

Translating the Pragmatic Markers (*just, but, oh, and, well*) in the Movies *The Dry* and *Taxi Driver* 1976 from English into Kurdish

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Abstract:

Although pragmatic markers (PMs) play a very significant role in our daily conversation, they have been neglected in the Kurdish language. The aim of the present study is to analyse, compare and find

out the translation errors and which type of error is the most common one in translating five pragmatic markers namely *just, but, oh, and, and well* in English movie scripts with Kurdish subtitles. To conduct this study, two movies were chosen. The movies were selected from two different decades, the 1970s and the 2020s. After the selection of the movies, five commonly used PMs which were mentioned in Brinton's (1996) inventory of PMs were searched and obtained by the aid of computer software (Microsoft Office Word and Adobe Acrobat Reader). The obtained PMs in this study were analysed carefully by the researcher and errors in translation were identified. The results reveal that deletion is the most prevailing error made by Kurdish translators in the translation of PMs in movie subtitles followed by foreign translation and translation into a different PM and mistranslation errors.

Keywords:

Pragmatic Markers, Audio-Visual Translation, Subtitling, Translation Errors.

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1. Introduction:

While many linguists have discussed how best to define pragmatic markers, a universally accepted definition remains elusive. There is not even a consensus as to the label to be used for these forms which are variously termed ‘discourse markers’ (Schiffrin 1987), ‘discourse particles’ (Fischer 2006, Aijmer 2007), ‘discourse connectives’ (Bazzanella 1990), ‘pragmatic expressions’ (Erman 1987), ‘pragmatic markers’ (Brinton 1996), ‘pragmatic particles’ (Beeching 2002), or ‘connecters’ (Rossari 2000). Along with the terms, there is a range of definitions and under each of them a different set of discourse markers is subsumed. For the present, there is no complete consensus about the status of these linguistic units.

They can be defined as linguistic expressions used to indicate the relationship of an utterance to the immediate context with the main purpose of drawing the listener's attention to a specific type of linkage between the upcoming utterance and the immediate discourse context (Redeker, 1991). The primary purpose of pragmatic markers is to convey the relationship or relevance of an utterance to the previous utterance or the context.

The idea of translation was born to solve the problems faced by people when trying to understand a product written in a different language. In the world of multimedia, in which people are eager to maintain the right of understanding foreign products, translation is still their tool for understanding. In this modern era, translation is a need for audio-visual products as well as written products. Audio-visual products include movies, T.V shows ...etc. The translation related to audio-visual products is known as subtitling. Dries (1995) states that subtitling is an interlingual process in which both the language and the mode change, i.e. translating from one language into another language and replacing speech with written text. An accurate subtitle is deemed necessary to deliver the message of the source language. The message consists of several elements, one of which is the pragmatic element which is the main focus in audio-visual subtitling. Pragmatic markers are commonly found in the movies, therefore, the present paper investigates the quality of translating pragmatic markers in movie subtitles.

2. Research Questions

This paper attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What is the most common error in translating pragmatic markers from English into Kurdish?
2. What are the functions of pragmatic markers?
3. What are the constraints and strategies of subtitling?
4. To what extent is subtitling translation different from ordinary translation?
5. What is the most frequently used equivalence for each pragmatic marker in Kurdish?

3. Data Collection Method and Samples

For the purpose of the research, five pragmatic markers namely *just*, *but*, *oh*, *and*, and *well* which have been used in the two movies were collected. These markers are among frequently used pragmatic markers. The motivation mostly sources from the exclusive work of Brinton (1996) in which she provided a complete list of the pragmatic markers with their pragmatic features and functions in detail. Therefore, her work is considered as the benchmark for this research. Owing to the lack of a professional audio-visual translation institution in Kurdistan, finding accurate and valid data was the main concern of this research. Therefore, the

researcher attempted to select the best subtitles among those available on the internet. The movies were chosen from translation agencies on the internet that are highly rated by Kurdish film viewers.

It was not an easy task to find the movie scripts, especially the written script in Kurdish. The researcher made many efforts to get the Kurdish subtitles directly from the translation agency but the efforts did not bear any fruit because they refused to give a copy under the pretext of being the private property of the translators. So, the researcher contacted the translators directly and thankfully they were helpful and glad to give a copy of their work. After obtaining the written scripts both in Kurdish and English, the researcher watched the movies and the subtitles very carefully. Looking for the pragmatic markers, the researcher loaded the English subtitles into Microsoft Office Word first and then to double check the result they were loaded into Adobe Acrobat Reader. The programs are of great help because they show the subtitles that are before and after the subtitle that contains the pragmatic marker. Each single marker was written in the find bar and the program was very precise in finding them in the whole text. Thus, more than three hundred pragmatic markers were found. Finally, the researcher made a comparison between both the English pragmatic markers and their Kurdish equivalents so as to find the errors that have been made in translating the markers into Kurdish.

4. Translation Studies and Audio-Visual Translation

For a long time, the word "audiovisual" was used for approaches that combined images and sounds in teaching and education. Its connotation has evolved over time, becoming increasingly synonymous with the film and television screen. It is a concept that encompasses subtitling and dubbing, as well as the broad range of translational activities that these activities involve, and is one of the most popular types of translation experienced in contemporary societies. The concept is a genre that refers to the transcriptions or translations of television shows, videos and movies in which the verbal dimension is supplemented by other components in the media. The interaction of various communication mechanisms, such as sound, picture, and the verbal aspect, whether oral or written, results in a number of limitations that restrict the translator's task. Traditionally, adaptation has been used to describe the translation of an audio-visual message in which the analysis incorporates the textual elements of the audio-visual communication. Furthermore, this integrated method examines the similarities and differences between verbal and nonverbal translation. Luyken et al. (1991) ask whether screen translation is possible to be really classified as a translation. They use facts to attempt to persuade you of their point of view. To begin, they define translation as the substitution of a message and/or statement in one language with the same message and/or statement in another. Picture, sound, voice, and the interpretation of actors, among other things, make up the message of an audio-visual text. Just one of these things, dubbing for sound and subtitling for text, will be affected by the two types of screen translation. Second, an audiovisual document cannot be made simply so it must constantly be "interpreted". Third, once translated, an audiovisual text is normally shorter than the original; it might need to be tweaked to appeal to a specific audience. When interpreting an audio-visual product, the translator must take into consideration not only the text's verbal signals, or linguistic parameter, but also the implied sonic and visual properties. Speech consistency, speed, pace, and inflection are some of these characteristics. They provide any images that a text can evoke in the viewer's mind. In translation theory, they are referred to as "paralinguistic" or "extra linguistic" features which are tacit contextual properties such as the physical world and the rhetorical form of the language. When translating a verbal symbol, Jakobson (1966) distinguishes between three types of translation. He discusses intralingual (within a single language, such as rewording or paraphrase), interlingual (between two languages), and intersemiotic (between sign systems) translation. The first is focused on the fact that synonyms occur. A language's linguistic code may be circumvented by a word in the same language with a similar context. The second kind of translation is where a language's vocal signals are translated into another

language. In the third type, nonverbal sign systems are used to translate verbal signs. When it comes to interlingual translation, issues will emerge since not all words have the same sense as the translated expression. According to Jakobson (1987) in interlingual translation, the translator employs synonyms in order to convey the source text message. This suggests that there is no absolute equivalence of code units in interlingual translations. Translation, according to this definition, entails transmitting of two identical messages in two separate codes.

5. Pragmatic Markers

Defining pragmatic markers is not an easy task. Previous research, referred to by Fisher (2006:1) as a “jungle of publications”, covers a multitude of different characteristics and items. Yet, despite long years of scholarship, no consensus has been reached about the use of an overarching term; discourse particles, discourse markers, and pragmatic connectives are used. Following Brinton (1996) this study uses the term pragmatic markers, because she believes that “pragmatic better captures the range of functions filled by these items”, since the most significant criterion for categorizing pragmatic markers in this study is that they show some sort of pragmatic function. Brinton (ibid) further maintains that the use of marker is preferable to particle, as the former encapsulates both single-word items and phrases.

The different definitions of pragmatic markers seem to have little in common. Crystal and Davy (1975) state that pragmatic markers are employed to keep the flow of a conversation going. Edmondson (1981) puts it that pragmatic markers are established methods of filling possible gaps in a way that the interlocutor perceives no gap. Erman (1986) states that pragmatic markers are expressions that assist the speaker in breaking down his message into chunks of information, thus assisting the listener in decoding these units. Schiffrin (1987) asserts that pragmatic markers are components that are sequentially reliant and used to separate discourse units. Fräser (1988) believes that pragmatic markers indicate a sequential discourse connection, or how the speaker wants the main idea to relate to the previous discourse. Redeker (1991) defines pragmatic markers as linguistic expressions used to indicate the relationship of an utterance to the immediate context with the main purpose of drawing the listener's attention to a specific type of linkage between the upcoming utterance and the immediate discourse context. The primary purpose of pragmatic markers is to convey the relationship or relevance of an utterance to the previous utterance or the context.

5.1. Functions of Pragmatic Markers

Pragmatic markers are multifunctional. They pose a difficulty in determining their functions in various contexts, yet finding an encompassing, inclusive taxonomy to define all possible functions of pragmatic markers in all possible contexts is even more difficult. Brinton (1996) uses the general scholarship on pragmatic markers to present a nine-function list.

a- to start or end a discourse, including trying to get the attention of the listener

b- to help the speaker to achieve or hand over the floor.

c- to help maintain a discourse or to defer ending a discourse

d- to show boundaries in discourse, which could sign a new topic, a diversion to correct, elaborate, specify, or expand a topic, or to go back to a previous, interrupted topic

e- to signify either new information or old information (Quirk et al. 1985)

f- to identify “sequential dependence”, to restrict how a clause is relevant to the one before it by way of showing their respective conversational implicatures, and to use conversational implicatures to specify how a sentence meets and fulfils the cooperative principles of dialogue (Levinson 1983), what he calls a “maxim hedge”

g- to fix and rectify discourse

h- subjectively, to convey some reaction or reply to a former discourse or an attitude to the succeeding discourse, containing ‘back-channel’ signs the listener is understanding and paying attention while another person is speaking -or even ‘hedges’ implying the speaker’s apprehension

i- interpersonally, to influence collaboration, sharing and affection between the speaker and the listener; certifying mutual assumptions, asking for information, to effect cooperation, sharing, or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, asking for confirmation, examining understanding, delivering respect, or maintaining politeness

6. Subtitling

For many years, the translation scholars have ignored subtitling as a kind of audio-visual translation because they did not regard it as translation. Owing to the time and space that were medium-imposed restrictions, subtitling was regarded as adaptation. There has recently been a dramatic change in this situation due to the rapidly increasing interest for audio-visual products which has caused the experts to be more engaged in exploring this field. Voge (1977) believes that subtitling is a produced translation of the film dialogue that is presented at the same time at the bottom of the screen. According to Luyken et al. (1991) subtitles are the authentic conversation in shortened written translation that presents lines of text, usually at the lower part of the screen. It appears and vanishes so as to correspond to the authentic conversation. Moreover, Carroll and Ivarsson (1998) define subtitling as a written text that is representing what is being spoken, that could be added up to the screen at any time at the desire of the viewer. Furthermore, Cintas and Remael (2007) define subtitling as a translation that is made up of showing a written text at the bottom of the screen which reminds the viewer of the words spoken by the speaker. In linguistic terms, subtitling can be introduced as the process of presenting the written form to correspond to what is being spoken at the same time. Baker (1998) defines subtitling as “transcriptions of film or TV dialogue, presented simultaneously on the screen”. Gottlieb (1992) looks at subtitling from a technical point of view and states that subtitles can be either open, which is presented with the movies i.e. (not optional), and closed, which is presented via teletext i.e. (optional). Presenting meaning in two distinct languages for the viewer at the same time, one in written and the other in oral language, is a rather new method of audio-visual language transfer that has come into existence through movies and further promoted by television.

6.1. Subtitling Processes

There are two processes that have to be taken into consideration by the subtitlers (Antonini, 2005) so as to produce an acceptable subtitle. The first process is removing the inessential aspects in order to form essential facets of meaning such as uncertainties and redundancies, both of which can be interpreted by taking the visual aspects into account such as nodding and shaking of the head. The second process is to simplify the syntax of the ST so as to seem natural for the TL viewers.

Baker (1998) states that four channels make up the semiotic structure of a movie, therefore the subtitlers should consider these four channels in the process of subtitling. They are the verbal channel such as dialogue

and background voice, nonverbal channel such as natural sounds and music, verbal-visual channel such as writing within the movie and subtitle, and nonverbal visual channel such as composing images and editing. Similarly, Chiaro (2009) points out that there are a number of different factors that must be taken into consideration during subtitling, for instance, movements, facial expressions, lighting and color usage, and nonverbal sounds like background noise and music.

6.2. Subtitling Strategies

Translators should make use of the available techniques that have been introduced to achieve validity and readability. As far as the location of subtitles is concerned, they could be placed either at the centre of the screen or aligned right or left. The poor quality of TV sets rendered early subtitles to be put in the centre. Latest technologies have lifted such limitations, which means subtitles can be aligned right or left; this is also believed to help viewers read swiftly since they do not have to look for the beginning of sentences. Given the fact that subtitles normally cover the lower two lines on the screen, producers now pay more attention to where subtitles should appear; the speaker's mouth lays further up on the screen than it normally would (Dries, 1995).

Breaks between the different parts of the subtitle are significant, for in the case of back-to-back subtitles, new subtitles may not be recognized by the viewer's eyes, and the eye may remain on the previous segment Carroll and Ivarsson (1998). Gaps are important to signal changes and new conversations to the reader. They suggest that "to eliminate this problem it is recommended to leave approximately four frames or the equivalent of about one sixth of a second between subtitles, even when the dialogue is ongoing" (Carroll & Ivarsson, 1998:64). While subtitling, the length of the lines has to be managed in a way that breaks do not harm comprehension, preference being to put the translation in a single line. This decision is constrained with the size of the cinema and the acceptability of the dialogue itself. There is a general agreement to show maximum two lines (35-40 characters) each time.

Fonts also matter in subtitles. Decorative fonts pose a difficulty for small, television-wise screens and also for formatting the subtitles. Standard and simple fonts are used to make the subtitle readable, and italics are to be used to express flashbacks in voices in dreams, so that viewers can follow. How the font color appears against the background is also crucial; light or dark colors do not provide clarity to the subtitles because backgrounds come in various shades. One way to deal with it is the enhancement of character clarity in video programmes "by a drop shadow or semi-transparent or black box behind the subtitles" (Carroll & Ivarsson, 1998:11).

Yet another characteristic of the appearance of subtitles is the use of punctuation marks, which can be distracting and distortive to the meaning. According to Hatim and Mason (1997) translators must be guided against the neutrality of punctuation. Written utterances seem to be more forceful compared to dialogues in films which could imply uncertainty, ambiguity and unclarity. With punctuation, the interpersonal dynamics in the movie conversations can be expressed. Put simply, it is best to use minimum punctuation: "distractions such as complex sentences, abbreviations, unnecessary punctuation, incomplete sentences and ambiguities (unless reflecting ambiguity in the source) must be avoided" (Luyken, 1998:56).

Although the speed at which subtitles are read is dependent on various factors including the extent to which the viewer is literate and familiar with the topic, there are recommendations governing the length of a subtitle. It should be something between one and a half seconds minimum for a rather short subtitle, and five to six seconds maximum for a two-line subtitle; full one-line subtitles linger for about three seconds; one and a half lines for about four (ibid). If subtitles exceed such limits, they will be read again, much to the distortion of the flow of the conversation. When shifting from one scene to another, the accompanying subtitles should

disappear before or with the change of the frame, otherwise viewers may well be distracted and diverted away. To encapsulate this technique, Dries' point of view is helpful: that "a good subtitler will wish to avoid a subtitle staying on screen across a shot change, and certainly across a scene change. When cuts follow each other too quickly, the minimum reading time (in most countries 1 ½ seconds, in some 1 second) sometimes forces the subtitlers to break this law" (Dries, 1995:33).

6.3. The Constraints of Subtitling

6.3.1. Characters Per line

When it comes to the number of characters in a single subtitle line, the software or guidelines used by the subtitle translating company determine the maximum number of characters. A one-line subtitle usually contains 37 characters, including typographical signs that take one space and blank spaces. Thus, 33 to 35 characters are considered favourable, with a limit of 39 to 41 characters being suitable. Regarding movie festivals, the maximum number of characters per line for a movie festival is 43. To allow the viewers to see and read the subtitle, it must remain on screen for at least one second. In addition, a subtitle is more favourable being a single line than two if possible (Cintas & Remael, 2006). Similarly, Nida cited in Gottlieb (2005) states that subtitles must take into account 35 characters as the maximum length and eight syllables per second as the maximum speech.

6.3.2. Synchronization

Translation has never been an easy or a trouble-free task. As such, during subtitle translation, a translator faces many challenges. The subtitle should be synchronized with the content provided by the other channel, such as sign language, sound effect, background music, and dialogues. According to Gottlieb (2005), subtitling is more than simply substituting written text for the source text; it must be harmonized and synchronized with both corresponding actions and original conversations.

6.3.3. Spatial Constraints

Another technical constraint that faces subtitlers is spatial layout. To meet the medium conditions as well as the reading abilities of non-native audiences, the dialogue should be shortened. To get around these technical limitations, the subtitler could use other channels to communicate the message, such as lexicons with letters that take up less space (T and I instead of W and M), according to Kay (1999) cited in Thawabteh (2011). To put it another way, translators can select vocabularies that begin with a letter that take up less space.

6.3.4. Mode Change (Spoken into Written)

Language differs depending on whether it is spoken or written. In many cases, spoken English is more informal than written English, and the same can be said of other languages, such as Kurdish. So, when the movie is subtitled in Kurdish, it is possible to reflect informal English language into a formal Kurdish style, but there are many challenges for translators because there are two modes of change. One mode is to switch from English to Kurdish, while the other is to switch from spoken to written language. As Mailhac (2000) comments, subtitling as a mode of linguistic transfer has many synchronization constraints, including frame change (diverting the attention of the viewer from subtitles), link to visuals, changing the medium from oral to written, and the structure and length of the utterances which limit linguistic transfer.

7. Translating Pragmatic Markers

Pragmatic markers, as discussed in the preceding section, are commonly regarded as a difficult and problematic field of translation. According to Michailinien (2007), different languages have different standards regarding the use of pragmatic markers, and there are rarely any "satisfying correspondences," as Aijmer (2008:95) points out. He goes further and states that pragmatic markers "do not translate well" (ibid.: 98) and that many translators leave them out entirely. Although omission may be justified in certain cases, it should never be considered an easy way to avoid the translation-related issues. Even though pragmatic markers are commonly grammatically non-obligatory and may have had their lexical sense reduced, they nonetheless serve significant pragmatic functions. Their absence, according to Fraser (1988:22) could "remove a powerful hint" and lead to "unnatural," "awkward," or even "impolite" statements. Even if Fraser is referring to the use of pragmatic markers in general, his argument is just practically applicable to the omission of pragmatic markers in translation.

8. Using Translation to Create an English-Kurdish PMs Equivalence Paradigm

Catford (1965) considers translation as a branch of comparative linguistics, because translation theories deal with a specific kind of relation between languages. So translation has proved to be a reliable method in comparative studies for making comparisons between languages. Aijmer et al. (2006) made use of an equivalence paradigm method in carrying out comparative research which dealt with connectives between French and English. Using this method, they achieved beneficial results. They describe it as an effective method because it obliges the translators to take into consideration the contextual factors which lead to specific choices. Understanding the notion of equivalence is the backbone of creating the paradigm in this research. As the focus of the research is on the pragmatic markers one needs to know at what level of language equivalence should be established. Snell-Hornby (1995) states that translation is not merely a linguistic process because there are other aspects such as cultural, situational, and textual factors that are sometimes different between languages, therefore these factors have to be taken into account. Moreover, in defining the concept of equivalence, Baker (1992) argues that regarding the process of translation there are different levels of equivalence; lexical, grammatical, textual and pragmatic levels. Owing to the functioning of the pragmatic markers mainly on the level of texts, this research is going to focus on establishing equivalence on the textual level.

9. Data Analysis and Discussion

In this section the samples are analysed and discussed according to the pragmatic markers. Three hundred sixty-eight subtitles which contain the pragmatic markers needed for the study have been used from two different movies namely *The Dry* and *Taxi Driver 1976*. The samples are organized according to the pragmatic markers respectively. Then, each single marker is analysed and discussed separately with identifying the following translation errors. First, deletion involves deleting the pragmatic marker. i.e. where the marker has not been translated. Second, foreign translation involves translating the pragmatic marker into a foreign word, particle or connective that does not originally exist in the target language. Third, translation into a different pragmatic marker involves the translation of the marker into a different marker in the target language. Fourth, mistranslation involves the translation of the marker in a way that does not correspond to either the functions or the meanings of the marker in the source language. The data of the research is presented in tables before being analysed and discussed. The table below presents the frequency of pragmatic markers in both languages in the two movies namely *Taxi Driver 1976* and *The Dry*.

Table 1. The Frequency of Pragmatic Markers in English and Kurdish Movie Subtitles: *Taxi Driver 1976* and *The Dry*

NO	Movies	English Pragmatic Marker	Kurdish Pragmatic Marker
1	<i>Taxi Driver 1976</i>	195	130
2	<i>The Dry</i>	173	76
3	Total	368	206

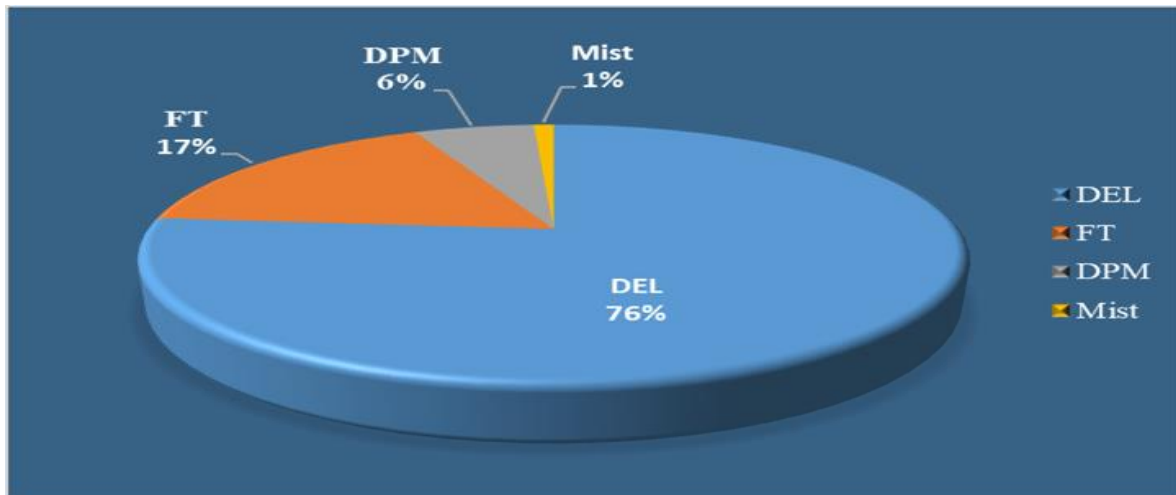
Following Table 1 there is a significance difference between both languages in terms of the use of PMs. The number of pragmatic markers used in English movies are more than the Kurdish ones. This might be due to the nature of the language itself that predetermines its richness in PMs or any other linguistic category. For some languages, it is acceptable to use a large number of PMs, whereas others may be less rich in terms of PMs range and, therefore, more reluctant to avoid them like English and Persian in Kafipour (2016) in which English is seen as a PM-rich language in the English-Persian language pair. The following table presents the frequency of each pragmatic marker with the frequency of each error type in the two movies.

Table 2. The Frequency and Error Types of Pragmatic Markers in English and Kurdish Movie Subtitles: *Taxi Driver 1976* and *The Dry*

NO	PMs	English Movie Script	Kurdish Subtitle	Error Types				Total
				Del	FT	DPM	Mist	
1	Just	103	55	48	4	2	1	55
2	But	75	62	13	3	1		17
3	Oh	73	7	66	2		1	69
4	And	63	51	12	27	7		46
5	Well	54	31	23		2		25
Total		368	206	162	36	12	2	212

It is noted in Table 2 that there are 368 pragmatic markers used in the two movies, 206 of which have been translated into Kurdish. The overall of the translation errors is 212. It is also noted that there are a total of 206 deletion errors. Thirty-six pragmatic markers have been translated into a foreign pragmatic marker. Twelve of the markers have been rendered into Kurdish using a different pragmatic marker. There are only two mistranslations in the whole data. The most frequently deleted pragmatic marker is *oh* with a total of sixty-six deletion errors. Most of the different pragmatic marker and foreign translation errors occurred in translating *and*. The following figure illustrates the percentage of each error type in translating the markers from English into Kurdish.

Figure 1. Percentage of each Error type



The above figure shows that deletion makes up a third of the errors. This high percentage of deletion demonstrates lack of sufficient knowledge about the pragmatic markers on the part of the Kurdish subtitlers or lack of an appropriate equivalence in the Kurdish language. This fact proves that the most common error in translating discourse marker is omission. Foreign translation is another common error made by the Kurdish subtitlers followed by translation into a different PM with 6% and mistranslation with 1% only. The following table presents the frequency of each PM and each error type in the *Taxi Driver 1976* movie.

Table 3. The Frequency and Error Types of Pragmatic Markers in English and Kurdish Movie Subtitles: *Taxi Driver 1976*

NO	PMs	English Movie Script	Kurdish Subtitle	Error Types				Total
				Del	FT	DPM	Mist	
1	Just	43	21	22	2	2	1	27
2	But	40	35	5	1	1		7
3	Oh	18	2	16	2		1	19
4	And	59	47	12	27	5		44
6	Well	35	25	10		2		12
Total		195	130	65	32	10	2	109

Following Table 3, 195 pragmatic markers have been used in the English version of the movie *Taxi Driver 1976*, while only 130 markers have been translated into Kurdish. The most frequently used marker in the movie is *and* which has been used 59 times in the data. The total number of errors occurred in translating the PMs in the movie is 109 errors. Deletion is the most common error with 65 occurrences, while foreign translation is the second most common error with 32 occurrences. Translation into a different PM has only occurred 10 times. The least common error is mistranslation with 2 occurrences only. The table below shows the frequency of each pragmatic marker and error type in the movie *The Dry*.

Table 4. The Frequency and Error Types of Pragmatic Markers in English and Kurdish Movie Subtitles: *The Dry*

NO	PMs	English Movie Script	Kurdish Subtitle	Error Types				Total
				Del	FT	DPM	Mist	
1	Just	60	34	26	2			28
2	But	35	27	8	2			10
3	Oh	55	5	50				50
4	And	4	4			2		2
5	Well	19	6	13				13
Total		173	76	97	4	2		103

It can be observed in Table 4 that 173 pragmatic markers have been used in the English version of the movie *The Dry*, while only 76 markers have been translated into Kurdish. The most frequently used marker in the movie is *just* which has been used 60 times in the English script of the movie. The total number of errors occurring in translation of the PMs in the movie is 103 errors. Deletion is the most common error with 97 occurrences, and foreign translation is the second most common error with 4 occurrences. Translation into a different PM has only occurred 2 times. There is no mistranslation error in the movie. The table below presents the different Kurdish equivalences and the most frequently used Kurdish equivalents that have been used in translating the PMs in the two movies.

Table 5. The Equivalence Paradigm of Pragmatic Markers in English and Kurdish Movie Subtitles: *Taxi Driver 1976 and The Dry*

NO	English PM	Kurdish Equivalences in the Kurdish Subtitles		N. of occurrences	Most frequently Used Kurdish Equivalence in the Kurdish Subtitle
1	Just	Tanha	تەنھا	38	Tanha تەنھا
		Har	هەر	8	
		Bas	بەس	4	
		Taza	تازە	2	
		Balku	بەلکۆ	1	
		Awa	ئەو	1	
		Ka	کە	1	
2	But	Belam	بەلام	59	Balam بەلام
		Bas	بەس	2	
		We	و	1	
3	Oh	Aye	ئای	5	Aye ئای
		We	و	1	
		ou	ئۆو	1	
4	And	Wa	و	27	Wa و
		W	وو	17	
		Harwaha	هەر وها	1	

		Lagal	لهگه‌ل	1	
		Pashan	پاشان	2	
		Balam	به‌لام	2	
		Itr	ئیتز	1	
5	Well	Basha	باشه	25	Basha باشه
		Kawata	كهواته	1	
		Kawaya	كهوايه	1	
		Eh	ئى	3	
		Day	دهى	1	

As can be seen in Table 5, the English PMs *just* and *and* demonstrate the widest range of possible translation equivalents in Kurdish. An overall of seven possible tokens in Kurdish have been identified for each. The most frequent possible translations of *just* include *tanha* and *har*. The least common translations of *just*, but nevertheless found in the data, include *bas*, *taza*, *balku*, *awa*, *ka*. Concerning the PM *and*, it is predominantly translated as *wa* or *w*. Though options like *pashan* and *balam* are less frequent, they have nonetheless been identified. Single occurrences include *lagal*, *itr*, and *harwaha*.

The English PM *well* has six possible equivalences, the most frequent of which is *basha*. There are other options like *kawata*, *kawaya*, and *daye*. There are two English PMs namely *but* and *oh* that have been translated into three different Kurdish equivalents. The most frequently used Kurdish equivalent for *but* is *balam* in Kurdish, while there are other options like *bas* and *we* with single occurrences. The possible Kurdish equivalence for the English PM *oh* is *aye* in Kurdish, while *we* and *ou* are options with a single occurrence.

10. Conclusions

Deletion is the most common error in the translation of pragmatic markers. This has been confirmed by the high percentage of the deletion error in the average of the errors, as there are 162 deletion errors out of the total of 212 errors. This demonstrates that the Kurdish language is not a pragmatic marker rich language compared to English. This proves that Kurdish language subtitlers had no other option but deleting the markers. Foreign translation is the second most common translation error with 36 occurrences in the total number of errors. This indicates the influence of the Arabic language on Kurdish speakers. There is no one to one equivalence in Kurdish for almost all the pragmatic markers, which has been confirmed by the fact that all of the PMs have been translated into different tokens in Kurdish, for instance *just* and *and* have been translated into 7 different tokens in Kurdish some of which are far from the lexical meaning of the markers such as translating *just* into *balku* or *ka* and translating *and* into *balam* or *itr*.

وهرگێرانی ئامرازهكانی پیکهستن (Just, But, Oh, And, Well) له فیلمی (بیبارانی) و (شۆفیتری تاکسی ۱۹۷۶) له ئینگلیزهوه بۆ کوردی

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پوخته:

ههرحهنده كه (ئامرازهكانی پیکهستن) پۆلیکی گرنگ دهگێرن له گفتوگۆی رۆژانه مهندا، بهلام له زمانی کوردیدا گرنگهکی ئهوتویان پینه دراوه. ئامانجی ئهم توێژینهوهیه بریتیه له دهستنیشانکردن و لیکۆلینهوه و شیکارکردنی وهرگێرانی ئامرازهكانی پیکهستن (Just, But, oh, And, Well) له ژیرنوسی فیلمدا له زمانی ئینگلیزهوه بۆ زمانی کوردی بۆ دیاریکردنی ههلهکانی وهرگێران و خستنه پووی باوترین جووری ههله، بۆ ئهجامدانی ئهم توێژینهوهیه ههردوو فیلمی (شۆفیتری تهکسی ۱۹۷۶) (Taxi Driver 1976) و (بیبارانی) (The Dry) ههلبژیردران كه له دوو دهیهیی جیاوازا بهرهم هاتوون. دوا دیاریکردنی فیلمهكان، پینج له باوترین ئامرازهکهنی پیکهستن بهگۆیرهی (برنتن، ۱۹۹۶) دهستنیشان کراون. بۆ گهراڤان له ئامرازهكانی پیکهستن توێژهه بهرنامهی مایکروسۆفت ئوفیس ورد و ئهدۆپ ئهکرۆبات ریدهر بهکارهینراوه كه ههردوو بهرنامهکه زور ورد بوون له دۆزینهوهی ئامرازهکاندا له قیژنی ئینگلیزی فیمهکاندا. به تیکرایی (۳۶۸) ئامرازی پیکهستن دهتیشانکراون و شیکراونهتوه و ههلهکانیان دیاریکراوه و ههلهکانیش پۆلین کراون بۆ چوار جووری جیاواز که بریتین له (سرینهوه) (Deletion) و (وهرگێرانی بیانی) (Foreign Translation) و (وهرگێران بۆ ئامرازی

پیکه‌ستنی جیاواز (Translation into a Different Pragmatic Marker) و (به هه‌له وه‌رگێران) (Mistranslation)، ئه‌نجامی توێژینه‌وه‌که ده‌ریده‌خات که (سپینه‌وه) باوترین جووری هه‌له‌یه له وه‌رگێرانی (ئامرازه‌کانی پیکه‌ستن) له ژیرنوووسی فیلمدا، وه (وه‌رگێرانی بیانی) دوه‌وه‌م باوترین جووری هه‌له‌یه. به‌رسی رێژهی سپینه‌وه له وه‌رگێرانی ئامرازه‌کانی پیکه‌ستن ده‌ریده‌خات که زمانی کوردی به به‌راورد به زمانی ئینگیزی زمانیکی ده‌وله‌م‌ه‌ند نیه له رووی ئامرازی پیکه‌ستنه‌وه.

کلێه وشه‌کان: ئامرازی پیکه‌ستن، وه‌رگێرانی ئۆدیوئۆیژوه‌ل، ژیرنوووسکردن، هه‌له‌کانی وه‌رگێران.

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