
ده خلى رقبتنا زي السمسمة	He made our neck like a sesame seed.	He brought us humiliation!
قعدت مع أخوها و قرينا الفاتحة	I met her brother, and we read Al-Fatiha.	I met her brother, and we agreed

As mentioned above, idioms are frozen patterns of language, and their meanings cannot be drawn from the meaning of their constituents. This is why idioms cannot be translated literally. Similarly, proverbs are cultural elements, and subtitlers need to be aware of the differences between the source and target cultures to produce appropriate translations.

Study Procedures

The procedures and steps that are followed in this study are:

- Selecting Arabic movies: four Arabic movies were selected, namely “تيتا رهيبة *My horrible grandma,”* “عسل أسود *Bittersweet,”* “الباشا تلميذ *The Student cop,”* and “عمارة يعقوبيان *Yacoubian Building*.”
- Watching the four movies with Netflix subtitles.
- Writing down the scripts of the movies in Egyptian vernacular.
- Extracting the subtitles of the movies from www.Netflix.com.
- Aligning the source texts in Egyptian vernacular with English subtitles.
- Spotting the idiomatic expressions and proverbs.
- Comparing the idiomatic expressions and proverbs in the Arabic movies with their English equivalents.
- Examining the challenges and problems that faced the subtitlers while translating idiomatic expressions.
- Exploring the translation strategies used in rendering these expressions.

V. RESULTS

Egyptian vernacular is full of idiomatic expressions and proverbs. Regardless of their educational level and social class, people use these expressions without being aware of their source and origin. Such expressions have various indications; some are used to express remorse, others are resorted to at the time of disasters or for appeal. Due to their geographical proximity and common cultural, linguistic, and religious features, most Arab countries share similar customs and traditions. This is why many proverbs are widely spread and frequently used by most Arab peoples. The subtitles of Egyptian movies are categorized and then compared with their English equivalents. Then, the translation strategies used to render these idiomatic words and expressions are examined. The researchers classified the compiled data into two groups: proverbs and idiomatic expressions.

Results Pertaining to Question 1: Translation Strategies Used in Rendering Proverbs

Subtitlers may face many challenges when they render vernacular Arabic movies into English, where proverbs are frequently used. Proverbs reflect the experiences of nations and people and have more impact on people than any other words or expressions (Honeck, 1997; Meider, 1985; Norrick, 2011).

"Paraphrasing" was the most frequently used translation strategy, with 38% of the incidents. Subtitlers have applied the strategy of using "an idiom of similar meaning but a different form" to 32% of the proverbs. 20% of the proverbs were rendered literally. Finally, "mistranslation" was observed in 10% of the cases. Figure 3 illustrates the percentages of using the translation strategies in rendering the investigated proverbs.

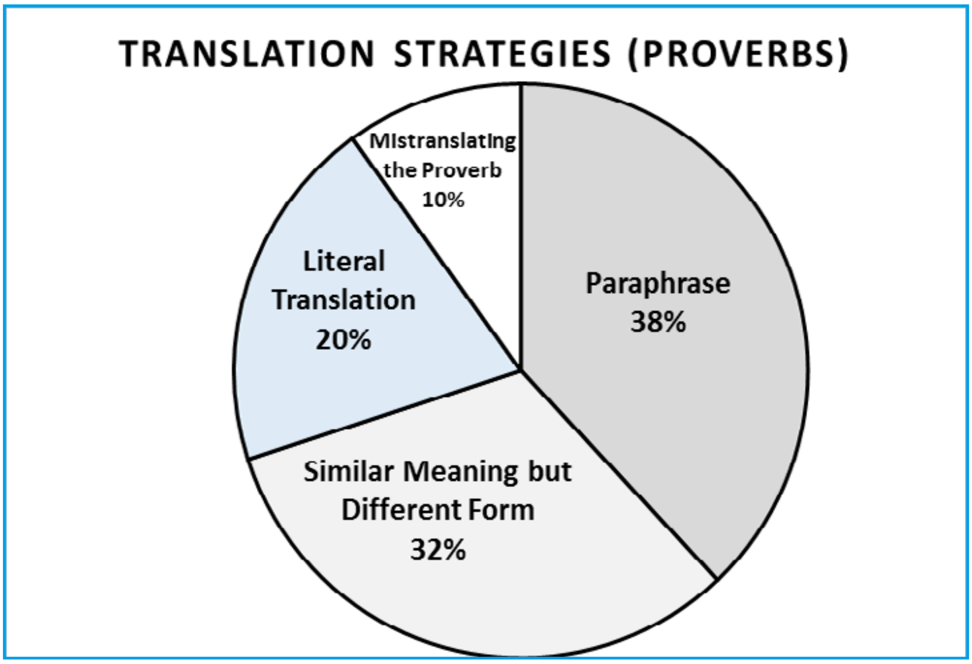

Figure 1. *Percentage of the translation strategies used in rendering proverbs into English*

Table 6 shows examples of the translation strategies used in rendering 11 proverbs mentioned in the investigated movies.

Table 6. *Examples of strategies used in translating proverbs*

Strategy	No.	Source text (Arabic)	Literal Translation (English)	Target text (English)
Using an Idiom of Similar Meaning but a Different Form	1	كاذ نم لبشلا اذه دسألا	**This cub is from that lion.**	**The apple doesn't fall far from the tree.**
	2	هدعب قيضلا نإ و هللا نذإب جرفلا	**Distress is followed by relief** if Allah wills	**After the rain comes the sun.**
	3	حلم و شيع هللاي هبردبع ،	Come on, **bread and salt**, Abd Rabbuh	**Let's break bread**
Translation by Using Paraphrasing	4	ينعي كترضح هبشلا نم قلخي سانلا لك نيعبرأ أل الو هدك لوقتب	**Allah creates forty people who look the same,** your honor. All people say so, don't they?	**A lot of people look alike.** People say that, right?
	5	تعلو انأ كترضح ةرشعلا يعباوص شيف امو عمش ةدياف	Your honor, I **lit my ten fingers candles** to no avail.	**I did everything I could do**, but to no avail.
	6	انأ نإ رهاظلا لبحلا مكتبيس براغلاع	It seems that **I slacken the reins.**	It seems I was too lenient
	7	ةموزع تناك يد ةيبكارم	Yeah, **a false invitation**	**I didn't really mean it**
Literal Translation	8	لثم اندنع يف علط يللا لوقب وه اندملا لغبلا ردقي يللا سب ولزني	We have a proverb that says **whoever puts the mule above in the minaret is the only one who can get it down.**	Know the saying? **Whoever put the mule in the minaret can get it down**.
	9	كيدهد انأ بيط يللا ،ةصرفلا ةبرق ليشب ىلع رختب ةمورخم ورهض	I will give you a chance; **who carries a perforated bag will trickle on his back.**	I'll give you a chance. **If you hold a leaky bottle on your back, it will trickle on you.**

Strategy	No.	Source text (Arabic)	Literal Translation (English)	Target text (English)
Mistranslation	10	تحفط ام كنع **ىلع لكايب يللا عفنيب وسرض هسفن**	As you want, don't eat, he **who chews on his own molar is self-sufficient.**	I don't care. **You know better**
	11	**بارغلا باج اماي** ايوخاي **همأل**	**What a crow brought to his mother**, my brother.	**This means nothing**, man

Table 6 shows that three proverbs were rendered using an idiom or proverb of similar meaning but in a different form. Proverb 1, which is دسألا كاذ نم لبشلا اذه was rendered as *"**the apple doesn't fall far from the tree**."* People use this Arabic **proverb** if they want to praise someone's son and, at the same time, praise the father too. This proverb is used to say that a son usually has similar good characteristics or traits to his father because he behaves the same way. The literal translation of the proverb is ***"this cub is from that lion."*** It is well-known that Arab people consider the lion as a symbol of power, bravery, and intelligence, so the proverb carries a positive connotation. However, the translation provided on Netflix is appropriate compared to the literal translation simply because the English equivalent is commonly used in Western culture, and the literal translation might not be understandable to the target audience. Another equivalence that could be used is "a chip off the old block." To evaluate the quality of the translation, it can be argued that the Arabic proverb and its English counterpart convey the same positive connotative meanings.

In Example 2, the proverb جرفلا هدعب قيضلا نإ و was rendered as "***after the rain comes the sun"*** following the cultural substitution strategy. The literal translation of the proverb is "***Distress is followed by relief."*** The Arabic expression has a religious connotative meaning derived from the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. The Arabic expression means relief will definitely come after a hard time or problem. The translation is appropriate as long as it delivers the implicit meaning.

In Example 3, the expression عيش و ملح was translated as *“**Let’s break bread.**”* The literal translation of the Arabic expression is *“**bread and salt.**”* This proverb is used in almost all Arab countries to express that when people eat together, their relationship will improve, and the emotion of brotherhood and friendship will strengthen. Moreover, Arabs use the expression when two men fight, and people try to reconcile and remind them that they have eaten together. In Western culture, they use “*break bread*,” which means more than just eating. It is when you share a sense of brotherhood with someone or a group. Thus, the translation is appropriate and conveys the same positive connotative meaning.

Paraphrasing is the strategy that was used the most in translating proverbs. The concept of paraphrasing indicates rewording the idiom or proverb to convey the intended meaning to the target audience. Subtitlers sometimes render the implicit meaning of the proverb, maybe because there is no equivalence in the target culture.

The proverb in Example 4 يخلق من الشبه أربعين is rendered as *“**a lot of people look alike**.”* People often express astonishment when they see two or more people with remarkable similarities, especially if they are not relatives. The similarity may be in behavior, lifestyle, or facial features. We often see people who resemble famous personalities as presidents or public figures. The literal translation of the proverb is “***Allah creates forty people who look the same*.**” The number أربعين *Forty* in this proverb is of Persian origin and indicates a large number. Moreover, in the past, Arab people have used the number أربعين *Forty* as evidence of abundance and exaggeration. Thus, this explains the presence of many proverbs in the Arabic language that contain the number أربعين *Forty*. In Example 4, the subtitler uses the paraphrasing strategy, and the connotative meaning is successfully conveyed. In the scenes, some factors such as the image, context of the events, and the actors’ body language would also help the viewers better understand the texts and the translation.

Example أنا ولعت صوابعي العشرة شمع was translated as *“**I did everything I could do**.”* The literal translation of the proverb is, *“I lit my ten fingers candles.”* Literal translation is usually not recommended because idioms have implicit meanings. Further, the proverb may sound weird and odd to the target audience. The Arabic proverb is used when someone does everything to satisfy another person but to no avail. The translation by paraphrasing in this example is appropriate, as the implicit meaning of the SL proverb became explicit.

Example 6, which reads سيبتلكم الحبل عالغارب can be translated literally as ***"It seems that I slacken the rope on the hump."*** The subtitler rendered it as ***"I was too lenient."*** The SL expression is an authentic Arabic idiom that expresses absolute freedom and leniency. In the past, Arabs used to let the camel graze freely alone by throwing the rope on its hump, and this is where the expression came from. So, the expression is used when you give someone absolute freedom to do whatever they want, and then they become negligent. The expression is used to scold oneself for letting someone act freely. Hence, the SL expression is not lexicalized in the TL. However, the provided translation could be appropriate since it conveys the implicit meaning of freedom. In addition, there are some better ways to translate the SL idiom, such as "*To give a free hand to someone*", "*Give free rein*", or "*Give vent to*."

In Example 7, the Arabic proverb عزومة مراكبية ***false invitation*** is rendered as ***"I didn't really mean it."*** The proverb is used when you invite someone to dinner, for example, but you don't mean it, i.e., you only do it out of courtesy. This saying is used a lot in Egypt. However, the provided translation conveys the implicit meaning. A better equivalent could be ***"Barmecide feast."*** The origin of this proverb goes back to the famous Baramkeh family, a Persian family in the history of the Abbasid state. According to The Thousand- and One-Night Tales, a Barmecide prince had offered a beggar a fake feast, where the dishes he offered were empty while he claimed they contained food and started eating. Accordingly, "Barmecidal" means fake or false.

The researchers have added "literal translation" strategy to Baker's taxonomy of translating idioms and proverbs. From the researchers' point of view, it is not recommended to translate proverbs or other idiomatic expressions literally because the target audience may not understand the intended meaning. Example 8, which reads اللي طلع البغل المدنا وه سب اللي يقدر ينزله was translated as ***"whoever puts***

***the mule in the minaret can get it down*.*"* This means that only the one who helps another person wins a prize, succeeds in the election, or gets a higher rank in the job, for example, can fail him or get him down with no benefit. It is originally a Syrian proverb; however, it is used in other Arab countries. As mentioned above, the meaning might not be apparent to the target audience, and at the same time, there is no direct equivalence in their culture. Hence, it would be better to explain the proverb explicitly rather than translating it literally by saying, for example, "*The one who helps you to success is the only one who can fail you*".

Example 9 اللي بيشيل قربة مخرومة بتخر على ضهره was rendered as ***"if you hold a leaky bottle on your back, it will trickle on you."*** The SL proverb indicates that anyone is responsible for his decisions and the results of his actions. This happens when the person carries a leaky bottle on their back, and water leaks on them. An English equivalent that suits the target culture might be "***carry the can***."

Some proverbs were mistranslated. In Example 10, اللي بياكل على ضرسه بينفع نفسه was translated as ***"You know better."*** This translation did not convey the intended meaning appropriately. Although there is an equivalent in the English language that has the same meaning, which is "***he who chews on his own molar is self-sufficient***" and ***"God helps those who help themselves"***. However, the SL proverb indicates that whoever serves himself without asking others to help will benefit himself. The one who eats with his teeth will benefit from the food. It indicates that the self-reliant one will not be exposed to harm from anyone. Subtitlers should be as faithful as possible when translating any text. Moreover, they have to make an effort to convey the closest meaning of the ST to the TT.

In Example 11, the proverb ياما جاب الغراب لأمه was rendered as ***"This means nothing*.*"*** The literal translation is *"what has the crow brought to his mother?"* The Egyptians sarcastically repeat this proverb when someone surprises them with something they do not want or do not like. However, why "the crow", not other kinds of birds, is being referred to! Some research on the behaviour of crows revealed that they pay attention to things that shine in the sun and keep things in secret places. They have a hole in a tree or a wall. Some researchers could reach one of the secret stores of crows and discovered things of no value, such as pieces of a broken mirror, a cup's hand, and a piece of metal (Harvey, 2021). As a result, a person who offers something of no value is like a crow. Concerning the quality of translation, the researchers think that if there is no equivalence in the TL, it is better to resort to paraphrasing the proverb's meaning to make the hidden meaning explicit.

The analysis above showed that literal translation is not a suitable solution to resort to when translating proverbs. Furthermore, the analysis also showed that literal translation did not fully convey the intended meaning, and the target audience may not understand the implicit meanings of the proverb. Proverbs are related to culture, so subtitlers should try to find the closest natural equivalent of the SL proverb in the TL culture. This is consistent with Nida (1964), who stated that the translator's role is to ease the transmission of the message from one language to another and provides an equal response to the recipients. However, if the subtitler does not find an appropriate equivalent, it will be better to use the 'paraphrase' strategy to render the connotative meanings of the proverb, not its literal translation. By doing so, the implicit meaning of the proverb becomes explicit and easier to be understood by the target audience. This is in harmony with Baker (1992), who stated that the strategy of paraphrasing is used when there is no TL idiomatic equivalent for the SL proverb or if the target language's style differs from the SL. In addition, based on the examples above, this study showed that 'paraphrasing' is the most used translation strategy when rendering proverbs. Such a finding is in line with the result of Al-assaf (2019), who examined the translation of idioms from English to Arabic based on Baker's taxonomy of translation strategies of idioms and proverbs and found that paraphrasing strategy was frequently used in translating English idioms into Arabic.

Results Pertaining to Question 2: Translation Strategies Used in Rendering Idiomatic Expressions

In this section, the researchers explore which translation strategy is the most frequently used in rendering idiomatic expressions. The most used strategy is "*translating by* *paraphrasing using unrelated words to deal with non-equivalent expression,"* with 41%. *"Translation by paraphrasing using related words"* was applied to 21% of the idiomatic expressions, followed by *"Cultural substitution"* with 20%. *"Literal translation"* was used in 6% of the cases. Mistranslation was observed in 6% of the cases. Finally, *"translation by more general words"* and *"omission"* were equally used, with 3% each. Figure 2 shows the percentages of translation strategies in rendering the investigated idiomatic expressions.

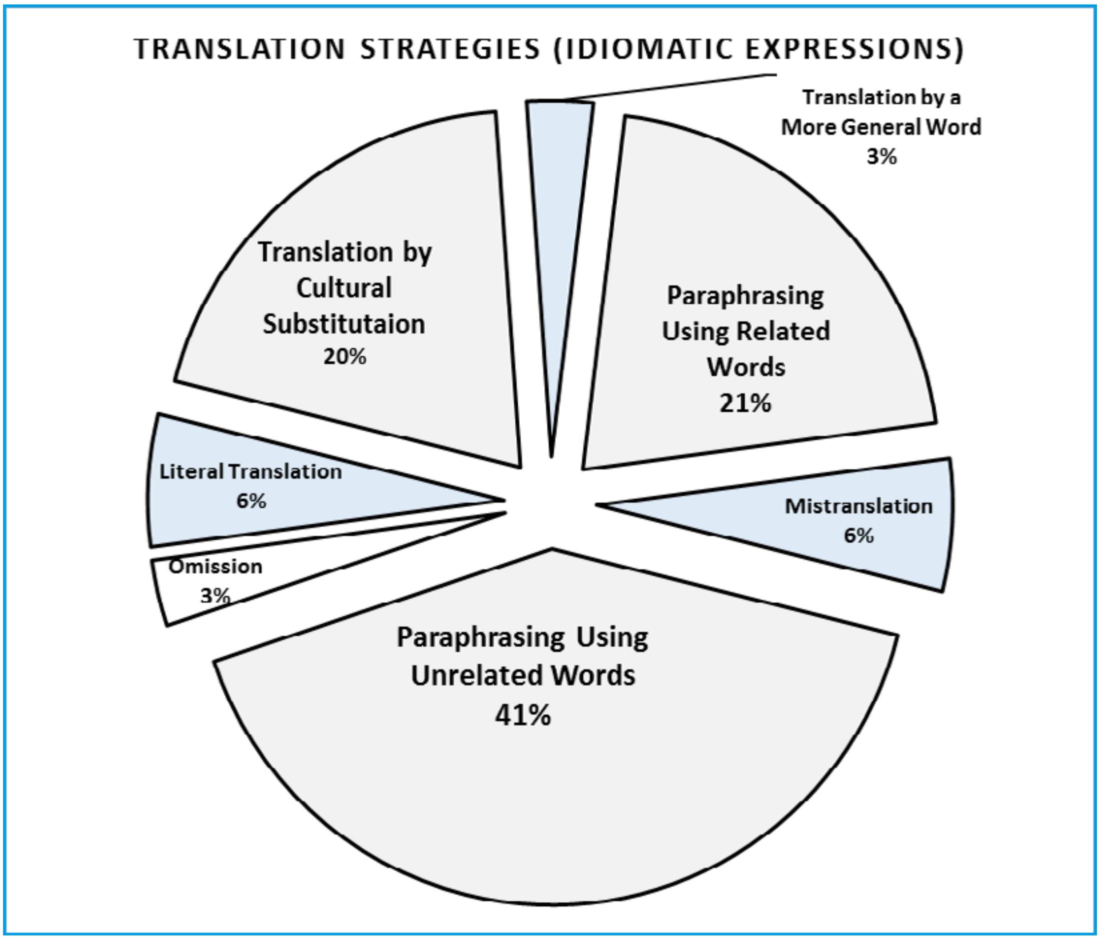

Figure 2. *Percentage of the translation strategies used in rendering the idiomatic expressions*

The researchers discuss another critical part of any culture and language, which is idiomatic expressions. Moreover, the researchers examine the strategies used when subtitling such expressions (see Table 7). An Idiomatic expression is a phrase whose whole meaning is not understood merely by understanding the meanings of its words individually. Instead, it is understood by combining these meanings. Accordingly, it could be challenging for subtitlers to find an appropriate and accurate counterpart in the TL. It is noteworthy that when rendering such expressions, the equivalent in the TL must carry a similar connotative meaning to the SL expressions. The idiomatic expressions compiled in this category are analyzed according to Baker's taxonomy of translation (Baker, 1992, pp. 26-42).

Table 7. *Examples of translation strategies used to render idiomatic expressions*

Strategy	No.	Source text (Arabic)	Literal Translation (English)	Target text (English)
Translation by a more general word	12	هات الدبلة عارفة إنها معاك و ما تعملش نفسك **عبد الحليم حافظ.**	Give me the ring. I know it is with you. **Don't act like Abdul Haleem Hafez**	Give it to me. Don't be so **melodramatic**
Translation by cultural substitution	13	**عالبركة**	**Blessings**	**Perfect** **Great** **It's a deal**
	14	سالي مش ممكن تنسجم إلا مع كلب ألماني زيها، **الدم** **بيحن**	Sally can only get along with a German dog like her. **Kin-blood makes people closer**	Sally would only like a German dog like her. **Blood is thicker than water**
	15	الأول بنبتديها **بقراية فاتحة** كده مثلا على الديق في البيت عند ميني.	Initially, we start by **reading Al-Fatiha** in the presence of a few people in Mini's house	We'll start with **a small proposal** at Minnie's house, for instance
	16	عايز أقلك إن أنا عايز أرتبط بيكي **على سنة الله و** **رسوله.**	I want to tell you that I want to marry you **as per the principles of the Holy Book of Allah and the Sunna of His Prophet**	I want to tell you that I want to **legally marry you**

Strategy	No.	Source text (Arabic)	Literal Translation (English)	Target text (English)
Translation by paraphrasing using related words	17	راجل محترم و زبون **إيدو فرطة**	He is respectful, and his **hand is spread out wide**	He's respectable and **generous**
	18	إحنا بالصلاة على النبي كده **نقرأ الفاتحة** قبل الموضوع ما ريحته تطلع	We will start by praying upon the prophet **reading Al-Fatiha** before news spreads	Let's pray and **agree** before people get wind of it
Translation by paraphrasing using unrelated words to deal with non-equivalent expression	19	ده خلى **رقبتنا زي السمسمة**	He made **our neck like a sesame seed.**	He **brought us humiliation!**
Omission	20	**ابن حلال** يا ابراهيم كنت عايزك في كلمتين.	**Legitimate son,** Mr. Ibrahim. I wanted to talk to you	**I meant to talk to you**. I wanted to talk to you
Literal Translation	21	**وهو القمر يخفى؟**	**Does the moon hide?**	**The moon never hides**
	22	سعادتك موافق؟ **نقرأ الفاتحة**	Do you agree, sir? Shall we **read Al-Fatiha**?	Shall we **read Al-Fatiha**?
Mistranslation	23	كفاية نوم **يا خُم نوم**	Enough sleeping, you **Sleepyhead**!	Wake up, already!
	24	بلاش تواضع يا ابراهيم، ده **إيدو تتلف فحرير**	Don't be modest, Ibrahim; **his hand should be wrapped with silk**	Don't be modest, Ibrahim. **He's too sweet**

'*Translation by a more general word*' strategy is one of the most used strategies for dealing with non-equivalence, particularly propositional meaning. The main idea of this strategy is to render a hyponym with a more general word or superordinate. Example 12, ما تعملش نفسك عبد الحليم حافظ is rendered as *"Don't be so **melodramatic.**"*

The literal translation of this expression is, "*Don't act like Abdel Halim Hafez*." This expression is widespread in Egypt as they consider Abdel Halim Hafez a symbol of romance. Abdel Halim Hafez is a famous Egyptian singer known for his romantic and emotional songs. His sensitive personality characterizes him. Accordingly, when someone says, "*don't act like Abdel Halim Hafez*," he means that you should not be sensitive and over-emotional. The meaning of a ***melodramatic person*** is someone who makes a big deal out of little issues. Thus, the translation is relatively appropriate and conveys the intended and suitable meaning to the target culture using a general word.

Table 7 contains four examples where *'translation by cultural substitution'* was applied. Following this strategy, the subtitler replaces some cultural terms from the source language with relevant cultural terms in the target language to suit the target language's culture. Example 13 includes the word عالبركة, which is repeatedly used in Egyptian movies, and it was translated differently according to the context. The implicit meaning of the word عالبركة is to ask ***Allah to bless the deal, marriage, contract, etc***. Since عالبركة is related to the Arabic culture, the subtitler resorted to cultural substitution to bridge the cultural gaps. It was translated as "***perfect,***" which was mentioned in a context where the shop owner asked the employee about the work. Then, the employee said that everything was good, so the owner responded happily with the Arabic word عالبركة**.** The second translation, i.e., "***great,***" was also said in a shop where a girl was dealing with the shop owner to employ her. He agreed and said عالبركة**.** The last translation was, "***it's a deal.***" It was used in the context when a car dealer asked his son about their contract with a Japanese company. His son responded that the agreement was good and the deal closed. So, the dealer said عالبركة**.** The three translations were relatively appropriate as they convey the intended meaning that suits the target culture.

Example 14, which is الدم بيحن ***Kin-blood makes people closer,*** was rendered as *"**Blood is thicker than water**."* People use this expression to emphasize that family relations are always more important than any other type of relationship. The translation of the Arabic idiom is appropriate since it delivers the intended meaning. The Arabic expression, as well as its equivalent in English, holds a positive connotation. The expression is used in a scene where a woman with a dog meets her friend, who also has a dog of the same species. When the ladies saw the two dogs playing, one of them used the idiom to express that the two dogs are in harmony because they are of the same German origin.

There are many ways to ask a girl for marriage, and they differ from one culture to another. Native speakers of any language may prefer the use of specific utterances or formulaic sequences over others in marriage proposals. For example, English speakers may convey the message using 'I want to marry you' (Pawley & Syder, 2014). The difficulty that the subtitler may face is related to the differences in marriage rituals between the Arab and Western cultures. Therefore, such terms need profound knowledge in both SL and TL. In Example 15, the clause نبتدي بقراية فاتحة was translated as "***start with a small proposal***" using cultural substitution. It can be translated literally as ***"we will start by reading Surat Al-Fatiha"***. In this strategy, the subtitler replaces the SL cultural term with a relevant cultural term in the TL. It is known that a "proposal" in the context of marriage refers to the act of asking a girl for marriage. The translation is appropriate since it delivers the meaning that suits Western culture. Example 16, which reads, على سنة الله و رسوله is related to the Muslim society and Islamic law of marriage. It was rendered as ***"legally marry you."*** Its literal translation is ***"I want to marry you as per the principles of the Holy Book of Allah and the Sunna of His Prophet."*** The majority of the target audience may not understand the literal translation of the SL expression. Thus, the subtitler successfully substituted the SL expression with a more appropriate term for the TL.

Translation by paraphrasing using related words is used when the source text has a word or expression that has a lexical equivalence in the target language, but in a different form. Examples 17 and 18 were rendered applying this strategy. Example 17, which reads إيدو فرطة, was rendered as ***"generous."*** The literal translation is "*his hand is* ***spread out wide."*** The Arabic expression indicates that the person is excessively generous. Hence, the translation is, to some extent, appropriate as it conveys the general meaning. However, it is better to render it as *“**he is generous to a fault,**”* which means generous much more than needed to convey the meaning of the exaggeration of generosity intended in the Arabic expression. Example 18, نقرأ الفاتحة was rendered as *“**Agree**”.* It literally means “*to read Surat Al-Fatiha*.” In the Arab world and, more specifically, the Muslim societies, when a person wants to sign a contract or make a deal, they read “*Surat Al-Fatiha*” to give the project a kind of blessing. In engagement or marriage proposals, the first thing people do when the girl’s family gives their consent, they read “*Surat Al-Fatiha*.” This is a tradition related to the Arab culture because people believe that when they read Al-Fatiha, Allah will bless this marriage. So, reading Al-Fatiha is an indication of approval to consummate the engagement. Hence, it seems that the subtitler used a ‘*neutral expressive word’* to make it clear and suitable for Western audiences and cultures. This strategy is one of the most commonly used ways of dealing with various types of non-equivalence. The provided translation conveyed the general meaning in a neutral way.

Translation by paraphrasing using unrelated words is used when the source text has a word or expression that has no lexical equivalence in the target language. In Example 19, the expression خلا رقبتنا زي السمسمة can be translated literally as *“**He made our neck like a sesame seed.**”* The subtitler rendered it as *“**He brought us humiliation!**”* The expression is used to express a situation where a person does a shameful or embarrassing thing, making his parents/friends feel humiliated. Thus, it is well-known that “sesame seed” is tiny, so it is used metaphorically to express humiliation. In light of this explanation, the translation is appropriate and delivers the meaning of the SL expression.

Concerning the strategy of omission, the subtitler deletes an element or more when translating from the SL to the TL. Sometimes, translators resort to omission when they come across taboo words, if there is no equivalent, or if there is redundancy. On the other hand, some translators use this strategy randomly without paying attention to the importance of the conveyed information or the context. Generally speaking, omission is not a recommended strategy and should be the last to use or resort to. In

Example 20, the expression ابن حلال "*Ibn Halal*" was not rendered. The literal translation is a "*legitimate son*". The subtitler omitted the expression instead of paraphrasing it or using a word that carries the closest connotative meaning to the SL, such as ***a decent person*** or ***respectable man.***

Some examples in the investigated data were rendered literally. However, literal translation is not recommended in translating idiomatic expressions because idioms cannot be understood by translating their components individually. In Example 21, the expression وهل يخفى القمر؟ is rendered as ***"The moon never hides."*** The literal translation of the SL expression is ***"Does the moon hide?"*** Basically, it is a line from an old Arabic poem. It is a rhetorical question to express exclamation and negation. This expression indicates that a person is famous and there is no need to introduce himself, just like the moon at night. However, the subtitler translated it as a statement that did not fully convey the intended meaning. As a result, the target audience is unlikely to understand the idiom. Therefore, it is better to be translated as ***"S/he needs no introduction" or "S/he is already well-known"*** since they carry the same meaning. Example 22***,*** اقرأ الفاتحة was rendered as "***read Al-Fatiha***". The subtitler chose to translate the SL expression literally and transliterate the word الفاتحة. It does not seem that literal translation is an appropriate choice since the SL term does not exist in Western culture. Therefore, it would be difficult for the target audience to understand the translation bearing in mind that not all people in the Western world are interested in or familiar with our culture.

Some idiomatic expressions were mistranslated. This may happen because the subtitler is not sufficiently familiar with the SL and TL cultures. In Example 23, the idiom مخ اي نوم was rendered as ***"Wake up, already!"*** This idiom describes a person who loves to sleep and spends his time sleeping. It is clear that the provided translation did not convey the meaning appropriately. The subtitler mistranslated it, although there is an equivalence to the SL idiom in the target language, which is "sleepyhead." In Example 24, the idiomatic expression إيديه تتلف في حرير was rendered as ***"he is too sweet."*** The literal translation is, ***"his hand should be wrapped with silk."*** The SL expression is a metaphor that shows the skill of a person whose hand is like a jewel that can be wrapped in silk to preserve it. It is said to a skillful person who masters his work. The provided translation is relatively incorrect. The best translation could be "*a great craftsman*" or "*skillful man*."

The findings of this research study are in line with Ali and Al-Rushaidi (2017), who conducted a study of the difficulties of translating idiomatic expressions and found that the major problems are related to finding appropriate equivalents, misunderstanding the idiom's meaning, using literal translation, and deleting the entire or some parts of the idiom without compensation. The current study confirmed such findings, especially the part concerning mistranslating the idioms because of not understanding the SL expression, not being familiar with the TL culture, or not finding an appropriate equivalent. The current study found that cultural expressions related to customs, traditions, and culture are challenging to subtitlers. Examples of these expressions include قراءة الفاتحة and على سنة الله و رسوله. Such expressions are not lexicalized in the target language, and this is, according to (Baker, 1992), one of the common problems of non-equivalence. This is also consistent with Dweik and Suleiman (2013), who examined the problems faced by sixty MA graduate students from three Jordanian universities translating cultural expressions from Arabic into English. One of their results was that one of the challenges is related to the translators' inability to meet the equivalent in the target language. Moreover, the researchers believe that one of the solutions for such cases is to use the "cultural substitution" strategy. This finding is in line with Mughazy (2016), who suggests that substitution could be one of the best translation strategies when coming across expressions that have cultural connotations.

This study can help subtitlers improve their skills in rendering idiomatic expressions. Subtitlers should be well-versed in both the source and target cultures. They should make an extra effort when translating culture-bound expressions such as proverbs since these types of expressions demand the subtitlers to find appropriate equivalence in the target language. Subtitlers should try their best to avoid the strategy of omission, especially if the language pairs have similar syntactic and semantic structuring. For example, instead of omitting ابن حلال the subtitler could have rendered it as ***"a decent person."*** It is worth noting that the strategy of omission is sometimes resorted to by translators when a phrase is socially acceptable in language A but not in language B or gives the whole statement a different ring.

Finally, it is observed that idiomatic expressions are repeatedly used in most movies, so it is suitable for subtitlers to work on creating an appropriate and special glossary for that. This study can be beneficial to translators, particularly those interested in subtitling movies. It can also be helpful for translation students who are keen on translating proverbs and idiomatic expressions.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The study of translating idioms and proverbs is not a common research area in the context of audiovisual translation studies, a gap that this study attempted to fill. Examining the translation of proverbs and idiomatic expressions in one study is also novel. In this study, the researchers investigated the subtitling of a group of idiomatic expressions and proverbs extracted from four Egyptian movies into English. It examined the difficulties subtitlers encounter while translating idiomatic expressions and proverbs.

Two questions were raised in this study, to which the researchers now return:

1 What are the challenges that subtitlers face when translating idiomatic expressions and proverbs in Egyptian movies into English?

2 What are the strategies used in translating Egyptian idiomatic expressions and proverbs into English?

The findings suggested that the main obstacles were connected to cultural differences, misunderstanding, and difficulty in finding an appropriate equivalent. The differences, discrepancies, and incongruences between languages and cultures pose an inevitable loss in translating. Subtitlers can overcome this challenge by acquainting themselves with the SL and TL cultures before beginning the translation process, bearing in mind that all cultures share many proverbs and idioms. On the other hand, misunderstanding the underlying meaning of proverbs and idiomatic expressions is owing to a lack of information. As a result, subtitlers should make further investigations into the explicit and implicit meanings of proverbs and idiomatic expressions under study. Finally, the problem of finding an appropriate equivalence can be alleviated by employing proper translation strategies to render natural and close equivalents. The current study also examined the translation strategies used in subtitling idiomatic expressions. The subtitler utilized "*translation by paraphrasing*" strategy to translate 38% of proverbs. Similarly, "*translation by paraphrasing using unrelated words*" was the most used strategy in translating idiomatic expressions, with a percentage of 41%. It is worth noting that the written version of the speech in subtitles is usually a reduced form of the oral. Some may argue that the use of subtitles could totally invalidate this result, as paraphrasing is a feature of this modality of audio-visual translation. It is important to note that different strategies may be used at different points depending on the specific requirements of the text being translated. So, subtitlers may resort to deletion/omission, cultural substitution, transliteration, or other strategies depending on the context.

Idiomatic expressions are considered fixed expressions that cannot be translated by looking up the meaning of each word individually. However, the subtitlers resorted to literal translation in some cases, which sometimes distorted the meaning and resulted in odd and unnatural translations. The difficulty of finding an appropriate equivalent may justify resorting to literal translation while rendering proverbs and idiomatic expressions. Similarly, mistranslation was noted, most likely due lack of SL and TL cultural knowledge and not finding an appropriate equivalent. On the other hand, the results revealed that some expressions repeatedly used were translated differently according to the context and the paralinguistic features.

This study discussed subtitling idiomatic expressions and proverbs from Arabic into English. Future research can investigate the subtitling of other formulaic sequences, including collocations, lexical phrases and lexical bundles, to mention a few. In addition, this study examined the Egyptian dialect; further studies can be conducted to examine other Arabic dialects and different language pairs. Furthermore, other researchers can investigate other movie genres, such as action, tragedy, and thrill, to mention a few.

Another limitation is related to the size of the data. In this study, only forty-six examples were analyzed. Other researchers can examine more examples and analyze the data based on other translation theories.

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The translation of Neapolitan mafia nicknames in the TV series *Gomorra* into English and Spanish

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the translation for subtitling and dubbing of a type of Italian expressions called *contronomi*, which refer to the nicknames traditionally used by members of the Neapolitan mafia. We have focused on this special kind of nickname used in the Italian series *Gomorra* to identify and describe the techniques employed in the translation of these meaningful linguistic cultural elements found in the series into English and Spanish. To this end, a contrastive analysis of the source text in the Neapolitan dialect and the subtitled version in English and the dubbed version in Spanish of the first season has been carried out. The results obtained showed that the translation tendencies regarding the handling of the *contronomi* of the main and secondary characters of this audiovisual product greatly differ in the two target languages and cultures. While the English version tends to make them understandable to its target audience, the Spanish version favours keeping them in their original form as if they were proper names.

Keywords: *audiovisual translation; dubbing; subtitling; translation technique; nickname; contronome.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Technological development has contributed to the growing global consumption of audiovisual products from different countries, in a wide range of genres and through various channels. From the most traditional genres and formats, such as cinema, television films and television series, to the most recent ones, like video games and websites, these products are translated into different languages for audiences in different foreign markets. This journey from one language to another, i.e., from one culture to another, takes place thanks to audiovisual translation (AVT), the branch of translation studies focusing on the transfer of multimedia and multimodal texts into other languages and cultures (Pérez-González, 2014).

Audiovisual texts such as films or television series contain culture-specific elements that can be perceived by viewers through both its verbal and non-verbal components. From judicial and educational systems to gastronomy, the list of cultural aspects and fields is long. Conveying this type of meaning from a source to a target culture through translation can be a complex task. If the text to be translated is audiovisual, the process should, moreover, fulfil specific requirements related to the translation mode used. Among the different AVT modes, e.g., voice-over, subtitling, dubbing, free commentary, and narration, we have focused on dubbing and subtitling, the predominant methods in the languages and cultures in contact in our study.

Individuals accustomed to watching foreign audiovisual texts in cinemas, on television or the Internet are familiar with the concepts of dubbing and subtitling. However, they are not aware that these translation modes are characterised by technical aspects observed by professional translators that determine the kind of strategies to be applied when rendering the original dialogues in the foreign language. Regarding dubbing, Chaume (2016, p. 2) states that it "consists of replacing the original track where any audiovisual text's source language dialogues are recorded with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language". For the translator, in terms of performance flexibility, a particularly important feature of dubbing is the fact that the original dialogue recording is removed and, as a result, viewers can hear only the translation. As for subtitling, Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007, p. 8) define it as a linguistic practice through which a written text is presented, "generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image […] and the information that is contained on the soundtrack", e.g., relevant songs and off-screen voices. Unlike dubbing, subtitles provide the translation at the same time as the original dialogue is heard in the source language and, consequently, subtitling is considered "an overt type of translation" (Gottlieb, 2004, p. 102). The target viewers have the chance to compare the original dialogues with the translation in the subtitles and, depending on their knowledge of the source language, they may not find the translation reliable if they detect differences in the content and length of utterances concerning the original text. For that reason, a certain degree of literalness in the translation is recommended (Díaz-Cintas, 2001).

The presence or absence of the original soundtrack in the translated or target text (TT) that characterises subtitling and dubbing very often constrains the translator's decisions. Depending on whether the translation is to be produced for dubbing or subtitling, different techniques may be applied for the same linguistic element. Specifically, when dealing with culture-bound references, e.g., a joke, a pun, or a meaningful nickname, the difficulties of rendering meanings that do not exist in the target culture add to those produced by the technical requirements and conventions of the AVT modes.

While dubbing is the most widespread AVT mode in countries such as Italy, Spain, Austria, and Germany, subtitling is predominant in The Netherlands, Portugal, Greece, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Latin American countries. This preference regarding the method used highly influences the way viewers receive and perceive foreign audiovisual productions.

In this context, the study described in this article aims to identify and determine the translation techniques employed in the translation into English and Spanish of the *contronomi*—a special kind of nickname—used in the Italian series *Gomorra*. To achieve this objective, we have carried out an analysis of these linguistic cultural elements in the original or source text (ST), in the Neapolitan dialect, and the translated versions in Spanish and English. Specifically, comparisons have been made between the original version, the subtitled version in English, and the dubbed version in Spanish of the first season episodes. The initial hypothesis was that the English TT would resort to the preservation of the original nicknames since subtitling exposes the original dialogues to the viewers' criticism, while the Spanish TT would present more varied and freer options because the soundtrack with the original voices disappears through dubbing. This analysis has helped us find out how these cultural linguistic elements have been re-expressed or represented in the two target languages and cultures in terms of translation tendency and to what extent they differ or coincide.

II. THE TRANSLATION OF NICKNAMES

According to Merriam-Webster (n.d.), a nickname is "a usually descriptive name given instead of or in addition to the one belonging to a person, place, or thing". The *Cambridge Dictionary* (n.d.) defines it as "an informal name for someone or something, especially a name that you are called by your friends or family, usually based on your real name or your character". The Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.) adds that this name is "usually familiar or humorous". Putting these aspects together, a nickname is an informal name given to someone, usually related to their particular characteristics (either physical or character traits) and is sometimes created for humoristic purposes. As proper names do, nicknames function as ways to identify people.

As cultural elements are significant parts of speech, their use in audiovisual texts provides the dialogues (as fictional discourse) with the flavour of daily life in specific social and cultural contexts. Nicknames are not an exception and are especially related to more traditional societies and small communities. We should bear in mind that the dialogues of audiovisual texts are planned and written in advance to sound natural and spontaneous, giving rise to what Chaume (2004, p. 68) calls “prefabricated orality”. As Baños-Piñero and Chaume posit (2009, para. 3), “Depicting realism through dialogues seems to be one of the keys to creating a successful audiovisual programme”. This pretended naturalness of the made-up dialogues becomes one of the main challenges of AVT (Baños-Piñero & Chaume, 2009). In the case of dubbing, as Pettit (2009, p. 44) puts it, “the aim is to ensure that the dubbed dialogues feel as authentic as possible, yet the image betrays specific features of the source culture”. The results obtained in this study are also helpful to understand what each TT analysed takes as authentic, i.e., keeping the original nicknames or somehow adapting them.

II. 1. The translation of proper names as a starting point

Considering the scant number of studies on the translation of nicknames, it is useful to refer to the literature on translation techniques applied to proper names as a starting point. The translation of nicknames has usually been studied as part of the research on the translation of proper names, “as an anthroponymic subcategory” (Amenta, 2019, p. 233). More than thirty years ago, Bantas and Manea (1990) lamented the lack of research on the topic. Although more recently a still-small number of scholars have addressed the translation of nicknames directly as the focus of their studies (e.g., Yang, 2013; Peterson, 2015; Bai, 2016; Zhang, 2017; Amenta, 2019; Barotova, 2021) or tangentially as part of a wider textual analysis (e.g., García García, 2001; Muñoz Muñoz and Vella Ramírez, 2011; Epstein, 2012), most research is confined to the field of literature.

Beyond the well-known debate about the translatability of proper names, discussed by Mayoral (2000) and Cuéllar Lázaro (2014), we will look at the basic premises generally applied to the translation of proper names. In general, proper names of distinguished personalities are usually adapted (e.g., names of popes, kings, and queens), but preserving the proper name in its original language is common practice when dealing with real people’s names (Moya, 1993). When fictional characters’ names are involved, there are no fixed rules in that regard. The selection of one of the two options depends on whether the name has a special meaning or lacks recognisable descriptive elements.

As Nord (2003) puts it, the names in the first group could be literally translated in order to keep their descriptive meaning and those in the second group would be transcribed as they are used in the ST. According to this scholar, beyond these criteria, one more aspect is still to be considered when approaching the translation of personal names, i.e., their function, which can be informative or a cultural marker. When the information contained in a descriptive name is explicit, it can be translated. However, if it is implicit, or if the marker function is to be prioritised, "this aspect will be lost in the translation, unless the translator decides to compensate for the loss by providing the information in the context" (2003:85). Proper names with explicit descriptive characteristics lead us necessarily to the notion of nicknames. Although proper names and nicknames are conceptually different, their translation can be addressed similarly, hence the pertinence of the research on the translation of proper names to this topic.

II.2. Applicable translation techniques

Scholars who have paid special attention to the translation of proper names have produced taxonomies of translation techniques that can be applied to these elements (e.g., Hermans, 1988; Newmark, 1988; Hervey and Higgins, 1992; Ballard, 1993; Moya, 1993, 2000; Mayoral, 2000; Davies, 2003; Van Coillie, 2006; Salmon, 2006). Specifically, Davies (2003) considers nicknames as a subgroup of proper names in her classification of techniques intended for the translation of culture-specific items.

Despite terminological and conceptual disagreement among translation scholars concerning translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002), which can be seen in the classifications of the previous researchers, their most common translation operations can be grouped as follows:

1. Keeping the ST name unchanged in the TT. Through this technique, the TT stays closer to the ST by preserving the original culture and may seem more realistic and more easily located. However, if the proper name is semantically loaded, the target language receiver will most probably miss its meaning. An added disadvantage is that, when the TT is to be read, the receivers could find

it difficult to read the proper names in the source language when their phonic and graphic rules are too distant from those of the target language. The names given by scholars to this technique are varied (e.g., exotism, copying, transfer, transference, preservation, non-translation, reproduction).

2. Adapting the ST name to the phonic or graphic rules of the target language. This technique aims at fulfilling the expectations of the receivers of the TT (called transliteration, transcription, naturalisation, localisation, and adaptation).
3. Altering the ST name in the target language. Through this technique, the name is partially modified (called transformation and replacement).
4. Translating the ST name into the target language literally. This applies when dealing with meaningful or semantically-loaded names and nicknames (called translation and semantic recreation).
5. Creating a proper name that is different from the one in the ST. As Davies (2003: 88) posits, this technique is used when the original proper name "seems too alien or odd in the target culture" and when "it is desired to make the target version more semantically transparent, in order to convey some descriptive meaning" (called creation and replacement).
6. Replacing the ST name with a target language name with the same cultural connotation (called cultural transplantation, substitution, and replacement).

For the sake of clarity, in their application to our study, we will refer to these techniques as (1) preservation, (2) naturalisation, (3) transformation, (4) translation, (5) creation, and (6) cultural transplantation. According to the linguistic operations involved and their effects on the TT, they are along a continuum from foreignization to domestication (as coined by Venuti, (1995)), i.e., from the transference to the adaptation of foreign elements to the target culture. While foreignizing techniques reproduce the cultural idiosyncrasy of the ST, domesticating techniques make the TT closer to the context of the target culture. In the middle of these opposite points, neutralisation pursues the removal of cultural marks. The application of these strategies depends on the translation norms of the target language and culture, which together with local policies and ideologies can influence the translator's performance (Spiteri Miggiani, 2019).

While preservation is the most foreignizing technique, creation and cultural transplantation are the most domesticating ones, since they aim at replacing the original name with a name that is common or, at least, more acceptable in the target culture. Naturalisation and transformation are on the way towards domestication but keep the essence of the name of the ST, because, through these techniques, the names are only adapted phonetically or slightly altered and, thus, the audience can still recognise them as foreign. Although translation is near the domesticating end since its use results in an item that is completely inserted in the recipient's linguistic universe, it is a neutralising technique.

The application of these techniques in the translation of nicknames can result in two main effects, i.e., either keeping the cultural component (as a cultural marker), thus, probably hiding the semantic load, or showing the way the bearer of the nickname is seen or considered in the ST and, consequently, missing the cultural load. In this study, we will observe which of these two options defines the translation tendency for the nicknames found in the series *Gomorra* in English and Spanish.

II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The Italian TV series *Gomorra* was broadcast for the first time in Italy, in May 2014, on the channel Sky Atlantic of the Sky satellite platform. In the UK, it was launched at the beginning of August 2014 on Sky Atlantic and then in the USA at the end of the same month on the Sundance TV channel. In Spain, it was shown on television in September of the same year on La Sexta.

The series is based on the book *Gomorra - Viaggio nell'impero economico e nel sogno di dominio della camorra*, a bestseller by Roberto Saviano (2006), and its story is set in Naples in the 2010s. It deals with the Savastano mafia family, the main drug-dealing group of the Neapolitan neighbourhood called Secondigliano, and their enemy, Salvatore Conte. Pietro Savastano, the patriarch, has entrusted his right-hand man, Ciro di Marzio, with training his son, Gennaro Savastano, to take on the role of the next *capo*, that is, the new boss of the neighbourhood and the family.

Saviano (2021) said to the Italian newspaper *Corriere della sera* that the real underlying message of the novel is not about a conflict between organised crime groups but about the conflict between groups of people who want to control a territory to use it to their advantage and rule it through intimidation.

In terms of linguistic features, the TV series *Gomorra* is a peculiar case because the original script is written in Neapolitan dialect and the episodes are broadcast with an option to see them with standard Italian subtitles. In this audiovisual product, the dialect spoken by the characters is extremely important because it shows their roots and their belonging to a specific geographical context and a specific moment. The dialect plays the role of highlighting the relationships among linguistic variety, culture, society, and territory. The typological and structural differences between standard Italian and Neapolitan make Neapolitan to be considered a code by itself (Marano, 2010). UNESCO recognises Neapolitan as a language which, compared to Italian, has been influenced not only by Latin but also by other languages like Greek, Spanish, French, and Arabic.

In this social and linguistic context, *contronomi* (plural form of *contronome*) play an important role in putting not only a name but also a face to the power groups represented by the mafia clans in this series. According to Giuntoli (2018), they are a kind of surname given to the most important members of the Camorra group in Naples. The expression *contronome* is a Neapolitan dialectal word (*soprannome* in standard Italian) whose meaning depends sometimes on diatopic varieties within the same geographical region. He adds that if we asked Neapolitans what the word *contronome* means, we would surely receive different answers. Some will even affirm that it is a synonym of ‘surname’, but Bianchi (2013) states that, in the context of the Camorra, these culture-specific linguistic elements are usually equivalent to nicknames.

As Bianchi (2013) puts it, people started using *contronomi* in their private lives or in small groups in order to distinguish people informally and humorously according to individual characteristics. This type of naming shows more personality than the first name or the surname and, thus, makes it easier to identify people, especially in small communities and delimited social contexts. Thus, these special nicknames meet not only a practical need but also a need to express oneself by being amusing or, sometimes, irreverent. They may refer, directly or indirectly, to people's physical or character traits, to their birthplace, their language, or the way they express themselves. This way of addressing or referring to others is confined to the spoken language and its use in the written language is limited to private communication such as letters and emails. Since these expressions belong to the linguistic variety of the community using them, they usually present morphological, lexical, semantic, graphic, and phonetic traits of the dialect of the area where they are used.

Although nowadays the *contronomi* system, especially in the biggest cities, is seen as an old sociolinguistic structure on the verge of disappearing, unless it is used by young people as a way of social cohesion and expression of friendliness (Bianchi, 2013), the relevance of *contronomi* in the context of the Camorra makes their study worthy as a linguistic phenomenon. As explained by Saviano (2006), in the communication among members of the mafia group, *contronomi* present two relevant functions: first, they hide the criminal's real name to keep their identity unknown by civil society and judicial structures; and second, having a *contronome* implies their belonging to that group (the Camorra, in this case) and shows the shared inner knowledge they have of people and situations within the group. In the Camorra clan, sometimes the *contronome* is hereditary from father to son and can mark that they are members of the same family.

Bianchi (2013) states that, in recent years, the attribution of *contronomi* in the Camorra has evolved together with society and, thus, to the list of traditional *contronomi* of the Neapolitan dialect, other nicknames have been added that derive from the names of celebrities and cartoon and comic book heroes, or the favourite food of the *camorrista* (member of a Camorra clan). This new trend in the creation of *contronomi* contributes to the use of a combination of foreign words, especially anglicisms, and dialectical expressions of the Camorra. We will observe these features in the main characters' *contronomi* analysed for this study in the first season of the series *Gomorra.*

To conduct this study, we have used the DVD versions of the series distributed in Spain and the UK. Specifically, we have analysed the dubbed version in Spanish and the subtitled version in English of the twelve episodes of the first season (out of five). Each episode is approximately 50 minutes long. The reason for comparing *Gomorra* in two different translation modes is that these were the AVT modes through which the corresponding target audiences had first access to the series in these countries.

The taxonomy of techniques we have used to describe the way these *contronomi* have been rendered in the TT is the following (their corresponding abbreviations for subsequent use in Table 1 are shown in brackets):

1. Preservation (Pres): Transferred without alterations (e.g., Malammore – Malammore)
2. Naturalisation (Nat): Phonetically adapted (e.g., Trak – Track)
3. Transformation (Tran): Partially altered (e.g., Africano – Africa)
4. Translation (Trans): Literally translated (e.g., Zingaro – Gipsy)
5. Free translation (FTrans): Non-literally translated but related to the meaning of the original naming (e.g., Centocapelli – Hairball)
6. Omission (Om): Omitted
7. Creation (Cre): Newly created
8. Cultural transplantation (CT): Replaced with a nickname of the target culture

For the purposes of this study, we have included the free translation technique in order to be able to explain those cases where a literal translation attempting to reproduce the exact meaning of the original utterance would have resulted in a non-idiomatic expression. Also, since the omission of linguistic elements is a common practice in the context of AVT due to the constraints imposed by the AVT modes, e.g., a limited number of characters per line and second, we have added omission. The effects produced by both techniques tend to be neutralising, hence the position they have in the list of techniques reproducing the continuum from preservation to cultural transplantation.

The fifteen *contronomi* of members of the two main Camorra clans portrayed in the series that we found and analysed are shown and commented on in the next pages. A short explanation of the meaning of the Italian expression is given to help discern the motivation for the use of each translation technique in the two target languages.

III. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The analysis of data provides the list of *contronomi* which are given in Table 1, below. The first column includes the *contronomi* found. The second and third columns present the corresponding expressions in the dubbed TT in Spanish and the subtitled TT in English, respectively. Finally, the techniques applied in both languages are specified in the fourth column.

Table 1. *List of contronomi in the ST and TT, and translation techniques used*

ST (Neapolitan)	TTS (Spanish dubbing)	TTE (English subtitling)	Translation technique TTS/TTE
Malammore	Malammore	Malammore	Pres/Pres
Zecchinetta	Zecchinetta	Zecchinetta	Pres/Pres
Pop	Pop	Pop	Pres/Pres
Tonino Spiderman	Tonino Spiderman	Tonino Spiderman	Pres/Pres
Immortale	Inmortal	Immortal	Trans/Trans
Zingaro	Gitano	Gypsy	Trans/Trans

ST (Neapolitan)	TTS (Spanish dubbing)	TTE (English subtitling)	Translation technique TTS/TTE
Leccalecca	Piruleta	Lollipop	Trans/Trans
Lisca	Lisca	Fishbone	Pres/Trans
Baroncino	Baroncino	Little Baron	Pres/Trans
Bolletta	Bolletta	Bookie	Pres/FTrans
Centocapelli	Centocapelli	Hairball	Pres/FTrans
Capa ‘e bomba	Capa ‘e bomba	Bomber	Pres/FTrans
Africano	Africano	Africa	Pres/Tran
Bellillo	Bellillo	-	Pres/ Om
Trak	Trak	Track	Pres/Nat

As we can observe, most nicknames have been preserved in the Spanish version, while the English version has usually resorted to other techniques, including transformation, translation, free translation, and naturalisation. It is important to note not only that naturalisation has not been used in the dubbed Spanish version but also that the dubbing actors imitate the original pronunciation of the *contronomi* in the TT.

We will first look at those *contronomi* that have been preserved in both the Spanish and the English versions. Malammore, spelt “malamore” in standard Italian, which means “bad love” or “lovesickness”, is the *contronome* of a mafia member who was born when his mother was sixteen and who never met his father. He considers himself to be the son of mistaken love. The use of the preservation technique in both languages may be due to the recognition by Spanish and English speakers of this expression made up of the Italian words “mal” and “amore”. The prefix “mal-” is used in English and Spanish to form many words. The word “amore” evokes the cultural background exported by Italians, for example, in world-famous love songs. By this technique, the target versions transmit the Italian (or even Neapolitan) flavour of the series to the target viewers. Regarding Zecchinetta, the bearer of this *contronome* runs the drug business in an area of Naples. The Zecchinetta (Lansquenet, in English) is the name of a gambling card game introduced in Italy in the fifteenth century by German mercenary soldiers called Landsknecht, meaning "servant of the country". We can see a link between his mafia duties and his nickname. Preserving this *contronome* has stripped both target versions of the meaning associated with the character's personality or way of life. Thus, the expression in the TTs acts as a proper name since the word "zecchinetta" is unlikely to be identified by the target viewers as the Italian name of a card game.

The other *contronomi* preserved in both languages are English expressions. Pop is one of the latest members of the clan led by Gennaro and one of his closest friends. His *contronome* is an English expression that can be associated with the character in different ways. Apart from being the abbreviation of "popular culture" or "pop culture" and the lifestyle that comes along with it (group identity and belonging to a specific area), it can also refer to the sound of an explosion or a gunshot (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.) or even be related to drug dealing (Urban Dictionary, n.d.). As for Tonino Spiderman, the reference to the well-known fictional hero, according to Bianchi (personal communication, March 2, 2020), responds to the fact that the youngest mafia members usually imitate characters of the cinematic universe to gain popularity in their group.

Several *contronomi* were literally translated into both languages. Specifically, according to the story, the character called Immortale was the only person found alive after the block of flats where he was living with his family had been destroyed by an earthquake that killed nearly 2,500 people. The Italian word is so similar in form and meaning to the English and Spanish ones ("immortal" and "inmortal", respectively), that a literal translation produces the most natural effect. In the case of Zingaro, literally translated as "Gypsy" in English and "Gitano" in Spanish, its attribution to this character may be due to his lifestyle or physical traits. Unlike in most cases, the Spanish version also draws upon translation. As for Leccalecca, the bearer of this *contronome* is a loan shark. It means "drug" in the clan's slang, which is again associated with the drug-dealing business in which most of the characters are involved. It has been literally translated as "Lollipop" in English and "Piruleta" in Spanish.

The next two *contronomi* have been translated into English and preserved in Spanish. The first one, Lisca, is a word used in the Neapolitan dialect and standard Italian, meaning “bone” or “fishbone”, which may point to a very thin person. While literally translated into English as “Fishbone”, the preservation technique has been used in the Spanish version although the original meaning could be rendered through a literal translation. This is worth highlighting since the Spanish TT is the dubbed version; that is, the original track cannot be heard by the target viewers and, thus, the text can be easily manipulated for the sake of making explicit the connection between the character and his name. However, for the English TT, displayed using subtitles, a translation has been used. The second one is Baroncino, one of the eldest members of the Savastano clan. It means “little baron”, which in turn refers to “son of a baron”, suggesting he is the son of an important mafia boss. While the literal translation in the English version allows its viewers to associate his name with his relevance to the Savastano family, the preservation in the Spanish version hides this link.

The next three *contronomi* have been freely translated in the English version and preserved in the Spanish one. Bolletta, which literally means “bill”, runs the drug-dealing business in the centre of Naples. His role as the manager of the drug-dealing money and his *contronome* are linked. While it is preserved in the Spanish version, the English version opts for “bookie”, an informal word for “bookmaker”. According to Merriam-Webster (n.d.), a “bookie” is “a person who determines gambling odds and receives and pays off bets”. Due to the homonymy in “bill” as “a written statement of money that you owe for goods or services” (Collins English Dictionary, n.d.) and “Bill”, the hypocorism of William, a literal translation could be perceived as an English personal name by the target viewers. Regarding Centocapelli, which literally means “a hundred hairs” and may refer either to hairy or bald people, while it has been preserved in Spanish, the free translation “hairball” was used in English, which has a similar meaning. The last free translation technique applied in the English version is that produced for Capa ‘e bomba, literally meaning “bomb headed”, which hints at a person with a big head or who is not very bright. While preserved in the Spanish version, it has been replaced with “Bomber” (as someone who explodes or makes bombs) in the English subtitles. The translator may have been misled by the word “bomba” (“bomb” in English) and thought that the *contronome* had something to do with weapons and bombs, deciding to translate it as “bomber” to give the character a nickname related to violence and weapons in the criminal context of the series.

For the last three *contronomi*, different techniques have been applied in the English version while in the Spanish dubbing, again, preservation has been chosen. The *contronome* Africano (meaning “African”) could refer to the character’s facial features and skin colour. While in the Spanish dubbed version the use of the preservation technique results in an identical word in this language (spelt in the same way), in the English version it was transformed into “Africa”. Instead of the demonym “African”, the toponym has been used.

The character known as Bellillo appears only once in the first season (episode 7). The Italian word is made up of “bello”, meaning “handsome”, which alludes to the physical traits of the character, and the diminutive suffix “-illo” since he is one of the youngest members of the clan. The Spanish version preserves the *contronome*, thus hiding the link between the character and his *contronome* from Spanish viewers. As pointed out before, in the Spanish version all the nicknames preserved are pronounced in Italian by the Spanish dubbing actors. In the English version, the *contronome* is omitted, probably for the sake of complying with the subtitling norms, e.g., a limited number of characters per line and second. The Neapolitan utterance in the ST “Oh, Bellillo, vamme a piglia’ la macchina, Vengo subit’” is translated into Spanish through dubbing as “Bellillo, vete a por el coche. ¡Nos vamos!” and into English through subtitling as “Go get me my car, / I’ll be right there”, where “\” represents the subtitle division into two lines. The length of these utterances in the dialogue track of the ST suggests the need to reduce the number of characters in the TT. When this happens, it is common practice to omit vocatives.

Finally, the *contronome* Trak recalls the noise of firework explosions, common in Naples, where excessive use of fireworks is made during bank holidays such as New Year’s Eve. The *tric trac* (regional term, according to Dizionàrio Treccani (n.d.)) is a kind of firework that produces a repetitive noise when exploding. By adapting the word phonetically (adding a “c” before the “k”), the English translator used a naturalisation.

Although the number of *contronomi* found in these episodes of the series is small, the translation tendency in each target language regarding the treatment given to these culture-bound linguistic elements of the ST, originally written in Neapolitan, is evident. As shown in Table 1, above, out of the fifteen nicknames observed, twelve have been preserved—i.e., transferred with no changes—in the dubbed version in Spanish and only three of them have been translated. No other techniques have occurred in this TT. Consequently, preservation has proved predominant in this language. As for the subtitled version in English, the techniques applied have been varied: four cases of preservation, one of naturalisation, one of transformation, five of translation, three of free translation, and one of omission. No instances of creation and cultural transplantation have been found. Figure 1, below, is illustrative of the differences between the Spanish and the English versions.

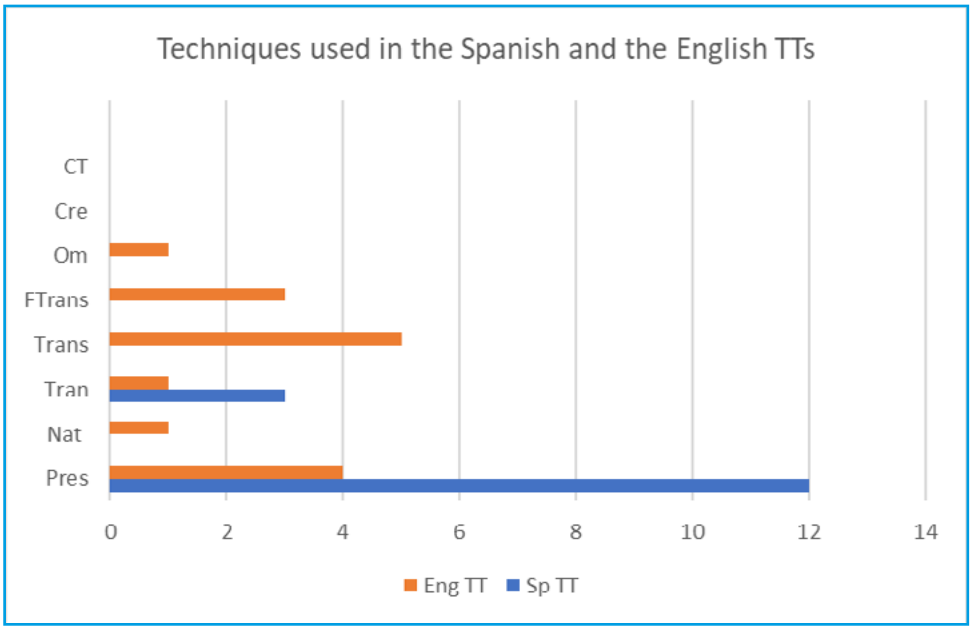

Figure 1. *Techniques used in Spanish and English*

It is relevant to note that, despite preservation cases, most techniques used in the English TT are oriented towards neutralisation since the preserved *contronomi* were already in English in the Neapolitan version of the series (Pop and Spiderman). Only two preservations were truly foreignizing: Malammore and Zecchinetta, of which the first can be understood by English-speaking viewers, as explained before, and the second is difficult to translate, although the creation technique could have been resorted to. Both the only transformation and the three free translations have resulted in English expressions. The tendency in the English version, thus, has been to bring the *contronomi* closer to the viewers of the target culture by rendering their meaning.

Quite the opposite, the tendency in Spanish is foreignization. Since Spanish viewers cannot understand most of the *contronomi* in the Neapolitan dialect, they may perceive them as the characters' proper names or surnames, e.g., Zechinetta, Centocapelli, Bolletta. Consequently, they may only recognise the translated ones (Inmortal, Piruleta, and Gitano) as real nicknames and, thus, construct the link between those characters and what they are called. Bearing in mind that these *contronomi* not only portray physical or personality traits of their bearers (Lisca, Africano, Centocapelli, Bellillo, Zingaro, and Capa 'e bomba) but also relevant events in their lives (Malammore and Immortale) and the job they do within the corresponding mafia group (Zecchinetta and Bolletta), the dubbed version in Spanish tends to widen the distance between its viewers and the personal features and stories of the characters.

These results are far from what we expected. Coinciding with Valdeón's view of subtitling as "a more honest mode than dubbing" (2022, p. 371), although more intrusive, we expected the English subtitled version to be nearer foreignization and the Spanish dubbed version to resort to domesticating techniques.

Both directions on the continuum of translation techniques presented at the beginning of Section III have advantages and disadvantages. When the balance is tilted towards foreignization, the Neapolitan or Italian flavour of the ST is transmitted in the TT, but keeping this element in the TT is detrimental to the transparency of the nickname. However, domesticating and neutralising techniques "may interfere with the function of culture marker" (Nord, 2003, p. 185).

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown how the *contronomi*, as special kinds of nicknames of the members of the mafia groups portrayed in *Gomorra*, are exposed to the Spanish and English-speaking viewers of the Italian series, set in Naples and originally written in Neapolitan. This has been achieved in terms of translation techniques, for which we have designed a classification based on existing models that cover the samples found in the audiovisual texts analysed.

Although the analysis of the techniques used in two different AVT modes could seem to produce results that are not comparable, from the point of view of this study these results respond to our main research question. We wanted to know in what way these intrinsically Neapolitan linguistic elements (*contronomi*) are presented to their respective target viewers in the different cultures through translation techniques. The answer to this question has also encompassed whether the link between the characters and their *contronomi* can be identified by these audiences or whether these linguistic culture-bound elements are perceived as mere proper names.

In principle, AVT modes such as subtitling and dubbing pose different difficulties and challenges. This requires, therefore, different solutions or techniques to cater for specific micro-textual elements (e.g., one of the *contronomi* analysed was omitted in the English subtitling surely due to the specific technical norms of subtitling). At the same time, when dealing with culture-bound elements, decisions need to be made regarding the method to be used depending on a variety of aspects, e.g., the text type, the genre, the target audience, the translation norms in the social and cultural context where the translated audiovisual text is to be watched, and the translator's preferences. This concurrence of factors usually determines the final product.

In this study, regarding the translation of the elements analysed, contrary to our initial expectations, we have found that the neutralising behaviour observed in the English TT is in marked contrast to the foreignizing attitude perceived in the Spanish

TT. While the English translation presents a variety of techniques, the Spanish version has been limited to the use of two of them, preservation and translation, of which the former, i.e., the most foreignizing one, is noticeably predominant. However, choosing the method implies the need to choose not only which aspect to maintain, either the Neapolitan flavour of the *contronomi* or its meaning, but also which one to sacrifice. As we have seen, the translation of nicknames "is one of those matters which go beyond the dictionary" (Bantas and Manea, 1990, p. 183).

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Implicatures in the Tweets of Climate Change Skeptics

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ABSTRACT

The article attempts to provide a speech act analysis of tweets which are posted by climate change skeptics. It argues that their deliberate flouting and violation of Grice's Cooperative Principle show that they substitute overt denial by conversational implicatures which show skepticism. Based on data from 420 tweets which are responses to climate change discussion, the paper demonstrates that tweeters respond with different deceptive tactics by using conversational implicatures. The article attempts to provide a pragmatic analysis of tweets which are posted by climate change opponents. It argues that their deliberate violation of the CP shows that their attitude shifted from overt denial to skepticism.

Keywords: Grice maxims; denial; presupposition; conversational implicature; humor

I. INTRODUCTION

Twitter has been an important social media platform to study conversations on important issues. One of the issues on Twitter which have significant political and socioeconomic implication is climate change. This study might be helpful for future studies on climate change conversations on social media. A state of denial and skepticism emerged from Twitter in the last decade. Hoexter (2016) introduced the concept of "soft climate denial" to refer to a state of mind acknowledging global warming in general while remaining in partial psychological or intellectual denialism about its reality or impact. It is described as implicit denial. To the contrary, hard denial refers to explicit denial of the consensus on global warming's existence. Opponents of climate change adopt a deliberate set of pragmatic and rhetorical strategies. This paper investigates one of these strategies which is implicature. I focus specifically on the analysis of tweets posted by climate change skeptics to show their attitude. The hypothesis is that climate change skeptics utilize conversation implicature to support their stance. Against this background, I set out to achieve better understanding of their violation of Grice's CP with focus on two questions:

1. Do climate change skeptics flout or violate Grice's maxims?
2. What are the strategies used by climate change skeptics to politicize climate change?

For this purpose, I conducted a qualitative content analysis of a sample of their tweets which included 420 tweets from 2012 to 2022. Authentic data are then collected, analyzed, and used to verify the hypothesis.

This study addresses how climate change skeptics on Twitter used not only direct denials but also implicatures as a kind of non-conventional meaning. They manipulated implicature that can be described as more subtle forms of denial.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many linguistic studies where Twitter was used as a corpus. Argüelles-Álvarez and Muñoz (2012) study the use of use of Spanish and English in the micro-blogging social network Twitter from a contrastive point of view. They found that there are general discourse and organizational features common to the two corpora. Pak and Paroubek (2010) utilized Twitter for sentiment analysis and opinion mining purposes. González (2015) addresses the Twitter translation task, and argues that there is a lack of appropriate corpora that represents the colloquial language used in Twitter. Burghardt (2015) also asserts that Twitter provides vast amounts of user-generated language data. Moreover, Dijkstra (2021) deals with the usability of Twitter as a resource for the study of language change in progress in low-resource languages.

However, there is little literature on implicit meaning and implicature in Twitter. On the other hand, literature on denial distinguishes between negation and denial with a general view of semantics and pragmatics. In terms of speech act theory negation is applied when it is located in the negative morpheme “not”. Horn (1985, 1989) distinguishes between an ordinary descriptive negation operator and a so-called metalinguistic negation. The former is the standard logical connective contributing to truth-conditional content, the latter is a non-truth-functional device that accounts for rejection of non-propositional material. The second type comprises objections/rejections to presuppositional and implicatural information. Horn characterizes this operator as a metalinguistic device which can be used to signal an objection to an utterance. The primary function of a denial is to object to information. Van der Sandt (1991, 2003) argues that there is no inherent connection between the concepts of denial and negation. Instead, he explained the semantic and pragmatic properties of denials in terms of their discourse effects. His theory comprises (1) proposition denials, (2) presupposition denials, and (3) implicature denials. His study aims to give a unified account of standard proposition denials and the marked cases that Horn labeled ‘metalinguistic negation’. According to Horn (1985, 1989), denials can be used to reject utterances on contextual information. A speaker may imply objection to its truth or reject it in virtue of the presuppositions associated, the implicatures invoked or other inferences of a non-truth-conditional nature. Here assertion and denial are concepts of speech act theory and both notions can be explained in terms of their discourse function. The function of a denial is to object to a previous utterance. Notice the difference in the following examples:

Proposition denial: Mary is happy vs. Mary is not happy

Presupposition denial: The king of France is not bald. France does not have a king.

Implicature denial: That wasn't a lady I kissed last night – it was my wife.

The analysis of implicature is based on Grice's notion of conversational implicature (e.g. Adler 1997, Meibauer 2005). Implicatures arise when a speaker intends one thing while saying something different (Grice 1975). Grice's Cooperative Principle and its four maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relevance and Manner specify how interlocutors in a conversation subscribe to and comply with a tacit agreement to be cooperative. The four maxims, which constitute the core of the Cooperative Principle are, as explained by Grice:

- Maxim of Quantity: to be as informative as is required for the current purpose of the conversation, and do not be more informative than is required,
- Maxim of Quality: do not say what you believe to be false, do not say anything for which you lack adequate evidence,
- Maxim of Relevance: make your contribution relevant to the conversation/ context, and
- Maxim of Manner: do not be ambiguous, be brief and orderly.

Flouting is the most frequent type of non-observance of the conversational maxims. It refers to the blatantly or intentionally not observing a particular maxim for the purpose of generating a conversational implicature. According to Grice (1989), flouting a maxim is a particularly silent way of getting an addressee to draw inferences. Grundy (2000: 78) argues that the speaker wants the hearer to move from the semantically expressed meaning to the level of a further implied meaning. Grice (1975) also classified irony as a case of flouting the Maxim of Quality. Notice the following example in which meaning is conveyed indirectly:

> *He hit the roof when he heard the news.*

Saying something that is obviously false conveys figures of speech such as irony. In the above example, it is unlikely he was tall enough to hit the roof; It is not possible that the speaker was intentionally lying or mistaken - the addressee has to infer that the speaker was using irony. To the contrary, violation is the condition in which the speakers know that the hearers will not know the truth. They intentionally generate a misleading implicature (Thomas 1995: 73). Notice the following example:

> Mom asks her son, who has been playing all the day.
>
> *Mom: Did you study all the day?*
>
> *Son: Yes, I have been studying all the day.*

Here, the son is intentionally lying. Before studying the possible account of tweets as conversational implicatures, it is paramount to identify how violations of the Cooperative Principle can be analyzed as deceptive acts. Turner et al. (1975) present taxonomy of deception strategies (Distortion, Concealment, and Diversionary responses). McCornack (1992) extends Turner et al.'s idea and relates it to the Cooperative Principle and proposes Information Manipulation Theory (IMT). According to McCornack, deceptive messages are constructed by violating one or more of the Grice's maxims. Meilbauer (2005), motivated by the work of Adler (1997), presents a speech act analysis of deceptive implicatures within the framework of Grice's Cooperative Principle. Burgoon et al (1996) proposes a variant of McCornack (1992) and postulates five dimensions, namely, Veridicality, Completeness, Directness/Relevance, Clarity and Personalization. Four common dimensions are found in McCornack's model with Veridicality being related to Quality, Completeness being related to Quantity, Directness/Relevance being related to Relevance, and Clarity being related to Manner. McCornack (1992) argues that the intended violation of the maxims of conversation to mislead is a deceptive act, which is framed in Information Manipulation Theory (IMT). The study is built on the concept of Grice's maxims and IMT. The findings suggest that violation of Grice's maxims will be perceived as dishonest. IMT explains how deceptive messages form in conversation. IMT claims that when humans consider that a message might be deceptive, the message directly violates one or more of the Gricean maxims. McCornack and others' (1992) empirical test on IMT evaluates perceptions of messages honesty and message competence. They investigated whether information could be manipulated by other veracity (i.e. by violating the other maxims of conversation rather than just quality).

DePaulo and others (2003) also explain deception detection. They find that liars provide less information than truth-tellers. This finding is in line with McCornack's (1992) notion of the purposeful violations of Grice's maxims. DePaulo and others (2003) argue that lies sound less plausible and are more likely to make people have doubts about the information. This notion fits the violation of the maxims as a deceptive act: the information that the sender is providing is purposefully faulty. Olekalns and Smith (2009) also argue that trust emerges from an individual's expectations of intentions because cognitive trust and affective trust function differently, with different consequences. In addition, McAllister (1995) writes "the amount of knowledge necessary for trust is somewhere between total knowledge and total ignorance" (1995: 26). Knowledge is the foundation for the start of trust, and the more knowledge people have, the less they need to rely on trust. Swift and Hwang (2013) argue that cognitive trust needs to reduce uncertainty because of its growth through shared experiences. Communication, according to Putnam and Roloff (1992), involves information-sharing, omission and misinformation to achieve the goals. Tweeters, for example, use an arsenal of strategies of bluffing (misinformation) to deceive their followers. Falkenberg, Galeazzi, Torricelli and others (2022) analyze tweets related to the Conference of the Parties (COP) to clarify the nature of polarization in political debates on climate change. They show

how the climate discussion is structured on Twitter in terms of the plurality of views. They found that a prominent opposition to the dominant pro-climate discourse has established itself since late 2019.

III. Data and Methodology

The type of data used in the study consists of actual instances of 420 live tweets in English which are responses to climate change discussions. The data contain only texts; therefore, multimodal data such as images and videos are not considered. There are 13,160 tweets in the data set. I manually checked all the tweets and sampled 420 tweets of skeptics which convey implicature. All kinds of posts such as tweets, replies and mentions are included in the study. I collected tweets with hashtags and certain keywords such as #climatechange to identify the tweets which convey implicatures. The criteria of data selection depend on:

1. Twitter manual search
2. Tweets which have denials and implicatures

I chose 24 tweets as purposive sampling in the study. This method is often used in qualitative research. I selected them because they are clear examples Gricean implicatures which are used by climate change skeptics to deny climate change. Because many climate change skeptics are politicians and economists, I observed many implicatures are used by Donald Trump who is a prominent skeptic of climate change. Geographic dimension is not included; i.e. the country of the trending hashtag is not a criterion. In order to gain a better and more thorough academic understanding of tweets which are responses to climate change discussions, I undertake an analytical study which handles data taken from the 'real world'. First, I searched famous hashtags by inputting hashtag #climatechange into Twitter Search to ascertain the top tweets which were posted. Then, I categorized the responding tweets into implicatures. I also drew on Grice's maxims as a technique to analyze the tweets.

IV. ANALYSIS

This section is concerned with presenting a content-based and category-based analysis of the tweets utilized in this study. Notice the three categories in Table 1:

Table 1. *Overview: Types of conversational implicatures in 420 tweets*

Type of Tweets	Frequency	Percentage
Denial	**42**	**10%**
Implicatures triggered by flouting	**171 (77 cases of irony with 45%)**	**40.7%**
Implicatures triggered by violating	**207**	**49.3%**
Total no. of tweets	**420**	

It is noticed that implicatures triggered by violating the maxims are used more than implicatures triggered by flouting the maxims. Implicatures in general are used more than direct denials. Climate change skepticism was on the rise from 2012 till 2020: While in the first two years there was more denial; the last eight years witnesses more flouting and violations of the Cooperative Principle as fake news spread quickly.

V. DISCUSSION

In this section, examples of conversational implicatures are analyzed to show how climate change skeptics utilized them in their stance. The first two examples are direct denial of climate change. Denial is achieved by negation of proposition which means denying a sentence denoting a proposition. According to Duzi (2018), negation can be narrow-scope or wide-scope. He argues that the former is presupposition-preserving; the latter is presupposition-denying. In the following example, the tweeter denies the proposition of climate change overtly by negating the sentence. If a sentence has a presupposition, narrow-scope negation is the relevant one, because wide-scope negation is presupposition-denying. He proposed a solution to the dispute about

Russelian vs. Strawsonian analysis of the sentence “The King of France is bold”. Notice in the following example how negation is utilized to deny climate change.

Example (1)

There is no Global Warming, Climate Change..it’s all part of the agenda to control us.. (Glinys 2022)

Denial of climate change is sometimes issued by presupposition-preserving negation. Although it is unstated, the tweeter, in the following example, assumes that global change is a matter of existential, not pragmatic, discourse.

Example (2)

Global warming has been proven to be a canard repeatedly over and over again. (Trump 2012)

Negation is expressed lexically by the adjective “canard”. The presupposition-preserving negation is undermined by the use of the passive. Climate change skeptics later in the following examples utilized non-literal meaning to give hints and clues that help them persuade their audiences. The following examples are conversational implicatures triggered by flouting one or more of the Gricean maxims. In Example (3) the tweeter flouts the maxim of relevance. In the next example Trump escalted his denial of climate change.

Example (3)

Waste! With a $16T debt and $1T budget deficit, @BarackObama is sending $770M overseas “to fight global warming” (Trump 2012)

If the reader assumes that the tweeter is in fact observing the cooperative principle and the maxim of relevance, then the tweeter must be communicating some related proposition (i.e. a true proposition). He communicates the proposition that spending money on climate change is a waste. The inverted commas in “to fight global warming” are used to imply that the cause is false. The same type of reasoning can be inferred in the following tweet where Trump expressed the proposition that while the world is busy with serious issues, Obama is busy with climate change.

Example (4)

Russia is on the move in the Ukraine, Iran is nuking up & Libya is run by Al Qaeda, yet Obama is busy issuing ‘climate change” warnings. (Trump 2014)

The proposition that climate change is trivial is communicated in Example (4) in the form of an implicature. Flouting the maxims is sometimes utilized to express irony. Verbal irony is analyzed as implicating the opposite of the literal meaning (the speaker says something that is blatantly false). The hearer is forced to look for a related proposition that helps to go with the maxim of quality. The related proposition is often conceived as an implicature of the utterance. The following examples are implicatures triggered by flouting the quality maxims. The contrast with the literal use of language becomes clear if we compare the above non-ironical utterances with the following ironical utterances. The next tweet by Trump is an irony which is classified by Grice (1975) as a case of figurative meaning. Trump flouts the maxim of quality because when he issued the literal meaning; he contradicted the real meaning that no country intends to destroy the competitiveness of its industry.

Example (5)

Let’s continue to destroy the competitiveness of our factories & manufacturing so we can fight mythical global warming. China is so happy! (Trump 2012)

A few days later Trump issued the tweet in example (6) and admitted the proposition that they cannot destroy the competitiveness of our factories and at the same time he expressed an overt denial of climate change by using the adjective “nonexistent”. At the end of the tweet, he expressed the irony that China is thrilled with destroying the competitiveness.

Example (6)

We can't destroy the competitiveness of our factories in order to prepare for nonexistent global warming. China is thrilled with us! (Trump 2012)

Irony is expressed in many tweets. The following two tweets exploit the irony that people are talking about global warming while it is snowing.

Example (7)

It's freezing outside, where the hell is "global warming"?? (Trump 2013)

Example (8)

It's 46º (really cold) and snowing in New York on Memorial Day - tell the so-called "scientists" that we want global warming right now! (Trump 2013)

In the previous examples, Trump encoded a proposition that is clearly false, since global warming is manifestly not seen as the disappearance of snowing or freezing temperature. More examples can be seen in the following two tweets which include rhetorical questions. Ironically, Trump wonders where global warming is.

Example (9)

It's freezing in New York–Where the hell is global warming when you need it? (Trump 2013)

Example (10)

Wow, 25 degrees below zero, record cold and snow spell. Global warming anyone? (Trump 2015)

These implicatures allow the readers to restore the application of the quality maxim by conveying a true proposition. The same type of reasoning (involving a blatant flouting of the quality maxim) can be seen in the following two tweets where Trump commented on the change of the term “global warming” to “climate change”.

Example (11)

Wow, record setting cold temperatures throughout large parts of the country. Must be global warming, I mean climate change! (Trump 2013)

Example (12)

Massive record setting snowstorm and freezing temperatures in U.S. Smart that GLOBAL WARMING hoaxsters changed name to CLIMATE CHANGE! $$$$ (Trump 2014)

Trump wants to convey the proposition that climate change supporters stopped using the term “global warming” because they failed to persuade people and he called them “hoaxsters”. It is manifestly clear in Example (13) that he is not literally intending to communicate that China loved Obama’s speech. The irony is meant to convey the opposite of the literal meaning. He creates the irony that Obama is not aware of China’s leading world economy.

Example (13)

China loved Obama’s climate change speech yesterday. They laughed! It hastens their takeover of us as the leading world economy. (Trump 2013)

As shown above, the previous examples involve implicature based on flouting the Gricean maxims. The Gricean conditions in irony are met since something blatantly false has been said with the intention to communicate the opposite. Thus, on a Gricean approach, the tweet is flouting the maxim of quality. In the next examples, implicatures are triggered by violating the maxims to deceive the addressees. Implicature in the next tweet is triggered by violating the maxim of relevance which can be seen as a type of deceptive utterance. The tweeter wants to relate events in the 1920s with global change.

Example (14)

In the 1920's people were worried about global cooling--it never happened. Now it's global warming. Give me a break! (Trump 2012)

Climate change skeptics tried to make use of any past events to persuade their audience.

Another implicature is triggered by violating the maxim of quality in example (15). Trump uses a rhetorical question to communicate the proposition no one would believe Al Gore when he blamed climate change for the hurricane.

Example (15)

Do you believe @algore is blaming global warming for the hurricane? (Trump 2012)

Another violation of the maxim of quality can be realized in the following example by Trump.

Example (16)

Global warming is based on faulty science and manipulated data which is proven by the emails that were leaked (Trump 2012)

Here the implicature is a deceptive utterance. The violation of the maxim of quality takes place because the tweet depends on a released email which is not scientific evidence. Trump wants to convey that global warming is a fake issue. In fact, this kind of communication without evidence is called disinformation. The purpose of communication is persuasion; i.e. changing the addressees' world views. The stronger the speaker's evidence, the easier the persuasion. One way for the deceivers to disseminate disinformation is to downplay their commitment to what they mean through the utterance by making it less informative or producing under-informative utterances. For rather obvious reasons Trump kept repeating the same implicature in the following tweet.

Example (17)

> The concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make U.S. manufacturing non-competitive. (Trump 2012)

This phenomenon of truthfully misleading information is supported by business leaders to mitigate the high tone of climate change. They directly or indirectly expressed the proposition that climate change is fabricated and fake. The levels of false information are peddled by business leaders as well as advertisers. The problem of reliability of information goes much deeper. In fact, human knowledge in the age of post-truth is susceptible to Third-party manipulation. Herman and Chomsky (1988: 381) argue that mass communication media are "effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function, by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without overt coercion", by means of the propaganda model of communication. Notice how the implicature in the following tweet is based on fabricating scientific truth.

Example (18)

> Man does not control climate. CO_2 is not the climate control knob. (3) CO_2 follows temperature rise. The geological record shows CO_2 levels have been far higher in the past, there was no runaway greenhouse, nor did the oceans boil away. CO_2 levels are now at an historical low. (Carfoot 2019)

Violation, in the previous tweet, takes place because the user intentionally falsified scientific truth to express implicit denial. Another deceptive utterance is achieved in the following tweet by issuing an implicature.

Example (19)

Stopping climate change is only expensive compared to an imaginary world where climate change doesn't exist. It's *incredibly cheap* compared to the actual cost of a 3 degree warmer world. (Klein 2019)

The tweeter violates the maxim of quality; the implicature aimed at misleading from the true intent of stopping climate change. Understatement is also achieved by violating the maxim of quality as in the following example.

Example (20)

We don't emit CO2 with malign intent. Indeed, it is a byproduct of giving humanity access to unprecedented amounts of energy, which has lifted more than a billion people out of poverty in just the past 25 years. (Lomborg 2019)

Violation is meant in the previous tweet to describe climate change in a way that makes it less important. Another violation of the maxim of quality can be seen in the following tweet.

Example (21)

CO_2 and climate make world greener Climate net problem but breathless reporting ignores global greening "highly credible evidence of anthropogenic climate change" 1982-2019 world added leaves with a total area equivalent to 3x Continental US … (Lomborg 2022)

Many climate change skeptics politicize the cause of climate change. In the beginning of the cause, some of them overtly denied climate change. Others depended on flouting the Gricean maxims to implicate that the cause was false. They also violated the maxims to disseminate false information. In the following example, the tweeter admits that he is not skeptical about climate change, but he is skeptical of the causes.

Example (22)

Climate change skeptics are not skeptical there is climate change. We are skeptical that humans are the main cause & especially of the silly notion that it's an "emergency". The Russian invasion of Ukraine is an emergency. So is the idiocy of "Net-Zero". It is collective suicide. (Moore 2022)

Skeptics utter implicatures based on violating the maxims by giving half-truth or misleading information. In reply to skeptics, climate change proponents refute their arguments by explaining the true proposition in the following examples.

Example (23)

"Human CO^2 emissions are only 4% of natural CO^2 emissions". Technically that's true, but when it occurs on top of the natural carbon cycle where sources and sinks balance each other, the result looks worrying. (Rantanen 2019)

The seriousness of the cause is expressed by President Biden in the following tweet.

Example (24)

Climate change is an existential threat to our planet. That's why the Build Back Better Framework will be an unprecedented effort to combat climate change and puts the United States on track to meet our target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions in half by the year 2030. (Biden 2021)

It is noticed that climate change skeptics rely on implicature as a kind of non-literal meaning to give disinformation on climate change.

VI. CONCLUSION

Environmental change—climate change and global warming—is significant challenges facing the world, climate change skeptics attack academics, scientists and caused an increasing emergence of struggles between business leaders and climate change defenders. In the recent years credibility of science has been challenged and especially topics like climate change are increasingly polarised and politicised. Twitter had content management teams and a sustainability arm to delete and suspend accounts that deny climate change. Recently, it lifted the bans on those skeptic users such as Donald Trump.

To conclude, the study argues that climate change skeptics utilize negation to deny climate change. They frequently depended on implicatures to support their stance. From a Gricean point of view, they flout the maxims to implicate that climate change is not real. They also violate the maxims to deceive their audience. Questions about the emergence of climate disinformation surrounding environmental/climate change and global warming are raised by the growing use of Twitter as a platform for sharing and discussing scientific information. Climate change skeptics use non-literal meaning, such as implicature, which acts as a discursive strategy to provoke the others with a different position and climate change falls into polarisation. Irony was also employed when people expressed skepticism about climate change. It is a technique for expressing one's viewpoint by either muting its critical nature or exaggerating the criticism in a humorous way.

Thus, the study reveals that tweets demand inferential process to understand the implicatures in the tweets of climate change skeptics. Twitter is distinctive from other platforms or social networks because it is a short-message service (normally up to 280 character). The study can be enhanced by more exhaustive analysis that reveals the nature of implicit meaning in Twitter. Twitter is a powerful means of political propaganda. The wealth of data, with their interactive features, provides an ideal medium to analyze the political messages which are conveyed indirectly by conversational implicatures.

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Book review

Multimodal Conversation Analysis and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: A Methodological Framework for Researching Translanguaging in Multilingual Classrooms.

Kevin W. H. Tai

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I. INTRODUCTION

Kevin W. H. Tai, editor of the International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism (Routledge) and the Learning Instruction magazine (Elsevier), amongst others, graduated from Manchester in English Studies and got his MSc in Applied Linguistics and L2 Acquisition at the University of Oxford. His doctoral project at the UCL in London verses on Applied Linguistics and precedes him, as it grants him, despite his young age, prominence in the field of translingualism studies. Tai has already conducted several case studies about pedagogical translingualism, in Hong Kong and in the United Kingdom, but with this book, he amplified the spectrum of the current investigation status. Published at the beginning of 2023, Multimodal Conversational Analysis and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis observes two different focus methods of the in-situ study. Furthermore, through the presentation of two different studies based on the triangulated research of these two methods, Tai proves the importance of considering these two practical focuses when it comes to linguistic research and pedagogical translingualism analysis.

This is an essential reading for linguists and researchers who want to approach the translingualism theory. As the book starts explaining ground knowledge translanguaging theory, it is also aimed at those with the intention of conducting research in this field for the first time. Whether or not one considers Multimodal Conversational Analysis (MCA) and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) in triangulation, at the very least, it is engaging to see how Tai acquires and interprets the results, as it is to nurture from the literature in which he has based his theory to get to the conclusions that the book shows.

The structure of this book is the following:

- Introduction
- Chapter 2: Methodological Approaches in Researching Translanguaging in Multilingual Classroom Settings
- Chapter 3: Multimodal Conversation Analysis for Investigating the Process of Classroom Translanguaging
- Chapter 4: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis for Investigating the Causes of Classroom Translanguaging
- Chapter 5: Triangulating Multimodal Conversation Analysis and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis for Researching Classroom Translanguaging: Examples from Secondary English Medium Instruction Classrooms in Hong Kong.
- Final chapter: conclusions

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Introductory chapter

The author approaches the speech from a subjective and personal point of view by speaking in the first-person singular. Tai commences with an introductory chapter that draws from the basics as he explains what translingualism is, the difference between it and code-switching, and why this lecture is interesting and groundbreaking. The principal difference between code-switching and translanguaging, as stated by Tai, is that the description of code-switching positions languages as separate entities and therefore assumes that each language has a specific place for them in our cognitive system. Authors like Wei and García (2022) and Yilmaz (2019) have also pointed out this perspective. Others, like Canagarajah (2013), have also suggested other terms (for example, code-meshing), that are more suitable for the theory of translingualism. Ultimately, all these theories emerge to support the idea that language is a spectrum. Like Paradis (2004) stated, bilingual aphasia shows the pointlessness of considering languages as discrete systems. To prove his theory, the author will present some piece of his investigation using multimodal conversation analysis along with interpretative phenomenological analysis. This is the first book to ever position MCA in triangulation with IPA as an initiative for discourse analysis.

In this introductory chapter, the author also exposes the types of multilingual pedagogical programs that are currently in use (CLIL, CBI, EMI, ESP, and ASP) and catalogues them based on their focal point. In this way, there is a distinction between content-based learning and language-based learning. According to Tai, in a hypothetical line in which these two main focuses are shining up, EMI would be the closest to the content focus and EFL the closest to the language focus, which leaves CLIL at the exact middle point, illuminated by the two focuses.

II.2. Chapter 2

In the second chapter, some bibliography is presented, relevant to the current “translingualism as a pedagogical tool” research and the principles that this perspective represents. He relies on Cenoz and Gorter, Blommaert, Norris, Jewis, García and Wei, among others, to explain the concept of language as a process, rather than an object, and the appliances of this theory to pedagogy, creating then what Cenoz and Gorter (2021) referred as *pedagogical translingualism*. Amongst the advantages that this new vision shall provide, Tai mentions the creation of trans-spaces, trans-systems (breaking the boundaries of the socially constructed languages), the appearance of new voices and speeches rather silenced until now, and the transdisciplinary consequences of the speech analysis. All of which are concepts emerging from García and Wei's proposition of the trans era (García & Wei, 2014).

II.3. Chapter 3

In the third chapter, the MCA methodology is explained. The MCA is based on linguistic analyses of transcriptions of pedagogical encounters as a way to isolate the usage of translingualism. This method may also be interesting to bear in mind when it comes to linguistic politics, for the use and choice of one language will depend on linguistic norms and policies. Nonetheless, MCA should not be used merely for the identification of patterns, but rather to observe constructions and creative and critical resources transcending the social standards of political linguistics.

II.4. Chapter 4

On the other hand, IPA methodology, unfolded in the fourth chapter, is centered on the speaker's conception as a subject in deep connection to the world, who makes use of their personal experience in order to get to know it. More than bringing up generalized results, IPA is a rather subjective method, based on being able to identify the results as generalizable or applicable in other situations. This is the main reason why this method is used in triangulation with the MCA. Further in the chapter, Tai exposes the methodology for data collection that the MCA analysis requires (video and transcription) and the one that IPA analysis requires (recall-based interviews).

II.5. Chapters 5 and 6

In the fifth chapter, we can see a part of Tai's doctoral research, serving as an example for MCA in triangulation with IPA. Tai draws on Stake (1995), who stated that subjectivity can be a very powerful weapon, should the investigator be capable of recognizing their own bias. Finally, chapter six, preceding the appendix, concludes the book and suggests the accomplishment of a study that includes quantitative data of the subjects, to identify a possible link between the translingualism uses and the curricular development of the students.

III. General impressions and conclusions

At the end of every chapter, Tai presents a summary of the content and a reference section for each chapter, which brings an educational nature to the book. However, for me, what lights up the most is the defense of the methodological choice: Tai bases his arguments on the critics they have obtained, rather than writing a faithful, sectarian defense: he exposes the benefits he found in the analysis, along with the limitations he encountered. Data collection is impeccably clean and transparent, subjective interpretations are expressed so objectively that the possible generalization comes inevitably to my mind. However, we shall also bear in mind that, while performed correctly, there is still a part of this method which lies subjective to bias. The strength of this method, in fact, seems to rely on the acknowledgement of this weakness. In general, Tai's analysis is a study that, undoubtedly, would be rather stimulating to compare with other studies carried out under different educational programs, such as CLIL or EFL.

To sum up, this is a potentially necessary reading for those who mean to accomplish case studies in the classroom settlement, not just in respects of translingualism, for these methodologies are also applicable to many other varieties of study, such as linguistic immersion, CLIL, etc. Triangulation is unquestionably the most popular practice amongst linguistic data analysis when it comes to the study of conversational and social behavior, and this innovative proposition brings a new perspective to the analysis. Tai decides to carry out the IPA based on recall-conversation interview so that he can investigate not only whether the professional team is aware of the techniques they might use, but also to find out if they use them without being able to define them or if, on the other hand, they do it following a concrete purpose. To continue with the investigation, a good starting point might be to compare results at a bigger scale, as well as study other parts of the student community, such as students with disabilities.

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