

(De)islamisation of Target Text

Subtitling Islamic Cultural Items in Documentary Films
Broadcast on Video-on-Demand Platforms

AL-SHLOOL S.

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**Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

DECLARATIONS AND STATEMENTS DECLARATION

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Signed **Safaa Al-Shlool** (candidate) Date: **2/5/2023**.

STATEMENT 1

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ABSTRACT

This PhD thesis represents a pioneering investigation to explore two important areas in the field of audiovisual translation (AVT). Firstly, the phenomenon of (de)islamisation which is a relatively new and it has not yet received sufficient attention in the literature, has been examined, taking in consideration the technical constraints of subtitling. This thesis provides a detailed analysis of the way in which the (de)islamisation of the target text can be achieved at the lexical and grammatical level. Additionally, the field of AVT has seen significant growth in recent years, however, research on AVT in the Arabic language remains limited. To the best of my knowledge, there is currently no existing study or theory that specifically addresses the subtitling strategies for religious cultural items in general, or for Islamic cultural items in particular. This thesis aims to address this gap by examining subtitling strategies used to convey Islamic cultural items in Arabic-language films into English. Utilising abduction approach, where the analysis is based on the existing taxonomies of subtitling strategies of culturally specific items, such as Gottlieb (1992), Pedersen (2005) and Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014), and the empirical data, this study proposes a particular taxonomy of the subtitling strategies of Islamic Cultural Items consisting of nine categories: loan, literal translation, substitution, transposition, addition, compensation, dummy compensation, omission, and condensation. These strategies are further categorised into deislamisation-oriented, islamisation-oriented, and two-edge strategies. Utilising the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fairclough's three-dimensional Model (1989/1995), the study also examines the technical and ideological factors that may influence the selection of a particular strategy. This study identifies 790 Islamic cultural items within the study corpus, representing the frequency of their occurrence rather than their distinct number, found in 9 documentary films available on three video-on-demand platforms. The results indicate that omission is the most frequently used strategy, while addition is the least used. The study also identifies instances of technical and ideological manipulation in the form of deislamisation and islamisation of the target text, as well as cases of overlap between the two. This research is the first to address the phenomenon of (de)islamisation in Audio-visual translation, identify the relationship between deislamisation and secularisation of discourse, and investigate the genre of documentary films in Arabic subtitling studies. This study demonstrates how subtitling, at textual level, can reflect social practices, at a micro level.

Key words: Audiovisual Translation, Subtitling, Islamic Cultural Items, Ideology, (De)islamisation, Critical Discourse Analysis.

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Prayers for this world
bring peace to its doors
bring hope to its shores
we've got to change it

Prayers for this world
bring wind to its sails
it's gone off the rails
and we've got to save it
raise up our hands
and rise together

It's got to be now
it's now or never
prayers for this world
we've got to save us

Diane Warren

(2016)

To the soul of my father,

Mohammad Khalaf Al-Shloul,

To my mother "Wedad Al-Shloul"

To my Love and Soulmate Aws Shambor

My lovely Daughters: Sanaa, Maya and Jouri

To All family Members and truly beloved Friends

To all Martyrs, refugees and sufferers all over the world

My inspiration at all times.

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Abbreviations

SL: Source Language

ST: Source Text

SC: Source Culture

TL: Target Language

TT: Target Text

TC: Target Culture

AVT: Audiovisual Translation

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

ICIs: Islamic Cultural Items

TS: Timestamp

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Introduction

Research Context

The issue of the (de)islamisation is a relatively new phenomenon that has recently emerged as a topic of interest in various academic disciplines, including political science. However, it has not been extensively addressed in the translation studies, particularly in the area of audiovisual translation (AVT). This thesis is the first of its kind to investigate the (de)islamisation of the target text phenomenon in AVT, taking into consideration the technical constraints and challenges that arise in this field. Generally, the term deislamisation can be defined as the process of reducing or eliminating the Islamic aspects in a society, culture, or even discourse. On the other hand, the term islamisation can be defined as the process of increasing or emphasising the Islamic aspects in a society, culture, or even discourse¹.

A simple example of deislamisation in a real-world context is in reference to ‘hijab’. Hijab, a scarf that covers the hair and neck or even the shoulders, is stereotypically linked to female Muslims who are known for their hijab as a religious symbol. Once a woman takes off her Hijab, it would be difficult to know her religion unless she talks about it or show any other Islamic symbols. From a linguistic perspective, the substitution of the word ‘headscarf’ for ‘hijab’ in a discourse can be seen as an example of deislamisation. While the word ‘hijab’ has an Islamic connotation, the word ‘headscarf’ is a more generic word that does not carry the same religious connotations. Deislamisation can be seen in many spheres, including political and social spheres, in many countries nowadays.

Ahmad (2019) mentions that the term deislamisation was first used by Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas in his three books: *The Concept of Education in Islam* (1980), *Islam and*

¹ The definition of the term (de)islamisation is provided in this study based on my understanding and interpretation of the research I conducted for this study, as I could not find a general definition of this phenomenon in any academic resource. However, I found definitions of this phenomenon in certain fields such as education and politics, as you can see in this section.

Secularism (1992), and *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam: An Exposition of the Fundamental Elements of the Worldview of Islam* (1995).

Notwithstanding, many major key terms in the Islamic basic vocabulary of the languages of Muslims have now been displaced and made “to serve absurdly” in alien fields of meaning and such kind of regression towards non-Islamic worldviews is a phenomenon which al-Attas calls the deislamisation of language, or the secularisation of the Arabic language. AlAttas argues that special words which deal with key aspects of truth and reality, of man and the universe, religion and ethics, which may comprise hundreds or thousands of them, are the basic vocabulary of Islam. They must be understood precisely and used properly, and not to be changed, played with, moved about, added to or subtracted from. (Ahmad, 2019, pp.29-30)

In addition, the term deislamisation can be traced back to the terrorist event of 11th September 2001, when this terrorist event was linked to Islam through AlQaeda. It is also traced back to 2014, when ISIS² appeared. Both AlQaeda and ISIS are classified as terrorist entities³ that present themselves under the umbrella of Islam. As a deeply rooted social institution, Islam has historically played a crucial role in the socio-political landscape of many Arab and Islamic countries. Nevertheless, in the post-9/11 geopolitical context, some of these countries have adopted more comprehensive strategies to deislamise many aspects of their country. One example of these countries is Bangladesh, which has long been known as a moderate Muslim country. It declared itself a secular country by its Foreign Minister, Dr Dipu Moni, in 2011 (Islam, 2011). Deislamisation in political context is due to many reasons. As Islam (2011) mentioned, one of these reasons is to gain solid support from certain Western countries that are hostile to Islam. It is worth mentioning that the deislamisation process is not only applied by Muslims. It seems one of the other reasons

² ISIS refers to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, which was later changed to the Islamic State. It is also known as Daesh. In this thesis, ISIS is the term used to refer to this entity.

³ AlQaeda and ISIS are classified as terrorist groups by many countries and international organizations, including the United Nations Security Council, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the European Union.

for deislamisation is the threat Muslims or who look like a Muslim (in terms of appearance) face in some Western countries because of the anti-Islam ideology.

Birk et al. (2015) conduct a study calling for the importance of deislamising Sikhaphobia in the post-9-11 context after a domestic terrorism incident of killing a Sikhi. By deislamising Sikhaphobia, they mean showing the mainstream white Americans and those who are anti-Islam, in general, that Sikhs are not Muslims. Hopkins (2008) as cited in Birk et al. (2015) mentions that some of the heightened signifiers such as skin colour, religious or cultural symbols (e.g., turbans, unshaven beards for men, and kirpans) have made life precarious for Sikhs just because they are similar to those of Muslims. Deislamisation in this context is a defence practice from further perpetuating Islamophobia, anti-racism against Muslims, and the rising tide of anti-Islamic sentiments since the attacks of 11th September in the United States. The incident was described as domestic terrorism and caused due to the homogenization of brown bodies (such as Muslims and Sikhs) in the North American context. Of course, these reasons cannot be the only reasons for deislamisation. However, this topic is still under investigation, and studies of the reasons for this tendency are still insufficient.

Some scholars have started to use this term in the fields of politics and sociocultural studies, such as Patel and Park (2013, p.3), who define the term deislamisation regarding politics as follows:

What I argue for in this article, instead, is for the "de-Islamisation" of politics, as well as the neutralisation of the cultural tendency to enforce "Islamic codes of morality and religious adherence" in the public domain, not only in the MENA region but also in all Muslim majority states. Let me explain. By "de-islamisation," I mean removing the militant, politically hegemonic, as well as the culturally ideological thrust of the contemporary "global Islamic Movement," and instead, shoring up support for those societal groupings that appropriate and employ more contextual readings of Islamic principles of justice, liberty and equality, and compatibility with other cultures and civilisations of the world.

Some researchers investigate the phenomenon of deislamisation in the educational curriculum such as Alya Alshammari (2015) who investigates this phenomenon in Saudi Arabian curriculum. She sheds light on the insufficiency of existing English materials and teaching approaches within the Saudi curriculum, which predominantly mirror Anglo-American norms and values that deviate from Saudi Arabian Islamic culture. She advocates for the incorporation of a wide range of English language variations that align with Saudi culture and values, while also addressing the inadequate English language skills among Saudi learners. Furthermore, Jasmin Zine (2007) uses this term in the field of education when she describes the efforts of some public schools in Canada to provide their Muslim students with a suitable environment to protect them from the deislamising forces in schools and society at large. By deislamising forces, she means the permissive social norms and the culturally incongruent environment that contribute to the potential loss of Muslim students' culture and religious way of life. Moreover, the term deislamisation and secularisation is used interchangeably by Stefan Wild (2015) to refer to the process of removing Islamic aspects from people's life in Saudi Arabia by teaching students English language and the Western culture. Surprisingly, the term deislamisation was also used to describe some attitudes of Indo-Muslim physicians who use non-Islamic words in their prescriptions to show that they are using modern medicine and treatments; their aim to be as 'scientific' as Western medicine (Speziale, 2005).

In translation, the term deislamisation is found in a study conducted by Naghmeh-Abbaspour et al. (2019). The process of deislamisation in translation is most prominent in Coleman Barks' translation of Rumi's poetry, a Muslim Sufi poet (Naghmeh-Abbaspour et al., 2019). Barks aims to gain readership by recontextualizing Rumi's poetry based on the social context of North America (Naghmeh-Abbaspour et al., 2019). By doing so, Barks removes any Islamic connotations in the target text. In fact, "the basic Islamic component in Rumi's work has been diluted in the soup of the 'New Sufism' to the extent that Islam appears in it as mainly folkloric" (El-Zein, 2000, p.76). El-Zein (2000) also calls Barks' translation "Americanised Rumi." However, other scholars, such as Aviv (2007) and Lewis (2014), shed light on the distinctive feature of Barks' translation of Rumi's poetry that

shows Rumi's work far from Islam. Naghmeh-Abbaspour et al. (2019) describe the primary translation strategy adopted by Barks to translate Rumi's poetry into English as a deislamising strategy.

However, no precise definition of the term deislamisation has been introduced yet. By deislamising the discourse (either the Source Text or Target Text), I mean eliminating or removing any Islamic connotations of language or concepts from the discourse. For instance, one might use the word God instead of Allah to refer to the God of Islam since the word God still has a religious connotation but is not exclusive to Islam. Of course, to have an adequate finding regarding whether a particular discourse is deislamised, one should investigate the whole discourse and explore to what extent it is deislamised.

On the other hand, islamisation is more prominent in the Islamic world in different aspects of life. Countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran have been seen with the dominant stereotypes of islamisation. Saudi Arabia is seen as a Sunni, Salafi, and Wahabi Islamic country, and Iran is seen as a Shiite Islamic country. Islamisation is the process of making things Islamic in terms of form and content. For example, linking terrorism with Islam is one aspect of islamisation. Additionally, asking women living in Iran⁴ to wear a Hijab by force regardless of their religious beliefs is one aspect of islamisation. On the contrary, forcing female Muslims in France⁵ to take off their Hijab in all governmental facilities and institutions is an aspect of de-islamisation.

Barr and Govindasamy (2010) conducted a study under the title of *The Islamisation of Malaysia: religious nationalism in the service of ethnonationalism* to investigate the extent to which the country of Malaysia has been systematically islamised. They focus on only one aspect of Malaysia's program of islamisation initiated by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir, in the 1980s, which is considered principal and contemporary to the

⁴ See <https://theconversation.com/how-iran-uses-a-compulsory-hijab-law-to-control-its-citizens-and-why-they-are-protesting-91439>

⁵ See <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/9/a-law-against-islam>

national identity and developments in the Malaysian education system (more specifically within the subject of history in the secondary school). In the same vein, Jackson and Parker (2008) conducted a study to introduce Islamic education in Indonesia and to what extent it is islamised. It is found that Islamic education has become an increasingly common choice for Indonesians as part of the process of islamisation.

In translation studies, the term islamisation has been inserted recently and has attracted few scholars. To the best of my knowledge, studies on this topic are generally minimal and rare. Halimah (2017) sheds light on the need to islamise the English target text of the Arabic Islamic prophetic hadiths to convey "the Islamic divine message more specifically, faithfully, plainly, economically emotively, effectively and above all in a way more demonstrative of the spiritual and mystic effect which the reader should experience in the English version of the translation" (Halimah, 2017, p. 4). By islamising the TT, he means using foreignising strategy in translation, basically the transliteration as much as possible.

To sum up, if we look carefully around us, we can detect many manifestations of the deislamisation and islamisation phenomena. However, this thesis focuses on (de)islamisation of the target discourse in audiovisual translation, which has not been addressed yet. Therefore, this study would be the first one to introduce this term in audiovisual translation. This study investigates in depth the process of subtitling Islamic cultural items. It explores the strategies used to render Arabic Islamic cultural items in English. It examines the extent to which subtitlers keep the Islamic connotation of the source text (ST) in the target text (TT), assessing the role of various factors, such as ideology and technical constraints, in shaping the final version of the TT. It explores whether (de)islamisation is a result of ideological manipulation, a result of technical manipulation, or a reasonable result of rendering elements from one language into another.

Motivation for the Study

As a PhD student in translation studies, my decision to embark on this research journey was driven by a deep curiosity to explore and contribute to a field that is both trendy and under-researched. With an initial review of the literature, it became evident that audiovisual

translation held significant untapped potential, particularly within the context of Arabic-English translation. This realisation led me to delve further into the subject matter, seeking to identify a specific gap that warranted in-depth investigation.

Upon careful examination, it became increasingly clear that the subtitling of Islamic cultural items was an area of interest that demanded attention. The motivation behind this choice was not only fuelled by academic curiosity but also by a growing awareness of the social and political climate surrounding Islam. Disturbing incidents, witnessed through news reports and social media, where Islamic aspects were either forcibly removed or enforced upon individuals (e.g., forcing female Muslims in France not to wear the hijab [the head hair cover in public institutions such as schools]) further cemented my determination to shed light on the subtleties and complexities of subtitling Islamic terms and their connotations in English.

Thus, my research aims to address the fundamental questions regarding the potential manipulations of Islamic connotations during the subtitling process. I intend to explore whether intentional removal or preservation of Islamic connotations occurs in the target text, and how these decisions are reflected in the subtitling strategies employed by film subtitlers. Moreover, recognising the need to align my research objectives with a suitable and under-researched film genre, I turned my attention to documentary films. This genre, specifically within the domain of Arabic-English audiovisual translation, has been relatively overlooked in the existing literature. By focusing on documentary films, I aim to unravel the distinctive challenges faced by subtitlers when translating Islamic cultural items within the context of factual storytelling.

The next step was to start observing the subtitling of Islamic cultural items in documentary films. I randomly chose a documentary film on Netflix, *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin). While watching the film and paying particular attention to the subtitles, I noticed that there were no Islamic connotations in the target text subtitles (i.e., no word in the target text had an Islamic connotation), although the source text had some instances of Islamic cultural items. Accordingly, some questions came to my mind, such as: why are

there no Islamic references in the English subtitles of the film? Is it an ideological manipulation adopted by video-on-demand broadcasting platforms for subtitling religious terminology, not only Islamic terminology? Is it a secularisation of the target text? By secularising the target text, I mean removing any word with religious connotation from the text. Or is it a form of hiding referential items from a particular religion only, in this case Islam? In other words, is it a form of hiding only the Islamic feature but keeping the religious one (de-islamisation of the target text)?

This observation drew my attention to the process of subtitling Islamic cultural items and to the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of the target text, and it led me to think of a further step to compare documentary films with their English subtitles on other platforms, focusing on documentary films that address the same topic to know whether subtitling Islamic cultural items is tackled in the same way by both platforms. Answering this question led me to think of the institutional constraints of video-on-demand broadcasting platforms that may influence the subtitling process. Based on my review of the literature, I find that the term (de)islamisation – referring to the removal or retention of Islamic connotations in the target text in the context of translation studies – has not yet been clearly addressed. The genre of documentary films has also been under-researched in the field of translation studies. To the best of my knowledge, Arabic documentary films subtitled into English have not been tackled yet. In addition, there are no specific guidelines for subtitling Islamic cultural items, or even a particular taxonomy of the subtitling strategies employed to render Islamic cultural items from one language into another. Therefore, this study aims to first investigate the subtitling strategies of Islamic cultural items and then whether there is any manipulation in subtitling Islamic cultural items, either technical manipulation due to the technical constraints of the subtitling process itself or ideological manipulation due to particular ideological perspectives. More specifically, it aims to investigate whether Islamic cultural items are deislamised or islamised intentionally in documentary films. However, this should be confirmed by a thorough analysis based on theory. The most suitable theory for addressing my research questions regarding the investigation of ideological aspects is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Utilising CDA to investigate

ideologies and social power relations in translation has been proven effective (Orpin, 2005; Kaindl, 2013; and Chaume, 2018).

In summary, my research endeavours encompass exploring the complexities of subtitling Islamic terms, examining potential manipulations of their connotations, and shedding light on the subtitling strategies employed by film subtitlers. Through this comprehensive study, I aspire to contribute significantly to the field of translation studies, expanding our knowledge of audiovisual translation practices, and fostering cultural sensitivity and inclusivity in intercultural communication.

Research Questions

This study explores the following questions:

- What strategies do subtitlers adopt to subtitle the Islamic cultural terms in documentary films?
 - What are the most and least frequently used strategies employed by subtitlers in rendering ICIs?
 - How do subtitlers approach the subtitling of verses from the Quran, which are considered ICIs and sacred texts, into English?
- To what extent do video-on-demand broadcasting platforms influence the subtitling process of ICIs in documentary films?
- Is there any trace of manipulation involved in the process of subtitling ICIs?
 - If manipulation is detected, what is its cause: technical constraints or ideological manipulation in the form of (de)islamisation of the target text?
 - In the case of any manipulation detected, how is it achieved at the lexical and grammatical level in the subtitling process?

Study Objectives, Significance, and Contributions

Translation and subtitling involve transferring the meaning from one language to another and, thus, from one culture to another. Translators/ subtitlers should pay great attention to both source culture (SC) and target culture (TC). Translators are seen as mediators (Bartoll, 2011) and communicators (Hatim & Mason, 1997) between the two cultures. However, translation can be affected and motivated by ideology. According to Hatim and Mason (1997), the translation process is considered ideologically subjective. Applying the domestication or foreignisation strategy (Venuti, 1995) seems to be ideological in particular sociocultural contexts; applying one strategy instead of another can support either dominance or resistance to certain social groups (Hatim & Mason, 1997). Applying the foreignising strategy in translation reduces the target culture's ideological dominance risk (Venuti, 1995).

In addition to ideological motives involved in translation and subtitling, subtitling has its own technical constraints (e.g., time and space allocated to the TT on the screen) that subtitlers sometimes need to manipulate TT to face these technical constraints. This kind of manipulation is thus called technical manipulation. This binarism of motives (i.e., ideological manipulation versus technical manipulation) needs to be investigated in depth by employing multilevel frameworks of analysis. Therefore, the objectives of this study are first to identify the subtitling strategies employed to render ICIs into English and then to investigate whether there are any traces of ideological and technical manipulation by comparing the ST to the TT. This study investigates whether deislamisation (i.e., removing the Islamic connotation from the TT) and Islamisation (i.e., keeping the Islamic connotation in the TT) are due to technical manipulation or ideological motives. In his article, "clearing the smoke to see the screen: ideological manipulation in audiovisual translation", Díaz Cintas (2012) calls for more research in audiovisual translation addressing unveiling the ideologically motivated traces in the text rather than just focusing on the textual, linguistic sphere. He also addresses the case of the overlapping between technical and ideological manipulation. What looks like technical manipulation can be, in

fact, ideological manipulation. This study also investigates the overlapping cases where both technical and ideological manipulations occur simultaneously. Accordingly, the significance of this study is to offer an in-depth investigation of subtitling ICIs encompassing investigation of video-on-demand broadcasting platforms' censorship on the subtitling process and the investigation of technical and ideological manipulation (in the form of (de)islamisation of target text).

This study addresses a gap in the literature studying the (de)islamisation of the target discourse in audiovisual translation. Several studies have been conducted on the audiovisual translation of English into Arabic and vice versa in terms of linguistic, cultural, ideological, and technical perspectives in different domains, such as Gamal (2007, 2008, 2013, 2014), Khuddro (2018), and Debbas and Haider (2020). However, subtitling Islamic cultural items is still under investigation, especially in the genre of documentary films, which has not received any attention from scholars in the Arab world yet. Interestingly, documentary films are becoming increasingly popular as they treat different serious issues worldwide, such as cultural, social, and political ones. This study holds significance due to its distinctive focus on scrutinizing the subtitling of Arabic Islamic cultural elements in documentary films that tackle the grave reality of life for Syrians during wartime. Its interdisciplinary nature, which merges critical discourse analysis, audiovisual translation, cultural studies, ideology, the genre of documentary, and the religion of Islam, is also noteworthy. By integrating critical discourse analysis with culturally specific translation theories, this study represents the first attempt at exploring the subtitling of Islamic cultural items in documentary films on video-on-demand platforms through an interdisciplinary lens.

The contributions of this study are insightful. This study investigates the process of subtitling ICIs from Arabic into English in depth. It provides literature with a taxonomy of subtitling strategies employed to render ICIs into English. In addition, it is the first to introduce the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of the TT in audiovisual translation. More significantly, this study is the first to address the documentary genre in Arabic-English

subtitling studies. In addition, it investigates the extent to which video-on-demand broadcasting platforms censor subtitling in general and subtitling ICIs in particular. It reaches conclusions about the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of TT. It illustrates when (de)islamisation can be an ideological manipulation and how it is achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels. In addition, it relates to Díaz Cintas 's (2012) recall investigating the overlapping cases of ideological and technical manipulation in the mode of subtitling. Finally, this study illustrates how critical discourse analysis can work with translation theories to investigate this topic.

Scope of the Study

Documentary films as a genre have been growing in recent days in terms of mass popularity and acceptance worldwide, especially those documentaries that address wartimes and people's lives in such a situation. However, my literature review (see section 1.3.2) shows that this genre is still under-researched, mainly Arabic documentary films. The study's scope is limited to investigating all ICIs mentioned in 9 documentary films about Syria. This allowed me to focus on an in-depth investigation of the sociocultural contexts of one country. It is essential to mention that investigating documentary films available on different platforms does not involve only searching by writing keywords such as Syria or Refugee on the search link on each platform. Rather, I have investigated the content of all documentary films listed on each platform. Documentary films about ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham) in Syria were excluded since their main topic is ISIS, not Syria.

Moreover, for several reasons, all documentaries investigated are broadcast by video-on-demand broadcasting platforms. First, the three video-on-demand broadcasting platforms: Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Channel 4 (All 4), are selected as the sources of documentary films due to their global popularity nowadays. Netflix is a popular broadcasting service with award-winning series, films, stand-up specials, and documentaries that provide subtitles in English, Arabic, and 22 languages. According to a CNN report by Fiegerman in January 2019, the number of global subscribers to Netflix is

about 139 million subscribers. On the other hand, Amazon Prime has over 150 million subscribers, according to a report by Faulkner in January 2020 on the "theverge" website. In addition, Channel 4 (All 4) views reveal record growth in viewing and streaming, which are up +30% compared with 2019 (Channel 4, 2020). Second, films broadcast on such platforms are easily accessible, they can be obtained by subscription; it is worth mentioning here that some of these platforms broadcast some films for free such as All4. Finally, films on these platforms can be watched at any time of the day. It is easy to stop them and go back to record the Islamic cultural items and document the timestamp when the investigated items appear in the film for compiling the corpus.

Data and Methodology

In this thesis, the data corpus comprises a selection of Islamic cultural items and their corresponding subtitled versions in nine documentary films centred around the Syrian war, which were broadcast on Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Channel 4 (All4). The analysis of this data involves the application of two distinct analytical methods. First, a qualitative analysis using critical discourse analysis tools is employed to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the subtitling process for Islamic cultural items in documentary films, including technical and non-technical factors that underlie subtitlers' decision-making. Second, a quantitative analysis is utilised to statistically examine the various subtitling strategies utilised in each film, each platform, and the entire corpus, identifying the (de)islamisation rates present in each film, broadcasting platform, and the corpus as a whole. The results of both analyses establish a linkage between audiovisual translation and critical discourse analysis, operating at both the micro and macro levels.

Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of an introduction followed by six chapters. The first chapter provides a literature review and background about the relevant topics: audiovisual translation as a branch of translation studies and subtitling as a mode of audiovisual translation. Audiovisual translation studies in the Arab world, ideology in translation

studies, manipulation in audiovisual translation (technical vs. ideological manipulation), Islamic cultural items in translation studies, documentary as a genre (definitions and types), the status of documentary films in translation studies, and the applicability of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in translation studies.

The second chapter introduces the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the study. First, it overviews the existing theories and taxonomies of subtitling strategies of cultural items: namely Gottlieb's (1992), Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993), Pedersen's (2005), Díaz Cintas & Remael's (2014). Second, it discusses the theory of CDA in depth, providing an overview of CDA as a theory that covers different approaches such as Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, socio-cognitive approach, the discourse-historical approach, and multimodal critical discourse analysis approach. Finally, it discusses in depth the methodological framework of the study and illustrates in detail the way that Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA is applied.

The third chapter presents the data collection and methodology of the study. It also illustrates the mechanism employed to collect the data and compile the study corpus. It ends with an illustration of the methods of analysis.

The fourth chapter is the first stage of data analysis, *the stage of explanation* based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA. It examines the social practices pertaining to the subject of this study. More specifically, this stage of analysis portrays film discourses investigated in this study as part of a social process and social practice. It shows how it is determined by social structures that can cumulatively affect the subtitling process of Islamic cultural items, specifically either changing them or sustaining them. This chapter contextualises the data study by maps out three interrelated contexts: the context of the Syrian war that the covered documentaries talk about, Syria as a state and Islam as a religion where the religious scene of Islam as a religion in Syrian politics and discourse is investigated, and the context of the (mis)representation of Islam in the Western media discourse. This chapter lays out the background to all the analyses that follow.

The fifth chapter is the second stage of data analysis, *the stage of interpretation* based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA. It is concerned with discourse practices in the process of the target text production and interpretation. It investigates the internal process of producing the TT subtitles of the films. It explores the prescriptive subtitling guidelines based on research and those issued by video-on-demand broadcasting platforms. Then, it identifies the subtitling strategies employed to render ICIs into English. It provides statistical analysis of the taxonomy of subtitling strategies of ICIs in general. Furthermore, it statistically investigates the subtitling strategies contributing to (de)islamising the TT. The analysis presented in this chapter is the basis for the third stage of analysis in Chapter six.

The sixth chapter is the third stage of data analysis, *the stage of description* based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA. It investigates any traces of any manipulation (either technical or non-technical) in subtitling ICIs that contributes to removing or keeping the Islamic connotation of the ICIs in the TT achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels. It investigates whether technical manipulation can be ideologically driven under the excuse of technical constraints.

Finally, the thesis ends with a conclusion that discusses the findings of the study and revisits the research questions. It also provides an overview of the key themes of the study. Furthermore, it summarises the study's contributions as well as the study's limitations. This chapter ends with some suggestions for further research.

Chapter One: Interdisciplinary Study (AVT, Ideology, ICIs, Documentary Genre & CDA)

1.0 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the interdisciplinarity of this study and looks at the various research areas across which it falls. This chapter consists of four main sections each looking at the key issues of discussion in one of those areas and highlights the gaps in research that the current study fills. The first section investigates the field of audiovisual translation (AVT) in general and subtitling in particular. It starts with a discussion of the AVT definition, terminology, development of AVT, and the forms of AVT. Then, a thorough discussion of the mode of subtitling and its constraints. Then, the topic of ideology in translation studies (including AVT) is discussed with a review of the studies conducted on this topic. An overview of technical manipulation and ideological manipulation in AVT is also introduced. In addition, this section investigates the technical aspects of subtitling that contribute to technical manipulation. It sheds light on the grey area of manipulation where there is an overlapping between technical and ideological manipulation. The final part of the first section reviews the literature on audiovisual translation in the Arab world. The second section covers Islamic cultural items as specific cultural items. It provides a definition of culturally specific items in general and Islamic cultural items in particular. It also reviews the literature addressing ICIs in translation studies (including AVT). The third section discusses documentaries as a genre (its definition and types). It provides an overview of the status of documentaries in translation studies, shedding light on studies conducted on issues related to subtitling this genre. The final section reviews the literature on CDA theory utilised for translation studies to uncover any ideological manipulation. A thorough discussion of CDA theory and its various models is provided in the following chapter, the study's theoretical framework.

1.1 Audiovisual Translation

Audiovisual translation is considered one of the most significant activities in the field of translation that has a great impact on society since this kind of translation reaches

enormous numbers of people of various cultures all over the world and includes a variety of audiovisual products (Díaz Cintas, 2004). Generally, since the beginning of the 1990s, “Audiovisual translation,” AVT, has been recognised as a form of translation (Gambier, 2013). More precisely, one of the first books published to open avenues for research on AVT in general and subtitling is the monograph by Tomaszewicz, published in 1993, addressing the linguistics issues in subtitling (Bogucki, 2011). Now, there is a significant number of studies that have investigated the linguistic, technical, semiotic, and cultural problems the audiovisual translators face in many languages, such as Matkivska (2014), Chaume (2018), Dore (2018), Ranzato and Zanotti (2018) and others.

Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014) define AVT as transferring multimedia and multimodal discourse from one language into another or from one mode into another within the same language. Multimodal discourse refers to the discourse “where meaning is realized through the integrated use of a range of semiotic resources (for example, language, static and dynamic visual images, gesture, sound and so forth)” (O’Halloran, 2002, p. 255). In contrast, multimedia discourse refers to the discourse “produced in multimedia environments where different technologies (such as personal computers, television, video and telephone) are integrated for use across a range of educational contexts, including distance learning” (O’Halloran, 2002, p. 255). Audiovisual translators consider the non-verbal elements in a multimodal text as parts of the text, not parts of the context of the text (Zabalbeascoa, 2008). Generally, Díaz Cintas (2009) emphasises that audiovisual translation refers to translating any source with some audiovisual product.

Historically, one of the earlier terms used to refer to Audiovisual translation is “Constrained Translation,” which was introduced by Mayoral et al. (1988) as cited in Kaindl (2013). In addition, “Film translation” appeared during the mid-1950s and 1960s, but this term covered only filmic texts but did not cover TV programs, series, videos, and other new audiovisual types (Gambier, 2013). Therefore, the term was changed to “Language transfer” which was also criticised due to its ignorance of the complicated nature of the audiovisual texts where visual, audio, and verbal signs are all used. To cover all the multisemiotic aspects of all broadcasting programs such as digital versatile disc,

television, radio, and cinema, “audiovisual translation” has been introduced. According to Gambier (2013), other expressions used to refer to this kind of translation mentioned in the literature such as “screen translation” used to refer to what is distributed via screens, “translation for the media” used to refer to both printed and audiovisual media, and “multimedia translation” used to refer to media multitude. Orero (2004) states that there are other expressions used to refer to what is known now AVT, such as “film and TV translation, as used by Delabastita (1989), “film communication” as used by Lecuona (1994), and “(multi)media translation” used by Gambier & Gottlieb (2001). The rapid developments in the field of technology have contributed to the variety of expressions used to refer to the AVT field (Orero, 2004; Gambier, 2013). However, audiovisual translation is still the dominant term used in academic circles (Chaume, 2018). Correspondingly, this thesis adopts the term AVT.

Audiovisual translation includes several types. Gambier (2003; 2013) provides a detailed classification of the AVT types. Four types of AVT are concerned with the oral dimension: dubbing, free commentary, voice-over, and interpreting; others are concerned with switching the oral dimension to the written one: interlingual subtitling, intralingual subtitling, live subtitling, and surtitling. Two other types are concerned with transferring from the written to the oral dimension: sight translation and audio subtitling. Another type is concerned with the written dimension and scenario translation. The last type is concerned with describing pictures orally, audio description. Among all the several types of AVT, subtitling is chosen to be the focus of this study. The following section provides a definition of subtitling, its types, and its technical aspects.

1.1.1 Subtitling

Subtitling is considered the most common mode of the various modes of AVT (Liu, 2014). The cost virtue of subtitling contributes to its dominance over other audiovisual translation modes (Díaz Cintas, 2004). Subtitling refers to the process of transferring the oral discourse into a written one, usually appearing on the bottom of the screen, taking into consideration the discursive elements of the images as well as any other elements on the soundtrack like songs (Luyken et al., 1991; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014). From the

linguistic perspective, Cordella (2007) clearly differentiates between intralingual and interlingual subtitles. Interlingual subtitling refers to the process of translating a foreign language oral text into a written one in another language. Intralingual subtitling refers to the process of providing a visual representation of an oral text in the same language. According to Gottlieb (1992, p.164), “Subtitling can be defined as a (1) written, (2) additive, (3) immediate, (4) synchronous and (5) polymedial translation”. This definition is considered a more accurate semiotic one, and it applies to interlingual and intralingual subtitles (Pedersen, 2011). Interlingual subtitling is the focus of this study. According to Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014, p. 8),

Subtitling is a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off).

Historically, research on subtitling has been done since 1957. According to Díaz Cintas (2004), one of the first studies on subtitling is Laks’s (1957), an unpublished manuscript cited by several later publications. Later, scholars such as Dollerup (1974), Danan (1992), and Caimi (2002) investigated the role of subtitling in language learning, while other scholars such as Titford (1982) and Kelly & Gallardo (1988) discuss subtitling in terms of its nature as an example of the constrained translation (Díaz Cintas, 2004). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that scholars such as Marleau (1982) and Mayoral Asensio (1993) were the first who investigate film-subtitling constraints such as linguistic, psychological, technological, and artistic-aesthetic ones (Díaz Cintas, 2004).

Generally, many scholars have significantly contributed to subtitling. Firstly, scholars such as Ivarsson (1992), Gottlieb (1998), and Bartoll (2004) classify the subtitling types in terms of different parameters. However, the classifications sometimes seem complicated and confusing, such as the subtitling classification by Ivarsson (1992) and by Bartoll (2004), according to (Liu, 2014). In 1992, Ivarsson classified subtitling into six types in terms of technical and linguistic parameters. The types are multilingual subtitling, TV and

cinema subtitling, real-time or live subtitling, reduced subtitling, teletext subtitling, and the translation of other multimodal products such as opera, conference, and theatre products (Liu, 2014). According to Gottlieb (1998), subtitles are classified into four groups. The first group is called “vertical subtitles;” it is related to intralingual modes where the subtitlers convert the spoken text into a written one without any change. The second group is called “diagonal subtitles;” it is related to interlingual modes where both the language and modality are converted. The third one is called “open or non-optional subtitles.” The last one is called “closed or optional subtitles.” The main difference between the open and closed subtitles is that the open subtitles cannot be turned off since they are burned onto the image, while the closed ones enable the viewers to choose to see the subtitles (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014). This study focuses on interlingual subtitles (oral Arabic discourse converted into written English).

In 2004, Bartoll provided the literature with a more detailed classification of subtitling, where subtitling types are classified into different types in terms of nine parameters (Liu, 2014). The first six types of Bartoll’s (2004) subtitling classification are: centred versus non-centred subtitles (in terms of the place), separable versus inseparable (in terms of the filling of subtitles), subtitles, surtitles and intertitles (in terms of localisation), fixed versus mobile subtitles (in terms of mobility), closed/optional subtitling versus open/non-optional subtitling (in terms of optionality), and simultaneous versus pre-recorded subtitling (in terms of time) (Liu, 2014). The seventh type is related to the audiovisual product to be subtitled, such as a cinema product, a TV product, and a DVD product. The eighth one is related to means/channels of broadcasting, such as simultaneous broadcasting, teletext, or on-display. The last type is related to the film’s colour; is it a colour film or a white and black one? (Liu, 2014). As shown, scholars depend on the slight differences among the types in the classification process. For example, Bartoll (2011, p. 89) define surtitles in terms of their appearing position as “a type of subtitles characterized by their position on the images in the case of recorded performances, or above the stage in the case of a live performance”; he uses surtitles to refer to opera and theatre subtitles.

Nowadays, several commercial subtitles⁶ softwares make subtitling easy for subtitlers or fansubbers, such as Poliscript, EZTitles, Spot, and Fab. Furthermore, other video-sharing platforms, such as YouTube, enable users to add subtitles to their favourite videos. Although such software makes the subtitling process easy, subtitlers still have certain constraints, as illustrated in the next section.

1.1.2 Subtitling Constraints

Compared to printed translation, subtitlers face more challenges. One of them is transferring meaning from a spoken mode into a written one, which contributes to not demonstrating all the speech features like emphatic devices such as turn-taking and intonation in the target text, which is written, according to Gottlieb (1998) and Hatim & Mason (1997). This issue of “the semiotic switch from spoken to written language, which brings with it thorough editing of (spontaneous)” (Pedersen, 2011, p.18). Scholars such as Georgakopoulou (2009), Bartoll (2011), and Díaz Cintas (2013) agree on three main types of constraints: technical constraints, linguistics, and textual constraints.

Technical constraints refer to the subtitles’ time, space, and presentation on the screen. For the time, it is very significant to make sure that the “in” and “out” timing of the subtitles on the screen is in line with the proper reading time setting, which generally varies according to the audience of the audiovisual products. Generally, the recommended speeding time is six seconds (Díaz Cintas, 2013). For space, it is normal to have two subtitles on the screen. However, the number of characters on each line varies depending on factors related to the target language alphabet. Díaz Cintas (2013) indicates that the maximum number of characters is 39 per line in case of subtitling into Roman alphabets, 35 in case of subtitling into Arabic and Cyrillic languages, and 16 in case of subtitling into Japanese and Chinese. For presentation constraints, there is a need to keep the fluidity of orality and the vulnerability of the translators/ subtitlers. The notion of the vulnerability of the translators refers to the translator’s feeling that the audience has direct access to both

⁶ It is worth mentioning that Softitler is the trademark of the first electronic subtitling created in 1984 by Fabrizio Fiumi (Bartoll, 2011).

the source discourse and its translation, which sometimes affects the translator's choices (Bartoll, 2011). In addition, it is essential to pay attention to the size position of the subtitles on the screen as a requirement for subtitles' legibility or readability (Georgakopoulou, 2009). For example, for Font type, "most subtitles are white, although occasionally yellow is used when subtitling black and white films so that the contrast between image and text is sharper. Fonts without serifs are preferred (Arial, Helvetica, Times New Roman), and the size varies" (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.84).

For linguistics constraints, Georgakopoulou (2009, p. 26) explains that "the space and time constraints inherent in the subtitling process usually enhance traditional translation challenges, such as grammar and word order, as well as problems related to cross-cultural shifts." To face space and time constraints, subtitlers need to employ the text reduction strategy, which involves omitting and editing some speech elements. According to Kovacic (1991, p.409) as cited in Georgakopoulou (2009, p.26), "there is a three-level hierarchy of discourse elements in subtitling: the indispensable elements (that must be translated), the partly dispensable elements (that can be condensed), and the dispensable elements (that can be omitted)". Indispensable elements refer to the linguistic elements that have plot-carrying. Dispensable elements refer to the linguistic elements that can be omitted and even though the space and time constraints do not apply, such as repetitions, internationally known elements such as 'OK', names, and some phatic communication elements, such as 'you know', which often does not have a semantic load (Georgakopoulou, 2009). Similarly, the partly dispensable elements refer to the linguistic elements that can be condensed instead of entirely omitted, even though the space and time constraints do not apply (Georgakopoulou, 2009).

For textual constraints, Georgakopoulou (2009) explains that transferring speech (soundtrack) to writing (subtitles) sometimes contributes to creating some cohesion and processing issues that affect the process of maintaining the filmic illusion in the TT. To face space and time constraints, for example, subtitles resort to text reduction strategies (condensation and omission) which sometimes affect the textuality of the TT. Therefore,

repetition should not always be omitted. “Redundancy helps participants in a conversation grasp its intended meaning more easily, and its elimination from film dialogue may, therefore, weaken cohesion in the subtitled text” (Georgakopoulou, 2009, p.25). In addition, the synchronous translation process requires more effort by subtitlers to maintain the readability of the TT based on the time and space allocated for the subtitles on the screen. Therefore, subtitlers are encouraged to select simple and more commonly used syntactic structure of a subtitle, which requires less effort by the audience to decipher its meaning.

To help subtitlers face the constraints mentioned above, many scholars have tried to reach a standardised subtitling convention by suggesting special codes of professional subtitling practice. For instance, a checklist of the good features of subtitles is suggested by Carroll and Ivarsson (1998) under the title of “Code of Good Subtitling Practice.” The checklist consists of 26 standards related to subtitle spotting and translation. Professional Subtitlers consider these standards while subtitling. These subtitling features could not appear in “fan subbing,” a process of subtitling done by fans. These ordinary people do not have an official license for translation or subtitling. They are not professionals; they use more colloquial and slang language (Wang, 2014). Therefore, their fan-subbing products could be low-quality ones. In addition, some subtitling companies and video-on-demand broadcasting platforms like Netflix have issued their online subtitling guidelines.

1.1.3 Ideology & Audiovisual Translation (AVT)

Ideology and discourse (as an ST or TT) are in a fundamental relationship, “the link between the two concepts is indeed intrinsic. Ideology cannot function or be expressed without discourse, and discourse tends to be influenced by the ideologies of its producers and is thus often rich in ideological structures” (Haj Omar, 2016, p. 122). Furthermore, ideology plays a crucial role in representing and constructing society, reproducing imbalanced relations of exploitation and domination (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Discourse is strongly influenced by society and context (van Dijk, 1998). Discourse also

involves ideology which can be expressed and produced again through discourse itself and communication (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1998).

The term ideology itself is a complex term that has been developed over time by many scholars. According to (van Dijk, 1998, p.3), most scholars have agreed to define ideology as “political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectivises, and have the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of the group”. However, the work on ideology has not stopped.

According to Fairclough (1989, p.94), “ideology is interpreted as ‘any social policy which is in part or in whole derived from social theory in a conscious way’”. More explanation can be found in the following definition of ideology by van Dijk. Van Dijk (1998, pp.48-49) defines an ideology as “the set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is the knowledge and the opinions – of a group [...] In other words, a bit like the axioms of a formal system, ideologies consist of those general and abstract social beliefs and opinions (attitudes) of a group”. Some scholars who published later work on ideology agree with van Dijk’s definition of ideology such as Verschueren (1999, Preface) who proposes the following definition. “Ideology is interpreted as any constellation of beliefs or ideas, bearing on an aspect of social reality, which are experienced as fundamental or common sensical and which can be observed to play a normative role”. In addition, Mason (1994, p. 25) defines ideology as a group of values and principles, which indicate the view of an individual or an institution about events, the world, and the facts. Ideology is used “to frame, legitimate, or validate opinions and actions in the domain to which they are applicable” (Wenden, 2005, p. 93).

The topic of ideology in translation studies has attracted an enormous number of researchers, such as Lefevere (1992), Mason (1994), Lefevere & Bassnett (1998), Hermans (1999), Baker (2006), Schäffner (2002), Calzada-Pérez (2003) and Munday (2007). Hatim and Mason (1990, p.161) claim, “Behind the systematic linguistic choices we make, there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms.” Schäffner (2002) emphasizes that the translation process is ideological because several factors determine the

choices made by the translators within the lexical and grammatical levels, such as the interests and goals of the social agents. Lefevere (1992) illustrates that customers, institutions or people who publish, or commission translations play an essential role in enforcing ideology in the translation process. Koskinen (2000) states that institutional constraints strongly affect the translation task. In the same vein, Bassnett (2005) argues that the decision made for choosing certain lexical items to keep a specific tone in the translation process is ideologically controlled; such a decision could be made by the translator, editor, politician, press boss, or made in such a way to meet the target audience expectations. Thus, the translation process involves textual and extra-textual challenges that translators face in addition to the cultural turn challenge, as discussed by Bassnett and Lefevere (1998). Furthermore, the word ideology is noticeable mainly in translating a political discourse, according to Schäffner (2002). Researchers, such as Hatim and Mason (1997) and Calzada Pérez (2003) go further in the field of ideology and discuss the differences between the ideology of translation and the translation of Ideology (Munday, 2007). Generally, translators who are historically and socially shaped subjects are seen as agents involved in the processes of ST decoding as well as TT production (Robinson, 2001; Haj Omar, 2016). Different social, cultural, and ideological backgrounds of translators contribute to different performances and behaviours of translators (Robinson, 2001, Haj Omar, 2016). However, translators are encouraged to “be aware of their “submissive role” and thus “submit” to being guided by what their ideological background prescribes on their decision and performance (Robinson, 2001, p.72). In addition, “Ideology also influences the translation through the presence of patrons, such as publishers, editors, and regulatory bodies. These agents tend to censor, restrict, and impose their own agendas, ideology, and terms on the translation” (Haj Omar, 2016, p.141).

Ideology in translation is tackled from various perspectives, such as post-structuralism, functionalism, and manipulation perspectives (Vidal, 2003). From the poststructuralist perspective, translators are given the power to embrace a personal interpretation of the text. In functionalism, on the other hand, translators are granted absolute power to produce TT in line with a new purpose appointed to the text (Haj Omar, 2016). According to Schäffner

(1996, p.2), functionalism considers the “purpose” of the TT the most critical factor determining and affecting the translation process outcome. Some scholars argue that manipulation in translation is not avoidable. Hermans (1985, p.11) as cited in Ben-Ari (2013, p. 156) argues that “all translation implies a certain degree of manipulation of the source text for certain purposes”. In this respect, Díaz Cintas (2012) argues that manipulation could imply a positive connotation. “According to one of the first definitions provided by the OED (Brown, 1993), to manipulate is to “handle, esp. with (physical or mental) dexterity; manage, work, or treat by manual or mechanical means” (Díaz Cintas, 2012, p.284). However, it could also imply a negative connotation. According to Díaz Cintas (2012, p.285), to manipulate means, “to manage by (esp. unfair) dexterous contrivance or influence.” Similarly, Munday (2007, p.196) states that “ideology nowadays has a generally negative connotation of distortion, manipulation or concealment”.

Several previous studies have been conducted to investigate ideological manipulation in translation studies. For example, Ayyad (2012) illustrates how ideological factors play a crucial role in informing the choices made by translators and the interpretations made by readers of the translated texts. According to Ayyad (2012), the translation process reinforces political agendas and ideologies. One of the remarkable studies investigating the ideological manipulation in translating Western literature into Arabic and Islamic culture from a different point of view is the one by Michalski (2018), where he introduces a new form of manipulation in translation, which can be called a factual correction. In his study, he analyses the Arabic translation of an anti-Muslim literary work. He considers the manipulation in translating the work as the correction of the facts about Islam where the Arabic translators do not stand silently translating false information about Islam, and they take a position by correcting the information in the target language. Translators use three strategies to deal with this case: deletion, substitution, or giving extra information and illustration in the footnote section. This study’s findings align with other studies, such as Elgebaly (2012) and Moll (2017), where both investigate the subtitling of the Iqra TV channel and conclude that the translators/ subtitlers sometimes take the position of providing the audience with correct information through their subtitling. However, this

position contributes to false information about the source work and the author by the target language audience.

Following Simpson (1993) and van Dijk (1998), as stated by Munday himself, Munday (2007) discusses the ideology of the translator as an individual, where the individual's beliefs, values, knowledge, and the effects of the society where the individual works all together contribute to constructing this ideology. Munday (2007) investigates how ideology can exist in translation and how it can be investigated through textual analysis. For the purpose of his study, Munday (2007) analysed some English translations of political leaders' speeches, interviews and writings in Latin America.

In audiovisual translation, Díaz Cintas (2012) addresses the topic of ideological manipulation in audiovisual translation. He suggests that research on AVT should be extended to cover more topics related to ideology and its motivations by contextualizing the research within a comprehensive sociocultural environment. Díaz Cintas (2012) considers subtitling as a tool used to empower cultural values in subtitled materials according to ideology, power and dominance. In his study, he discusses technical and ideological manipulation in relation to audiovisual translation. In this respect, Gambier (2003) emphasizes that one of the main aspects of manipulation is "censorship", where AVT of films are influenced by a certain degree of manipulation; this can be shown by investigating the different versions of a certain film subtitled or dubbed into other languages distributed to different countries.

As illustrated, the topic of ideology in translation studies has been tackled from different perspectives, such as the Ideology of translators, the Ideology of translation, the translation of ideology, ideological manipulation, sociocultural ideology, and political and economic ideology. This indicates the extent to which ideology is linked to translation studies and, thus, how important it is to investigate ideology in unresearched genres and topics, such as the process of subtitling ICIs in documentaries, the aim of this thesis.

1.1.4 Technical Manipulation Vs. Ideological Manipulation in AVT

“Manipulation in AVT can be caused by constraints emanating from the audiovisual medium, as the migration of the original information from oral language to written texts always requires some adaptation” (Wang & Zhang, 2016, p. 2). According to Díaz Cintas (2012), manipulation in AVT (e.g., subtitling) may also be influenced by external constraints of politics and ideology such as individual as well as institutional constraints. “As manipulation may be associated with censoring controversial or sensitive content, it can also be politically oriented” (Wang & Zhang, 2016, p. 2). The topics of ideology, manipulation, and censorship have attracted many scholars, such as Díaz Cintas (2012), Wang and Zhang (2016), and Haj Omar (2016).

More specifically, subtitlers are controlled by technical constraints (i.e., space and time allocated to TT on the screen) and by non-technical constraints such as their own ideologies, institutional constraints on the content of TT, and target audience’s attitudes. Accordingly, subtitlers find themselves manipulating TT technically or ideologically. Díaz Cintas (2012) sheds light on this concept in his article, "clearing the smoke to see the screen: ideological manipulation in audiovisual translation", by encouraging researchers in the field of audiovisual translation to investigate the subtitling process in a broader context, not only in terms of technical constraints but also in terms of non-technical constraints. In addition, he calls for investigating the issue of overlapping between technical and ideological manipulation (i.e., what looks like technical manipulation may be ideological manipulation). Responding to his call, this study investigates in depth the subtitling process of ICIs in documentaries in a way to unveil any instances of both technical manipulation and ideological manipulation in the form of islamising TT (i.e., intentionally keeping the Islamic connotation in TT) or deislamising TT (i.e., intentionally removing the Islamic connotation from TT). Therefore, this section provides an overview of the potential strategies that subtitlers can employ to manipulate TT either technically or ideologically.

As coined by Díaz Cintas (2012), technical manipulation can be described as adapting TT due to the technical constraints of subtitling. It “refers to instances where changes and

modifications to the original text are incorporated because of technical considerations” (Díaz Cintas, 2012, p.284). More specifically, constraints of time, space, synchrony, the intersemiotic shift from oral mode to a written mode, and legibility for subtitling often require subtitlers to modify, adapt, or even reduce the text. With all these constraints, “the subtitler transcodes the uncompromising dialogue into equally unavoidable strips of graphic signs conveying a maximum of semantic and stylistic information” (Gottlieb, 1992, p.166). Accordingly, the most common subtitling strategies are: “transcription (anomalous expression, adequate rendering)”, “dislocation, (differing expression, adjusted content)”, “condensation (condensed expression, concise rendering)”, “decimation (abridged expression, reduced content)”, “deletion (omitted expression, no verbal content)” (Gottlieb, 1992, p.166). It is worth mentioning that such strategies are not necessarily found in exact names. They can be coined differently by different scholars. For example, Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014) use the term “omission” instead of “deletion”, and Delabastita (1989) uses the term “text reduction” for “omission” and “condensation”. Furthermore, other scholars, such as Karamitroglou (2000, p. 8) call for using known and recognizable short forms as much as possible, such as using contractions (e.g., It’s), acronyms (e.g., UN), and symbols (e.g., \$). As shown, all strategies contribute to reducing the text to face technical constraints (e.g., time and space).

Ideological manipulation, as also coined by Díaz Cintas (2012), can be described as adjusting TT to align with certain ideological motives such as those of subtitles, editors, or even broadcasting platforms. Building on the cultural turn introduced by Lefevere (1992) and Bassnett and Lefevere (1998) that expand the scope of translation to cover the socio-cultural embeddedness, besides the traditional concern with linguistic issues, Díaz Cintas (2012) calls for more research investigating ideological manipulation. According to Díaz Cintas (2012, p.282),

As a site of discursive practice, audiovisual media and its translation play a special role in the articulation of cultural concepts such as femininity, masculinity, race, and Otherness, among others. It can contribute greatly to perpetuating certain racial stereotypes, framing ethnic and gender

prejudices, and presenting viewers with out-dated role models and concepts of good and bad seen as rigid, diametrically opposed.

Like any other social activity, the translation process involves a certain degree of bias and subjectivity (either on the part of the translators themselves or any other agents involved in the process (Díaz Cintas, 2012). Accordingly, Subtitlers may use omission, addition, or any particular strategy just because it is in line with certain ideological motives rather than technical necessity (i.e., technical constraints). According to (Díaz Cintas, 2012, p. 285), ideological manipulation occurs “when unfair changes that unbalance the relationship between source and target products take place on purpose and unscrupulously, the reasons behind them can be multifarious, ranging from political or religious to moral or financial considerations”. Furthermore, Díaz Cintas (2012) sheds light on the overlapping case of technical and ideological manipulation, where both kinds of manipulation can be applied. What looks like technical manipulation could be ideological manipulation in origin.

Díaz Cintas (2012) has motivated many scholars to conduct more research on ideological and technical manipulation in AVT. For example, Higes-Andino (2014) investigates to what extent the multilingual film, *It's a Free World* (2007, dir. Ken Loach), subtitled and dubbed into other Spanish, maintain multilingualism in the subtitles of the films. In addition, Higes-Andino (2014) investigates the cases of deleting or substituting multilingualism can be technically or ideologically driven. Higes-Andino (2014) finds that the translated versions of *It's a Free World* (2007, dir. Ken Loach) tend not to mark multilingual exchanges in the original film in both dubbed and subtitled versions. Recently, a PhD thesis by Belhaj (2022) investigates the technical and ideological manipulation of Arabic–English MENA political narratives via subtitling produced by Monitor Mideast, Middle East Media Research Institute, and Palestinian Media Watch. He investigates how much the subtitling process can be subjected to the ideology of translators and institutions. The focus of his study is to explore whether the manipulation of MENA Political Narratives is ideologically or technically driven by employing Baker's narrative theory (2006), where the subtitlers' ideological choices for the text are interpreted in

relation to broader patterns of manipulation in the paratext and context. He finds that the ST narratives are manipulated and reframed in the TT at the verbal and non-verbal levels, leading to reconfiguring the original narrative features.

As mentioned before, the current study is also motivated by Díaz Cintas (2012). It investigates the traces of technical and ideological manipulation (in the form of (de)islamisation) in relation to subtitling ICIs in documentaries and the way of achieving manipulation at the lexical and grammatical levels. In addition, it aims at exploring whether there are instances of overlapping between technical and ideological manipulation.

1.1.5 Audiovisual Translation in the Arab World

Generally, Audiovisual Translation (AVT) has attracted many researchers all over the world. However, Arabic AVT has yet to be as heavily investigated. According to Khuddro (2018, p.1), “Arabic AVT is still a relatively young field in translation studies.” In the Arab world, most studies have been conducted on subtitling or dubbing as audiovisual translation modes. Additionally, Gamal (2007) investigates the changing scene in which Arabic is used in all media nowadays. He highlights the significance of audiovisual culture in Arabic society. Gamal (2008) states that audiovisual translation was first started in Egypt, the first Arab country that had a cinema, and it had the first subtitled Arabic film *Children of the Rich* (1932, dir. Mohammad Kareem). Gamal (2008) asserts that in the Arab world, subtitling was more popular than dubbing since it was cheaper and more accessible. In subtitling English into Arabic, the subtitlers mainly deal with the formal, Modern Standard Arabic, which is considered a better choice for subtitlers since it has its own rules and does not change compared to the colloquial Arabic dialects that are constantly changing (Gamal, 2008). In addition, Gamal (2014) continues his study that began in 2007 by examining the status of audiovisual translation in the Arab world and analyses the challenges of localising audiovisual translation.

Most researchers focus on the challenges the subtitlers face in subtitling foreign films into Arabic from linguistic and cultural perspectives. For example, Khuddro (2018) discusses linguistic issues and investigates the quality assessment of English-Arabic

audiovisual translation, particularly subtitling. For the analysis, he depends on three TV episodes, which are *Wild Things* (2015, dir. John Polson), *Sleuths* (2015, dir. Dean White), and *That Great Big Hill of Hope* (2015, dir. Michael Katleman), and three extracts from foreign films, which are *Good Morning, Vietnam* (1987, dir. Barry Levinson), *The Muppets* (2011, dir. James Bobin), and *People Like Us* (2012, dir. Alex Kurtzman), and his professional experience in the field of subtitling. He focuses on the differences between the two languages, Arabic and English, in terms of linguistics. Thus, his book, *Linguistic Issues and Quality Assessment of English-Arabic Audiovisual Translation* (2018), comprehensively addresses the orthographical, grammatical, syntactic, semantic, and lexical issues that affect the process of subtitling from English into Arabic.

Furthermore, Debbas and Haider (2020) investigate subtitling *Family Guy* (1999, dir. Pete Michels), an American animated sitcom, from a cultural perspective. They find that religious restrictions, taboos, and jokes about proper names are all the cultural challenges that subtitlers face. To deal with the religious restrictions, they find that subtitlers tend to use deletion strategies, either deleting the religious words or even deleting the whole scene where the religious words are mentioned. For taboos, the subtitlers either delete the taboo words or use a euphemistic strategy in subtitling them. Finally, they find that subtitlers choose to retain the jokes as they are or to retain them with extra information, such as an explanation, to help the audience comprehend the context. According to Debbas and Haider (2020), the target audience's cultural norms significantly impact the subtitling strategies applied.

On the other hand, studies tackling AVT in Arabic are still preliminary. More specifically, only a few studies have investigated subtitling Arabic into English and vice versa. For instance, Gamal (2013) examines the first Arabic film produced by the DVD industry in Egypt and subtitled into English, the Arabic film *A Man in our House* (1961, dir. Henry Barakat). He applies a multimodal analysis of thirty major film scenes and argues that film literacy is necessary for audiovisual culture to take root in the country. Moreover, Thawabteh (2010) studies Arabic interjections subtitled into English in the

Egyptian film *State Security* (1999, dir. Nader Jalal). He finds that the subtitlers apply three strategies to handle Arabic interjections in subtitling: adding, avoiding, and retaining SL interjections. Another study was conducted by Al-Kharabsheh and Yassin (2017), where they investigated translating colloquialisms in *The Dupes* (1972, dir. Tawfeeq Saleh), a Syrian film subtitled into English. They find that some colloquial expressions are missubtitled, omitted from the subtitling script, or subtitled, causing a loss of the cultural aspects of meaning.

Abrar Mujaddadi (2017) investigates the process of subtitling racial slurs from English into Arabic as a normed–governed process at both micro and macro levels of analysis by employing critical discourse analysis. Mujaddadi (2017) identifies the main subtitling strategies used to render racial slurs, such as those targeting Blacks, Whites, Asians, Latinos, Jews, Arabs, and Muslims. She also investigates the ideological underpinnings behind employing the strategies. Her corpus comprises 556 racial slurs collected from 102 films broadcast by Arab satellite channels. She concludes that racial slurs were a means for characterization through stereotyping. She finds that the most frequently used strategies are omission, transfer, imitation, decimation, and resignation. Moreover, Mujaddadi (2017) finds that patronage has a crucial role in controlling the subtitling of racial slurs. She also finds that subtitlers usually apply domestication when subtitling racial slurs.

To sum up, investigating the number of studies conducted on Arabic AVT demonstrates that there is still a need to widen the research domain to cover more topics, such as ideology, manipulation, and subtitling of different genres in Arabic AVT. Thus, the current thesis fills the gap in the literature by investigating a new genre that is neglected in Arabic AVT besides addressing ideological and technical manipulation in an interdisciplinary study.

1.2 Culturally Specific Items

The main focus of this study is on the subtitling process of the Islamic cultural items (ICIs). ICIs are religious culturally specific items that belong to or are derived from the

religion of Islam. To make this definition clearer, it is worth mentioning first the definition of culturally specific items.

In literature, various terms refer to what distinguishes one culture from another in relation to translation. Cerdá Massó (1986, p.248), as cited in Fernández Guerra (2012, p.2), claims that referring to cultural elements by using the term “realia” seems to have been firstly used by Vlahov and Florin and “the term has now been generalized and is frequently used to refer to objects, customs, habits, and other cultural and material aspects that have an impact in shaping a certain language”. Newmark (1981, p. 70) uses the term “cultural terms” to refer “to persons, objects, or processes peculiar to a single ethnic community”, and later he uses the term “‘foreign’ cultural words” (Newmark, 1988, p. 95). Conversely, Nord (1997/2001) uses the term “culturemes” to refer to items that are in the source language culture and are not in the target language source, or they are in both cultures but are somehow different. Harvey (2000, p.2) states that the term “culture-bound terms (also called culture-specific terms) refer to concepts, institutions and personnel which are specific to the source language culture”. The term “cultural reference” is used by Olk (2013) to refer “to objects or concepts which do not exist in a specific target culture, or which deviate in their textual function significantly in denotation or connotation from lexical equivalents available in the target culture” (Olk, 2013, p.346).

However, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p.209) uses the term “extralinguistic cultural elements” since he thinks that “when culture-bound elements are discussed in relation to translation, the term will often refer to the non-linguistic sphere, to different phenomena or events that exist in the source language culture”. In the same vein, Pedersen (2007; 2011), however, uses the term “extralinguistic cultural reference (ECR)” to refer to “entities outside language, such as names of people, places, institutions, food, customs etc., which a person may not know, even if s/he knows the language in question” (Pedersen, 2007, p. 30). ECR also refers to “any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopedic knowledge of

this audience” (Pedersen, 2011, p. 43). Conversely, Dickins (2012, p.43) uses the term “culturally specific items” to refer to “items (words and phrases) which are specific to one culture”.

As shown, several terms are used to refer to the items (intralinguistic and extralinguistic items) that exist in a particular culture and make it distinctive from other cultures. According to Pöchhacker (2007, pp.129-130), “‘culture-specific items’ in the source text, variously referred to also as ‘realia’, ‘cultural references’, ‘cultural markers’, ‘culture-bound references’ or ‘culture bumps’ (Leppihalme, 1996) and notoriously hard to define”. Although there is no agreement on one term, the definitions of each term are somehow similar.

1.2.1 ICIs as Culturally Specific Items.

Adopting Nida, Newmark (1988, p.95) classifies cultural terms into the following groups: ecology, material culture, social culture, gestures & habits and organisations, customs & ideas. Newmark (1988) considers plants, animals, mountains, winds, and plains in the group of “ecology”. In the “material culture” group, he includes food, housing, clothes, transport, and communications. In the “social culture” group, he includes concepts related to work and leisure. Legal, social, artistic, political, historical, and religious aspects are considered in the group of “organisations, customs, and ideas”. The last group, “gestures and habits”, refers to people’s behaviour on particular occasions, distinguishing one culture from another. For example, people greet each other in some cultures with a kiss while in other cultures with a handshake. Thus, adapting Newmark’s classification (1988), religious (Islamic) terms and concepts fall under the category of “organisations, customs, and ideas”.

To define ICIs, it is essential to refer to Nida’s classification of “religious culture” (1961). According to Nida (1961), “religious culture” includes supernatural beings, terms of revelation, moral and ethical criteria, eschatology, specialised religious activities, religious personages, religious constructions, religious groups, religious artifacts, and religious events. Such items are considered the most sensitive ones in any culture to be

tackled. Adopting Nida's classification of "religious culture" (1961), Quranic texts (verses, part of a verse, or any utterance from the holy Quran), Hadith, which refer to prophetic traditions, sayings, teachings, and reports on the life of the Prophet of Islam, and other Islamic cultural expressions/utterances (e.g., Aladhan, the Call for Prayer) are all under the umbrella of the ICIs. In this study, ICIs refer to any linguistic elements with Islamic connotations in the source culture (either a speaker intend to use them as religious items or just as everyday language elements that are now part of their culture). For example, السلام عليكم [peace be upon you] is an Islamic greeting. Most Muslims greet each other with it even though they do not necessarily intend to use it due to its religious connotations. They may use it because it becomes part of their everyday language /culture. Translating and subtitling ICIs is challenging for translators/ subtitlers when rendering them into the target culture.

It is important to emphasise that many studies have been conducted to investigate the procedures of translating such items. However, none focused on the procedures of subtitling them, taking into consideration the unique environment of subtitling itself, where technical constraints and other factors, such as the ideology of the subtitlers, producers, or broadcasting platforms...etc. that may affect the subtitling process. It is worth mentioning that there is no specific taxonomy for subtitling religious cultural items or even for subtitling ICIs. Thus, this study fills a gap in the literature.

1.2.2 ICIs in Translation Studies (Including AVT)

Generally, translators face different challenges in translating ICIs. Nida (1961) emphasises that a religious phenomenon is very difficult to be translated, and this it is very challenging because "there are many subtle turns to any religious system, many incongruous elements, and many different possible reactions on the part of the adherents" (Nida, 1961, p.203). Mahmoud (2015) argues that the main problem of translating Islamic religious expressions or idioms is finding the accurate rhetorical equivalent and the cultural one for such expressions and idioms. Moreover, Mehawesh & Sadeq (2014) argue that Islamic religious elements require accurate, ideational, idiomatic and functional

translation. Bahameed (2014) asserts that it also requires skilled translators who have more knowledge of religious texts and holy scripts than any general translators. He asserts that it is significant to translate Islamic religious idioms and expressions accurately since the translated words are the way we express our faith and our spiritual experience. According to Halahla (2010) as cited in AlGhamdi (2016), translators of Arabic Islamic discourse into English face several challenges, such as Arabic stylistics and rhetorical features (e.g., alliteration and metaphors in the Quran and Hadith), which commonly contribute to translation loss.

Studies addressing the translation of ICIs either in terms of strategies employed or in terms of quality assessment of TT are categorised into four groups:

1. Studies that investigate the translation of the Quran and Al-Tafseer.
2. Studies that investigate the translation of Hadith, the Prophetic traditions, sayings, teachings, and reports on the life of the Prophet of Islam.
3. Studies that investigate ICIs in the specialised Islamic discourse, such as preaching Islamic programs and religious sermons.
4. Studies which investigate ICIs in everyday discourses or other genres such as novels and news.

Of course, the groups are different in terms of their target audience as well as the ratio of the ICIs to the full content. The focus of this study is on the fourth category. In particular, it focuses on subtitling ICIs in everyday discourse, the discourse of documentary films addressing sociocultural and political issues, Syrians' life during wartime as a case.

One of the distinctive features of the Quran is that the translation of Quran scripts is seen as translating only the meaning as an explanation. However, it is not considered a replacement for the Quran in another language. The Quran script is distinguished by the rhetorical feature that makes it one of the miracles of Prophet Mohammad (Abdul-Raof, 2005). Therefore, various studies conducted on investigating the challenges the translators face in translating the Quranic scripts, such as Dastjerdi and Jamshidian (2011), Abu-Mahfouz (2011), Tabrizi and Mahmud (2013), and Sherif and Ngonga Ngomo (2015),

AlGhamdi (2016) and Dweik and Khaleel (2017). According to Abdul-Raof (2005), translators must pay attention to both the denotation and connotation of the Quran scripts. Abdul-Raof (2005) investigates the cultural aspects of translating the Quran scripts, focusing on the cases where the translation of the Quran's specific cultural expressions is problematic such as theological, ritual, delexicalised expressions, abstract moral concepts, material culture, and linguistic voids. Abdul-Raof's examples prove that there are no exact English equivalents for some Quran words; thus, there is a need for applying foreignisation of the Quran words and adding footnotes to make the translation clear and understood by the target audience. Abdul-Raof's suggestion (2005) can be helpful in translation. However, in subtitling's case, it would be difficult due to the technical constraints of subtitling.

Despite the challenges, translating the Quran has attracted many scholars due to its importance in Islam and the preaching process for Islam, as a need to call non-Arabic speakers for Islam. Bruce (2015) states that over 40 translations of the Quran in this century, 70 translations in the whole of the 20th century, and three-quarters of all the translations come from south Asia, India, or Pakistan. Thus, there are some specialised translation books of the Quran. It is worth mentioning that the very first English retention of the Quran was *Alcoran of Mohamet* by George Sale, and the first Muslim translator of the Quran was Muhammad Ali's *The Holy Quran with English Translation and Commentary*. In addition, one of the oldest books about the glossary of the Quran in English and Arabic is *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran* by John Penrice, whose first edition was in 1873 and reprinted in 1991 in India by Adam publishers & distributors. However, some translations of the Quran draw on previous translations with some differences that can reflect translators' knowledge and political and sectarian orientation (Elewa, 2016).

In addition, other studies, such as the one conducted by Mohsen et al. (2017), investigate the difficulties that translators face in translating Hadith. They investigate translating *Al-Nawawi's Forty Hadiths*, a collection of 42 hadiths said by the prophet Muhammad, peace

be upon him. The name of this collection is related to Al-Imam Mohiy Al-den Al-Nawawi, the person who collected them (Mohsen et al., 2017). The number of the translated Hadiths investigated in their study is eight, and each one is compared to its three different English translations. They conclude that it is very significant for the translators to fully understand Hadith's intended meaning and correctly transfer it into another language due to the sensitivity of these sacred texts that need to be translated with keeping the intended meaning without any misrepresentation.

Additionally, some studies are concerned with translating Islamic preaching texts, da'wah texts, which are composed to educate people, Muslims and non-Muslims, about Islam. For example, Alajlan (2016) explores the strategies to translate Arabic preaching texts into English, considering cultural issues and meaning losses. Alajlan (2016) examines the strategies used in translating one of the most popular Arabic Islamic preaching books, *لا تحزن*, which is translated into English under the title *Do not be sad*. It is found that the translators try to maintain a similar or the exact effect of the purpose of the text translated, which is in line with skopos theory, by utilising the following translating strategies: literal translation, transliteration, cultural transplantation, particularising & generalisation, and translation by definition, by omission, and by addition. However, it is found that the translators fail to maintain the exact meaning of some Islamic terms in the target language. In fact, in some cases, there are losses in meaning (Alajlan, 2016).

Under the title of *Translating religious terms and culture in 'The Sealed Nectar': a model for quality assessment*, AlGhamdi (2016) conducted a study to assess the literary translation quality of the Arabic book, *الرحيق المختوم*, which is translated into English under the title of *The Sealed Nectar*. It is a biography of Prophet Muhammad, the prophet of Islam. The study focuses on the Arabic Islamic expressions mentioned in the biography and how the translators deal with them, considering the different linguistic and cultural aspects between the source language and the target language. AlGhamdi's (2016) study is significant since it investigates the translation of the biography of the most significant person in Islam to whose teachings all Muslims all over the world adhere. The study adopts

House's (1997) Translation Quality Assessment Model with some modifications that make the model applicable to assess the quality of the translated Islamic texts. AlGhamdi's (2016) study addresses the translation of the specialised religious texts as a whole work, not as Islamic terms or texts mentioned in everyday discourse, which is the aim of my study. Investigating the translation of specialised religious products is entirely different from investigating fragments appearing in ordinary or everyday language. The differences are in the translated product's genre, audience, and general content, as stated before.

Other studies have investigated the translation of ICIs in everyday discourse in various genres such as news. For instance, Al-Hejin (2012) mentions a few examples from interviews with Saudi women translated into English by the BBC English news Website. He found that the religious references in the Arabic discourse are secularised and substituted by English unreligious discourse or sometimes deleted, which generally contributes to misrepresentation. Al-Hejin (2012) uses the term "dereligiousisation", another word for secularisation. According to Al-Hejin (2012), "dereligiousisation" is a result of the extreme domestication of the translated discourse. Al-Hejin's (2012) does not intensely discuss the topic of secularising the text. He only mentions examples illustrating how one institution can present two different versions of the same discourse according to the audience addressing, which is the main aim of his study.

Abdelhamid Elewa (2014) investigates the features of translating religious texts to provide translators with a proposed model to use. Elewa (2014) employs the same translation procedures proposed by Newmark (1988) on religious texts, which are more applicable to printed translation of religious texts, but not to subtitling (i.e., due to the technical constraints). In addition, Elewa (2014) discusses the basic features of translating religious texts: phonic aspects, archaic morphological features, lexical aspects, formal and informal aspects, syntactic features, and semantic features. In addition, he discusses the parallel structures and phrase repetition styles in religious texts. By doing so, Elewa (2014) provides translators with an overview of the protentional difficulties they face while translating religious texts. Elewa (2014) argues that the best way to translate religious texts

is to break them into the smallest linguistic form levels and start from the individual units of sound, the lowest level in the linguistic hierarchy, to discourse as a whole, the highest level in the linguistic hierarchy. Elewa's proposed way to translate religious texts could be more difficult to be applied to subtitling religious texts (e.g., in TV religious programs).

Moreover, Khammyseh (2015) investigates the translation of Arabic Islamic terms used by the public in religious events, such as marriage and death, into English by the students in their translation module. It is found that insufficient knowledge of both languages and, thus, both cultures contribute to inadequate English equivalences for several Arabic Islamic expressions.

Accordingly, to help translators, some scholars have produced specialised glossaries of ICIs in various languages. For example, Deeb al-Khudrawi introduced his specialised book in the field of translating Islamic terms in 1995 under the title of *A Dictionary of Islamic Terms: Arabic-English*, published by Al Yamamah Publishing company in Beirut & Damascus. The book provides the readers with the English translation of Islamic expressions. It is a beneficial book since it provides the non-speakers of Arabic with the pronunciation of Islamic expressions in Arabic in the phonetic form. To the best of my knowledge, it is the first explanatory dictionary of Islamic terminology and texts. This book is handy for literary translators rather than subtitlers since the subtitling process is controlled by time and space constraints.

Regarding the studies conducted particularly on subtitling religious references in the Arabic world, Souayah (2019) is one of the few studies on this topic. Souayah (2019) investigates the religious references of religions other than Islam, focusing on the strategies used to subtitle and dub them from English into Arabic based on both Al-Adwan's (2015) model of euphemisation and Perego's (2004) model of explicitation in translating cultural references. Mainly, the study investigates the Polynesian history and culture related to demigods, which are mentioned in the English animated film, *Moana* (2016, dir. Ron Clements, John Musker & Don Hall). One of the significant findings is that there is a difference in subtitling strategies from those in dubbing. The most applied strategy in

subtitling is the literal translation strategy, while in dubbing is the semantic misrepresentation. Since the film has many religious references against Islam, Arabic dubbing is manipulated in a way to be accepted in the target culture. However, it was found that subtitlers of the film were not consistent in subtitling the religious references into Arabic.

In the opposite direction of subtitling, that is, from Arabic into English, Elgebaly (2012) examines the conscious manipulation in subtitling done by translators in Iqra, an Islamic TV channel, through two practices: *Iltifat*, an Arabic rhetorical device, and code-switching between Standard Arabic and Egyptian colloquial Arabic as two ways of involving the audience and achieving the dramatic effect of the target text.

Moll (2017) conducted a study to investigate the different strategies used by the subtitlers working in the Iqra channel in subtitling Arabic language programs about Islamic preaching into English. She discusses the topic from a cultural and anthropological perspective. Moll (2017) finds that the subtitlers consider their role in subtitling as cultural mediators between the East and West and as Islamic preachers who provide the audience with correct religious knowledge. She emphasises that subtitling is ideologically manipulated.

Consequently, some scholars have started addressing the notion of ideological manipulation in translating or subtitling texts related to Islam and Muslims. For example, Holt (2004) discusses the problems the translators encounter in translating Islamists' discourse, where Islamism is considered a political ideology. Moreover, Bassnett (2005) links ideological manipulation of translating Islamic discourse to terrorism, especially after 11th of September 2001, when an Islamic fanatic group, AlQaida, bombed the Twin Towers in the United States. Baker (2010) and Boukhaffa (2017) utilise *Narrative Reframing Theory* to investigate the ideological manipulation in the translations provided by MEMERI, Middle East Media Research Institute, which is known to be biased towards Arabs and Muslims, as concluded by the studies carried out by Baker (2010) and Boukhaffa (2017). Furthermore, Dweik and Khaleel (2017) address the challenges that are faced by

the translators of ideological English Islamic-related texts into Arabic. They find that the challenges are related to the vagueness of some vocabulary, ideological manipulations, the translators' syntactic and semantic knowledge, and the inadequacy of the dictionaries used. For their study, they asked sixteen translators to translate ten Islamic-related texts with ideological content composed by non-Muslim and Muslim authors.

As shown, most previous studies have dealt with translations of the Quran, Hadith, and ICIs in specialised and non-specialised discourse. However, subtitling ICIs into English, particularly in documentary films, has not been at all examined by researchers, despite the increasing number of Arabic documentaries produced and subtitled into English every year. Most studies are generally heavy on translation but weak on film subtitling.

1.3 Documentary as Genre

The Documentary genre belongs to Mass media. Generally, mass media refers to radio and TV channels, printed media (e.g., newspapers), films, sound recordings, and the internet (including social media pages) (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014, p. 9). The main distinctive feature of mass media is its ability to reach a large audience of usually anonymous readers (i.e., receivers) (Croteau & Hoynes, 2014). Mass media, in all its different forms, plays a key role in connecting nations and cultures and in shaping public opinion on current political, cultural, or social issues (Bell, 1991; Cotter, 2010). Recently, mass media studies have attracted scholars from different fields to conduct interdisciplinary studies. Some studies investigate the language of the median terms of grammatical, lexical, and stylistic perspectives, such as Durant and Lambrou (2009) and Aitchison and Lewis (2003). Other studies focus on culture and ideology in the social context of media, such as Deuze (2004) and Golding and Murdock (2018). In translation studies, ideology and media are among the most prominent topics attracting numerous scholars. The reason is that “the mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 14). Therefore, there can be translation with ideological motives (Schäffner, 2003), which makes the field of translation rich in studies on this topic.

Among all mass media, this thesis is concerned with video-on-demand media platforms, which are used to disseminate numerous audiovisual materials (films, series, and live shows) with subtitles in various languages, including Arabic. For the generic scope of this thesis, the primary concern is the documentaries about people's life during wartime, more particularly, the Arabic–English subtitling of documentary films broadcast on Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Channel 4 (All 4). In addition, ideology in subtitling documentaries is investigated in this study.

1.3.1 Documentary Genre: Definition & Types

"Documentaries belong to the category of 'serious television programs' because these are about 'reality'" (Franco, 2000, p. 235). Documentary films address real issues related to real people, events, or things. Documentary films adopt an interactive style, focusing on interviews and observing the everyday activities of the subjects the films are about (Franco, 2000).

The genre of the documentary began in the 1980s (Nichols, 2017). The first one who used the term documentary for a particular form of film was John Grierson, who famously described this kind of film as “the creative treatment of actuality” (Hardy, 1946, p.11, as cited in Galloway, 2013, p.6). There is no precise definition of documentaries (Nichols, 2017). However, most existing definitions share “some version of John Grierson’s definition of documentary, first proposed in the 1930s, as the “creative treatment of actuality.” This view acknowledges that documentaries are creative endeavours. It also leaves unresolved the obvious tension between “creative treatment” and “actuality”” (Nichols, 2017, p.7). One of the popular definitions of documentaries is as follows:

Documentary film speaks about situations and events involving real people (social actors) who present themselves to us as themselves in stories that convey a plausible proposal about, or perspective on, the lives, situations, and events portrayed. The distinct point of view of the filmmaker shapes this story into a way of seeing the historical world directly rather than into a fictional allegory. (Nichols, 2017, p.14)

There are three main assumptions about documentaries: “documentaries are about reality; they’re about something that happened”, “documentaries are about real people,” “documentaries tell stories about what happens in the real world.” (Nichols, 2017, pp.7-10). However, the actuality of documentaries is also a negotiable topic. Some argue that documentaries are a reproduction of reality, while others argue they are a representation of the real world (Nichols, 2017). In addition, some believe that “a new breed of ‘dramatic’ documentary that uses coercion, persuasion, and emotional manipulation on a par with any Hollywood epic has emerged to critical and commercial success” (Galloway, 2013, p.1). However, this study aims to examine the ideological and technical manipulation in subtitling documentaries rather than the actuality of documentaries.

Documentaries are classified in terms of factors such as their institutional settings, presentation styles, the main purpose of communication, and the authorial intention (Galloway, 2013). Varied factors contribute to having different categories. For example, Renov (2004) classifies documentaries based on their purposes: documentaries to record, reveal, preserve, documentaries to persuade or promote, documentaries to analyse or interrogate, and documentaries to express. In addition, Hill (2007, pp.47-55) categorizes documentaries in terms of institutional settings into seven categories:

1. Specialist documentaries that have a thematic production to cover the natural world, history...etc.
2. Observational documentaries that record a character(s) through everyday events, and at the end of the film, a commentary is provided.
3. General documentaries that do not fit any of the other categories.
4. Investigative documentaries that focus on uncovering significant social stories.
5. Filmic documentaries that employ the longer cinematic format in an attempt to target a more global audience.
6. Experimental documentaries that consist of both innovative as well as nascent practices in factual filmmaking.
7. Popular factual documentaries that are in the form of (reality TV)

It is worth mentioning that the case study of this study consists of documentary films that can be classified based on Renov's (2004) under the category of recording, revealing, and preserving and based on Hill's (2007) under the category of specialist documentaries that cover the people's life during wartime in Syria, as a socio-cultural political theme, and based on Renov's (2004) under the category of recording, revealing, and preserving.

1.3.2 Documentary Films in Translation Studies

Generally, the documentary genre is still under investigation in translation studies. Espasa's (2004) is an essential article on translating documentaries. Espasa (2004, p.183) states, "curiously, in Translation Studies (TS), however, Audiovisual Translation (AVT) has scarcely addressed the translation of documentaries." Espasa's article (2004) discusses two critical questions related to documentaries: is a documentary a film? Moreover, is its translation specifically audiovisual? According to Orero (2004), Espasa's article (2004) contributes to providing the literature with a clear distinction about the nature of a documentary (is it fiction or non-fiction), its discourse mode, its mode of translation, its audience, and its textual functions. Espasa (2004) concludes that documentaries share some features with fictional films, such as the rhetorical elements used by fiction and non-fiction films. However, what distinguishes documentaries as non-fictional films from fictional films is that the term "documentaries" is used to refer to "the aim of documenting some reality, without evaluating the truth of such reality" (Espasa, 2004, p. 186). In addition, the assertiveness of reality and prototypicality, representing an original type of something, are other distinctive features of documentaries (Espasa, 2004). Regarding the question, "is its translation specifically audiovisual?" Espasa (2004) argues that documentary translation is not specifically audiovisual. What is audiovisual is the mode of translation, not the translation product field itself. For example, the area of such translation, let us say scientific or political, could be audiovisual or literary translation, but the oral mode transferred into written, for instance, is only audiovisual.

Studies carried out to investigate the audiovisual translation of documentaries are still limited. Franco (2000) argues that the limited number of documentary translation studies

results from the false assumption among some scholars that the translation of non-fiction genres such as documentaries is direct and unchallenging activity since it is only a process of translating facts; however, translating documentaries is sensitive due to their factual specific genre and cultural aspects. According to Franco (2000) and Remael (2007), the most common modes of audiovisual translation applied to documentaries are voice-over and subtitling. Besides these two modes, Remael (2007, p.31) adds "free commentary and narration".

Eliana Franco conducted three studies (1998, 1999, and 2000) investigating documentary translation, particularly subtitled documentaries about Brazil broadcast by international channels. Firstly, Franco (1998, 1999) explores the documentary translation from a discourse analysis perspective. She applies the discourse analysis approach by Fairclough (1995) to examine the Dutch-subtitled version of a Brazilian documentary in the Portuguese language under the title of *De meisjes van Papa Adolfo* [The girls of Papa Adolfo] (1997, dir. Evangelische Omroep). A Dutch TV channel broadcast the subtitled documentary in 1997. She uses the exact data for her two studies (1998) and (1999), with slightly different analyses. Based on the textual analysis, Franco (1998) finds several translation misrepresentations, and the original colloquial discourse is subtitled into the standard language. At first glance, the subtitles seem ideologically subjective, but after an in-depth investigation, it is found that technical constraints contribute to some translational misrepresentations found in the documentary subtitles. In line with her study (1998), Franco (1999) concludes that depending only on textual analysis in examining the documentary subtitles is not enough to conclude whether there is any form of ideological manipulation. Besides textual analysis, all the social and cultural agents involved in producing and subtitling documentaries should be investigated.

Furthermore, Franco (2000) investigates the voice-over translation practices of three documentary programs about Brazilian children in the streets. Each program was broadcasted in two languages, German, and French, by a TV channel in Belgium. Franco (2000) compares the two versions of each program in terms of translation practice, orality,

and objectivity. Franco (2000) concludes that the target audiences' culture and interpretation impact the different voice-over versions of the same investigated documentaries in terms of content. Thus, it is also concluded that translating documentaries is subjective to some extent, depending on the target culture addressed.

York (2006) devotes her master dissertation *Documentary subtitling: a participant-centred approach* entirely to one audiovisual translation mode. She investigates the impact of the distinctive features of documentaries on the subtitling process, especially those related to spontaneous speech (the orality notion), the text and image interaction in the audiovisual material, and the filmmaker and the participant's role in the documentary authorship. She pays attention to the subtitlers' lexical choices, pacing, and register. For her study, York (2006) examines three French documentaries produced by a Canadian institution, the National Film Board of Canada, and subtitled into English. The documentaries investigated are *Edith and Michel* (2004, dir. Jocelyne Clarke), *Exiles in Lotusland* (2005, dir. Ilan Saragosti), and *Bacon, le film* (2001, dir. Hugo Latulippe). She suggests that the participant-centred approach should be applied in subtitling documentaries where the subtitlers mainly focus on the film participants' way of speaking to keep the documentary animated.

On the contrary, Cordella's (2007) study applies a target audience-centred approach where she investigates the subtitlers' linguistic alterations to make the subtitled version more acceptable to the target audience, the viewers. For this purpose, Cordella (2007) examines the English subtitles of the documentary film *The children of Russia* (2001, dir. Jaime Camino) through discourse analysis tools. It is a story of 18 Spaniards forced to move to Russia by their parents to be safe during the Spanish Civil War. In the subtitled version, it is found that there are changes to the geographical descriptors, more condensation practices, and new information added when needed to make the subtitled documentary more accessible to the viewers. It is worth mentioning that Cordella (2006) examines the same documentary film, *The children of Russia* (2001, dir. Jaime Camino), through a discourse analysis approach and skopos theory. Cordella (2006) finds that there

is a tendency to delete the repetitive linguistic elements without considering their illocutionary force, which sometimes contributes to a poor version of the source text. Deletion and condensation are the most used strategies in subtitling due to time and space constraints.

Furthermore, Remael (2007) investigates three types of AVT (introductory statements, narration, and subtitling) and the editing process by broadcasting institutions in transferring three English documentaries into Flemish versions. Two of the investigated documentaries were broadcast by BBC: *Chasing Saddam's Weapons* (2004, dir. Mike Robinson) and *The Road to War: Iraq* (2007, dir. Charles Fitzgerald). The third one was broadcast by PBS, *Kim's Nuclear Gamble* (2003, dir. Marcela Gaviria). These three documentaries are political in terms of their theme. While comparing the Flemish versions of the three documentaries selected, Remael (2007) focuses on the linguistic policy of the broadcasting institutions, the specific features of the three different audiovisual translation modes investigated in the study, and the addressed audience's sociocultural perspectives. Remael (2007) finds that the narrative voice is similar in all three audiovisual translation modes. It aligns with the Flemish broadcasting institution's linguistic policies and the Flemish audience's sociocultural perspectives.

Matamala (2009a) discusses the main challenges faced by the audiovisual translators of documentaries based on her experience as a translator working for Catalan television. She investigates the translation of English documentaries into Catalan that TVC broadcasted for one week (1/9/2003-7/9/2003) on their channels, C33 and TV3. According to Matamala (2009a), the main challenges can be categorized into two groups: general challenges related to working conditions, such as the deadline for submitting the translation, and challenges associated with the specific characteristics of the documentary genre itself, such as types of the speakers (the relationship between interlocutors), the translation modes (subtitling, dubbing or voice-over), and terminology (specialised terms used). Then, Matamala (2009b) investigates the foremost characteristics of translating documentaries considering the topics addressed by documentaries. Thus, she depends on twenty English documentary

films, different in terms of their topics, translated into Catalan to be used as a corpus of the study. She finds that each documentary film has features that distinguish it from the others, but the translator's main challenge is related to the terminological problems. She finds that some terms in the corpus have no equivalents, ambiguous equivalents, or incomprehensible equivalents for the target audience. Then, in 2010, Matamala (2010) conducted another study to discuss in depth the problem of terminology in the audiovisual translation of scientific documentaries, particularly in translating from English into Catalan. Matamala (2010) refers to Cabré's "Communicative Theory of Terminology" in analysing the audiovisual translation of four scientific documentaries. Matamala (2010, p. 255) summarizes the challenges as follows:

Identifying a term, understanding a term, finding the right equivalent, dealing with the absence of an adequate equivalent, solving denominative variations, choosing between in vivo [terms used by experts] and in vitro [terms used by non-experts] terminology, and overcoming mistranscriptions.

Applying the skopos theory, Chen (2016) investigates the English subtitles of one Chinese documentary series. The data analysed in the study is an extract from *The Japanese Repatriation from the Huludao*. This documentary series introduces the Second World War in China, talking about how the Chinese helped a group of Japanese stuck in China go home. From the perspective of skopos theory, Chen (2016) explores the target audience's expectations, the Western audience, their cultural and educational background, and other helpful information such as the commissioner's requirements. Chen (2016) concludes that applying domestication strategy, deletion, addition, structural alteration, and logical exploring are the most appropriate strategies that the subtitles of this kind of documentary should use.

Furthermore, Budiana et al. (2017) investigate the translation strategies employed to subtitle the documentary film, *Dhaup Ageng* (2014, dir. Deyna Haryanto), from Indonesian into English, which consists of 77 utterances of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. Their taxonomy consists of 18 subtitling strategies. They find that the most frequent strategy is the literal translation, then compression. Then, borrowing and transposition with a very

slight difference follow. Other strategies are employed very little such as linguistic amplification, amplification, and compensation. However, the employed strategies with a frequency of only two occurrences are calque, established equivalent, and reduction. The least frequently used strategies with a frequency of only one occurrence are adaptation, description, discursive creation, generalization, modulation, substitution, particularization, and variation.

Moreover, Zhou and Zhang (2019) analyse subtitling *Wild China* (2008, dir. CCTV9), a Chinese documentary, from the perspective of eco-translatology, which is first introduced by Hu Gengshen at the Asian Translation Forum in 2001. The ecological translation is based on "Darwin's theory of evolution' adaptation and selection' and 'translator centeredness' which focuses on translators' subjectivity and responsibility in the process of translation" (Zhou & Zhang, 2019, p.1301). Scholars adopting eco-translatology consider this term to be more comprehensive than the macro and micro contexts of the translation process and the translator's selection and adaptation. Paying attention to the differences between the Western culture and the Chinese one, Zhou and Zhang (2019) focus on the adaptation of the translators and their cultural, linguistic, and communicative choices in subtitling this documentary, where they find that the translators provide the audience with fantastic subtitling.

Other researchers go further to discuss machine translation and post-editing practices in subtitling documentaries, particularly wildlife, in terms of the challenges faced, such as Ortiz-Boix (2016). She adopts two approaches. The first one is a bibliographical review to identify the challenges faced in using machine translation in subtitling, as discussed by previous studies. The second one is investigating three corpora to find out if there are any other potential challenges. One corpus consists of 108 English documentaries. The second one consists of 92 documentaries translated into Spanish. The final one is a mix of the original English utterances mentioned in documentaries and their translations done by free online machine translation engines, such as "Google Translate." Ortiz-Boix (2016) states that the challenges of using machine translation in subtitling are: synchronization, access

to the audiovisual content, spotting, terminology, register, variety in the script format, linguistic errors and inaccuracies in the source script, and typical errors in the output of the machine translation.

Other researchers, such as Thawabteh and Al-Adwan (2021), investigate the intricacies of voicing-over documentaries from English into Arabic from a pedagogical perspective. They examine the English–Arabic translations of a BBC television documentary entitled *NW Great* done by ten students at the postgraduate level. Their findings are in line with Orero (2004); students face challenges related to the main features of voice-over (e.g., faithfulness and synchrony), technical challenges (e.g., synchrony in voice-over, observable in close-ups, etc.), and linguistic, semantic, and stylistic challenges.

Generally, most of the previous studies on audiovisual translation of documentaries available on many different research engines are conducted by students of audiovisual translation courses either at undergraduate or postgraduate levels. For example, in line with Matamala (2009), Jones (2012) investigates the subtitling process of scientific documentaries from English to Sweden. Jones (2012) analyses *New York Mixed Martial Arts* (2011, dir. Kahleem Poole & Reggie Hines), an American documentary program broadcasted on the National Geographic Channel in the United States, lasting less than an hour. While subtitling this documentary, Jones (2012) found that handling subject-specific terminology, handling some mistakes appearing in the source script, and applying the condensation strategy as a need due to the time and spatial constraints are the subtitler's biggest challenges face.

In a similar study, Mujagic (2013) investigates the subtitling of one English scientific documentary by BBC, *The Quantum Revolution* (2015, dir. Vincent Langouche), into Italian. While subtitling this documentary, Mujagic (2013) also found that scientific terminology is one of the challenges the subtitler faces. Regarding the strategies applied in subtitling the documentary, Mujagic (2013) used omission, reformulation, and condensation strategies. Studies such as Jones (2012) and Mujagic (2013) are considered

personal, educational experiences in subtitling a single documentary followed by a discussion of the challenges faced.

As shown, the documentary genre is mostly studied in terms of subtitling. A few studies, such as Franco (2000) and Remael (2007), investigated documentaries with other modes of audiovisual translation, such as dubbing and, voice-over, audio description. Studies on off-screen dubbing and the voice-over of non-fictional content is commonly conducted from two different perspectives: "some investigations focus on the features associated with the transfer modes (voice-over or off-screen dubbing)" and other studies deal with the specificities of non-fictional genres (Espasa 2004; Martínez Sierra 2010)" (Matamala, 2020, p.138).

However, audiovisual translation studies on documentaries generally need to be heavily investigated. In addition, to the best of my knowledge, only one study by Thawabteh and Al-Adwan (2021) has been conducted on documentaries. They examine the intricacies of voicing-over documentaries from English into Arabic that postgraduate students face from a pedagogical perspective. No other audiovisual translation studies on the documentary genre have been conducted yet on (either investigating Arabic documentaries rendered into English or English ones rendered into Arabic). Thus, this study is unique in its focus and sheds light on subtitling Arabic documentary films, specifically how subtitling ICIs in such a genre is tackled.

1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) & Translation Studies (TS)

CDA is an umbrella that covers many approaches, which all generally aim at investigating language usage critically as a form of social practice. CDA is best described as "a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches rather than just one school" (Bell & Garret, 1998, p.7). A more elaborate discussion of CDA, its approaches, and the CDA model utilised for this study is provided in Chapter. This section mainly reviews the translation studies utilising CDA.

The interdisciplinary between CDA and TS interests many contemporary scholars. Schäffner (2004, p.138) states that “CDA needs to draw on TS theories when tackling translated texts”. Moreover, Chaume (2018) asserts that CDA can be used in translation studies to uncover the social power relations in language use. Furthermore, (Kaindl, 2013) considers that uncovering the ideology in translation or audiovisual translation is applicable through CDA. Kaindl (2013) states that analysing multimodal discourse through CDA can provide literature with a valuable contribution. According to Orpin (2005, p.1), “Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has often proved fruitful in providing insights into the relationship between language and ideology”. O’Halloran (2003) also shows in his book, *Critical Discourse Analysis and Language Cognition*, how CDA can highlight manipulative language in the news. Three types of manipulation can be dealt with by CDA: mystification, text presence bias, and socio cognitive. According to O’Halloran (2003), CDA deals with mystification by discovering what is absent from the text and how what is present in the text plays a role in reinforcing the absence. For text bias analysis, CDA comparatively analyses texts’ lexical and grammatical forms referring to the same event. For socio-cognitive analysis, CDA illustrates how readers’ particular text interpretation contributes to ideological reproduction.

Many studies have been conducted linking CDA to translation studies. In literary translation, a scholar, such as Alghamdi (2016), addresses the topic of ideology and translation by utilising CDA. He examines two Arabic translations of one of Chomsky’s English books, *Media Control*. It is found that the two Arabic translations are different in terms of lexical choices and syntactic structures, and these differences are noteworthy since they illustrate some ideological manipulation. It is also found that the translating process is affected by the translators’ ideological, social and cultural restrictions.

On the other hand, several studies focus on revealing the ideology in translating news by utilising CDA. Schäffner (2004) discusses how the lexical choice in translating news is politically manipulated. According to Schäffner (2004), CDA and political discourse analysis focus on lexical choice in achieving ideological and political purposes. One of the

remarkable examples is the study conducted by Elbadri (2010), who investigates how one news institution can produce two different versions of news stories in two different languages. By utilising CDA, Elbadri (2010) investigates the English and Arabic CNN websites. Several different lexical choices are used in the two versions of the same news story to contribute to ideological, linguistic and cultural positions. It is concluded that CNN adapts its news content depending on its audience.

Similarly, Al-Hejin (2012) links CDA with translation studies by providing literature with a case study that reflects the discursive practices accompanying the translation of news texts. Al-Hejin (2012) compares one of the BBC Arabic website's news with the corresponding one translated into English and published on the English BBC News website. The news investigated is about stories of seven Saudi women talking about where they are now and where they want to be in the future. The findings disclose significant transformations, which reflect dominant ideas about female Muslims who are oppressed and submissive in the Islamic culture as seen by Western cultures.

Shojaei and Laheghi (2012) examine the factors that control the process of translating news through CDA. They compare some English news texts from *the Wall Street Journal* to their Farsi translations by a Persian government-dependent newspaper called "JAAM-E-JAM". They found that political ideology and political issues are essential in directing the translators in favour of the Iranian government. Supporting Shojaei and Laheghi's findings (2012), Aslani and Salmani (2016) also investigate the ideological manipulation in translating news texts through CDA to indicate how ideology plays a role in the translation process. They mainly apply Fairclough's (1995) assumptions in CDA and Lefevere's (1992), Patronage theory. Their data consists of news texts about the war in Syria from *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *Reuters*, where they are compared to their Persian translations from Keyhan agency news. Their findings are significant since they find that the selected English news differs entirely from their Persian translations. Their findings illustrate how news agencies adopt a subjective interpretation of the news in their target language.

Furthermore, Aslani (2016) investigates the ideological traces in news texts regarding political topics like news about Iran's Nuclear Program in English and Persian Written Media through CDA. It is found that the meaning of news items in the original texts differs from the translated texts in dealing with the ideology of patronage. Thus, there is a strong relationship between political discourse, ideology and power, which appears in translation; to reveal the ideological manipulation in translating political texts, many scholars utilise the CDA tools (Bánhegyi, 2014). By political discourse, Bánhegyi (2014) means any discourse, original or translated texts, spoken or written, related to political events, actors, or organisations.

In the same vein, Al-Harashseh (2013a) examines the English translation of figures of speech such as metaphor, simile, emotiveness, and cultural expressions like religious ones in Arabic political discourse through CDA. He investigates three political speeches by Khalid Mashaal's, a Palestinian political leader. It is found that translating such kind of discourse is challenging due to the number of figures of speech and the ideological and cultural expressions it has. The translated speeches into English fail to produce the same effect as the original speeches. In another study conducted in the same year by Al-Harashseh (2013b), the translation of three Islamic texts and ideology are investigated through CDA. Al-Harashseh (2013b) analyses the translation of three English Islamic texts into Arabic by 49 undergraduate students; the English Islamic texts were composed by non-Muslims. He concludes that the students are unintentionally affected by their cultural, religious and social ideologies. However, the findings are related to students of translation, not professional translators, who still need to learn and practice. In addition, forty-eight of the students are Muslims, and one is Christian.

In another study by Hezaveh (2016), CDA is used to investigate the ideological manipulation in subtitling a political film, *Argo* (2012, dir. Ben Affleck), into Persian by two different translators. It is found that translators employed deletion, addition and substitution strategies. They both attempt to indicate the negative-other presentation and positive self-presentation, as van Dijk proposes in his CDA modal (2000). Similarly,

Moradi (2013) investigates the subtitling strategies applied in subtitling the Iran President's speech, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, into English and the ideological manipulation in subtitling through using CDA. His study is based on van Dijk's model (2005) of positive self-presentation versus negative other-presentation and Hodge & Kress's (1993) categorisation of "derogation" versus "euphemism". It is found that the translation strategies applied in subtitling the speech are "deletion, derogation (negative other-presentation), naturalisation and neutralisation, and euphemism (positive other-presentation) in order of their frequency" (Moradi, 2013, p. 23).

Similarly, Borumand et al. (2018) utilise CDA to examine the ideological manipulation in subtitling *The Salesman film* (2016, dir. Asghar Farhadi) from Persian into English. They identify the strategies used in manipulating the English subtitles ideologically in terms of the frequency of use, starting from the most frequent ones. The strategies are the social power relationship, the chosen vocabulary, agency modality, nominalisation, tense, positive and negative choices, and the choices between subordination and coordination. They illustrate that ideological manipulation is mainly found in topics related to women's rights and religious expressions in general and in topics related to Iran, such as its patriarchal system, religious culture, and norms.

Furthermore, one of the recent studies on investigating subtitling documentaries through CDA is the study by Li (2019) who explores the impact of the current social and political landscape of China on the process of subtitling political TV documentaries as well as the influence of the producing companies on subtitling practices. Li (2019) applies the CDA model proposed by van Dijk (2006) of positive 'us' and negative 'them'. The political documentaries chosen for the study are two. The first one is *China's Challenges* (2013, dir. Robert Lawrence Kuhn), an English documentary produced by an international institution and subtitled into Chinese. It talks about the serious challenges China faces and how it deals with them. The second one is *The Road to Revival* (2007, dir. CCTV), a Chinese film produced by a Chinese institution and subtitled into English. It talks in depth about how Chinese society works. Both films were investigated in terms of subtitling choices and

norms, censorship, and the production and reception context. However, the target audience of both documentaries is different. The first is oriented to Chinese people while the second is oriented to an international audience. It is found that subtitling political documentaries in China is ideo-politically manipulated to get the audience's reception and ideological approval.

1.5 Concluding Remarks

The overall outcome of the discussion mentioned above has established the scene for the need for an interdisciplinary study to investigate the subtitling process of ICIs in documentaries, considering technical and ideological manipulation. This study sheds light on the strategies employed to subtitle ICIs. In addition, it further investigates the social practices that can contribute to manipulating the subtitling process of ICIs by intentionally keeping or removing the Islamic connotations from the TT. Subtitling ICIs is not only seen from the linguistic perspective as a process of transferring the meaning from one language into another, but also it is seen from a wider perspective as a process that can be affected by other factors such as social practices (e.g., ideology) and discursive practices (e.g., institutional constraints). In addition, documentary films are known as factual and informative sources (even though the topic of orality is negotiable). They play an essential role in directing the audience's perspectives about the topics addressed and exchanging cultures between different audiences. Documentaries about sociocultural and political issues of the Arab world (e.g., the Syrian war and Arab spring) attract foreign and non-foreign producing companies. With the advent of video-on-demand platforms, such as Netflix and Amazon Prime, documentaries are easily reachable to a wide range of audiences. As shown, no one has yet addressed subtitling ICIs in documentaries from the ideological manipulation perspective. As many scholars in this field suggest, CDA is a suitable means to analyse, interpret and uncover ideology in texts. Cremades (2007) and Ethelb (2016) concur that the application of CDA is essential in facilitating the examination of media texts by researchers, enabling them to form assumptions and analyse the influence of media ideology on the audience. Thus, this interdisciplinary study attempts to fill the gap in the literature by utilising CDA to investigate the process of subtitling ICIs into

English in documentaries and to investigate whether there are any traces of ideological or technical manipulation in subtitling such items. The following chapter discusses in detail the framework of the study, CDA, with reference to the existing theories of subtitling culturally specific items.

Chapter Two: Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

2.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the key theories and concepts that inform the research, as well as the methodology of the study. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a clear understanding of the approach of the study, and to demonstrate how the research questions will be answered.

This study aims to answer the following three main questions. The first one is what strategies do subtitlers adopt to subtitle the Islamic cultural terms in documentary films? What are the most and least frequently used strategies employed by subtitlers in rendering ICIs? How do subtitlers approach the subtitling of verses from the Quran, which are considered ICIs and sacred texts, into English? The second one is “to what extent do video-on-demand broadcasting platforms influence the subtitling process of ICIs in documentary films? The third question is are there any traces of manipulation involved in the process of subtitling ICIs? If manipulation is detected, what is its cause: technical constraints or ideological manipulation in the form of (de)islamisation of the target text? In the case of any manipulation, how is it achieved at the lexical and grammatical level in the subtitling process?

In order to answer the first research question of the study, I adopt the abduction approach of research. The abduction approach in translation studies research would involve starting with specific examples of translation data, such as a corpus of translated texts, and then using them to generate new hypotheses or theories about translation. For example, a researcher might analyse a corpus of translated texts and identify an unusual translation strategy that has not been previously described in the literature, and then use this strategy as a starting point for developing a new theory about translation (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2013). I adopt this approach to generate a particular taxonomy of the subtitling strategies of ICIs because there has been no particular taxonomy or theory of the subtitling strategies of ICIs or even of religious cultural items. To do so, the first step is to investigate the instances of ICIs in the study corpus. The second one is to identify the unusual subtitling

strategy that has not been previously described in the literature, and then to use this strategy as a starting point for developing a new taxonomy with reference to the existing theories and taxonomies of subtitling culturally specific items in the literature. Therefore, the first section of this chapter overviews the existing theories/taxonomies of subtitling culturally specific items in the literature.

To answer the second and third question, I adopt the CDA model of Fairclough (1989/1995), called three-dimensional model. Therefore, the second section of this chapter introduces CDA, as the theoretical framework of the study. It also offers an overview of its main assumptions and its main approaches. Moreover, a more detailed discussion of Fairclough's model of CDA (1989/1995) is introduced since it is the CDA model that is adopted by the current study. Finally, a methodological framework of the study analysis is discussed in detail.

2.1 The Main Theories of Subtitling Culturally Specific Items.

Before discussing the theories of subtitling strategies of cultural items, it is essential to mention the main theories on the topic of the translating procedures of cultural elements from SL to TT briefly because theorists who proposed the strategies of subtitling these kinds of items mostly refer to and build on the existing theories of the procedures of translating cultural terms. Generally, in the translation domain, there are several vital academic works on the translating procedures of cultural elements from SL to TT. It is worth mentioning the seminal works. First of all, Newmark (1988, pp.81-93) proposes fourteen strategies for translating culturally specific items, namely, transference, naturalization, cultural equivalent, functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent, synonym, through translation, modulation, recognized translation, compensation, componential analysis, paraphrase, couplets, and finally, notes, additions, and glosses. Second, Hervey and Higgins (1992, pp.28-34) as cited in Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p.13) propose an outline of the strategies, which are exclusively used to translate cultural items in general, namely, exotism, cultural borrowing, calque, communicative translation (idioms, proverbs etc.), cultural transplantation) and strategies for rendering proper names in particular as

follows: unchanged from the source text to the target text (can be an exotism), transliteration (adaptation to target language's phonetic/graphic conventions) and cultural transplanted. Taxonomies of translation strategies for religious cultural items are uncommon, with one notable exception being the work of Elewa (2014), who adopts Newmark's strategies for culture-specific items (1988), which include:

1. Transference: using the original form of a source language (SL) word in the target language (RL) text, such as through transcription or transliteration. For example, the Arabic word جهاد [the holy war] which can be translated into *jihad*.

2. Naturalization: adapting a SL item to the normal pronunciation and morphology of the TL, such as by changing the spelling of a word. For example, the Arabic word خوارج can be translated into *kharijites*, from Arabic word خارج [dissent].

3. Cultural equivalent: translating a SL item by using an equivalent RL item that conveys the same connotations. For example, the Arabic word جنة can be translated into *heaven*.

4. Functional equivalent: neutralising or generalising a SL word in order to make it religion-neutral, such as the translation of the Arabic word⁷ الحدود into *penalties* instead of *alhudoud*.

5. Descriptive equivalent: paraphrasing a religious item, as there may not be an exact equivalent in the RL. For example, the Arabic word الخلع needs to be explained by a phrase "because it has no exact equivalent in the RL. We could say 'divorce initiated by the wife', 'release for payment by the wife', 'redemptive divorce', 'divorce by redemption', or 'abdication divorce'" (Elewa, 2014, p.29).

6. Synonym: using a near RL equivalent for a SL word when a precise equivalent does not exist. For example, the Arabic word الوضوء , which refers to "washing of one's limbs and

⁷ According to Elewa (2014, p.29), "this word literally means 'limits' or 'boundaries' but it usually refers to the Islamically-established penalties or punishment for committing specific crimes or felonies: intoxication, theft, highway robbery, adultery/fornication, false accusation of adultery/fornication, and apostasy. Punishment for other crimes or felonies is called ta'zeer. This religious distinction between both terms may be discarded to give its functional equivalent in English: 'penalties'".

face with water before prayers. The English word “ablution” refers to any type of ritual washing such as in baptism and foot-washing, but in Islam it refers to a certain type of ritual purification” (Elewa, 2014, p.29).

7. Through-translation: a literal translation of a phrase or compound from another language. “Some examples in English are “worldview,” from German Weltanschauung, and “blue-blood,” from Spanish sangre azul” (Elewa, 2014, p.29).

8. Modulation: varying the form of the message to conform to the norms of the RL, such as by using *non-Muslims* instead of *kafir* for the Arabic word كافر.

9. Recognized translation: using a generally accepted or officially sanctioned translation for an important term.

10. Compensation: making up for any loss of meaning, sound-effect, metaphor, or pragmatic effect in the target text by using other parts of the sentence or a contiguous sentence. For example, the translation of the Arabic word حَج into *pilgrimage to Makkah*.

11. Componential analysis: breaking down a word into its sense components to understand its overall meaning.

12. Paraphrase: in the paraphrase technique, the meaning of a religion-specific term is expanded upon, providing more detail than a descriptive equivalent. However, care must be taken to avoid violating Paul Grice's Maxim of Quantity, which states that one should not provide too much or too little information.

13. Notes, additions, glosses: in cases where a suitable equivalent cannot be found, translators may use notes, additions, or glosses to provide additional information about a religion-specific word or expression. One common approach is transliteration, which involves converting the alphabet of the source language into the alphabet of the target language. However, it is important to provide an explanation for the reader, as leaving transliterated terms without context can be confusing. This can be achieved through various methods, such as adding a glossary at the end of the book, using footnotes or endnotes, or

inserting a partial or full explanation next to the italicized term. The last approach is often considered the most practical as it provides the reader with the meaning in the shortest way possible without requiring them to turn the page or look elsewhere.

It is worth noting that Elewa (2014) does not mention examples for some strategies in Arabic, such as through-translation, recognized translation, and componential analysis. Therefore, those strategies may not be applicable to the translation of religious cultural items in Arabic.

Moreover, both Newmark's (1988) strategies and Elewa's (2014), for translating culture-specific items can be difficult to employ in the domain of subtitling due to the technical constraints of the medium, such as limited space and time available for subtitles on screen. Additionally, strategies like paraphrasing, through-translation, modulation, recognized translation, compensation and componential analysis can also pose challenges in subtitling as the translator may not have enough space or time to fully convey the meaning of the message. For example, in literary translation, there is enough space to explain and add information that makes the cultural items clear in the target language and, thus, for the target audience, such as footnotes and appendices, while in subtitling, time and space are limited. However, technical constraints have little to do with subtitling short terms, but the problem arises when it is related to the adequate equivalence available in the TT.

Accordingly, it is normal to have different theories of subtitling strategies that address these technical constraints and consider culturally specific items. It is worth noting that subtitling strategies as translating strategies are applied differently according to many various factors that affect the process of rendering culturally specific terms from one language to another, such as the target culture/audience, their potential equivalents, genre, technical constraints (in case of subtitling), ideology, and the professionalism of subtitlers/translators.

It is essential to mention that not all scholars who tackle subtitling culturally specific items consider the technical constraints of subtitling. Zojer (2011, p.403) claims that “the very few studies undertaken on how subtitlers tackle cultural references restrict themselves mostly to categorizing different translational approaches to specific cultural items”, such as Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Tomaszewicz (2001), and Pedersen (2005/2007). Zojer (2011) emphasizes that the studies mentioned above definitely do have their merits and propose the strategies applied to overcome the problems the subtitlers face when subtitling cultural items; however, they are “potentially misleading in that they suggest that cultural references in subtitles do not, to a large extent, differ from cultural references in texts” (Zojer, 2011, p.403). Accordingly, the following section introduces the four most common taxonomies of strategies used in subtitling in general and in subtitling culturally specific items in particular.

2.1.1 Gottlieb (1992)

For subtitling, Gottlieb (1992, p.166) introduces a list of strategies that most subtitlers apply based on his experience in the field of subtitling. The ten strategies are expansion, paraphrase, transfer, imitation, transcription, dislocation, condensation, decimation, deletion and resignation. It is important to emphasise here that these strategies are not exclusive to subtitling culturally specific items.

Table 1

Gottlieb’s Subtitling Strategies (1992, p.166)

Type of strategy	Character of translation	Media specific type?
1) Expansion	Expanded expression, adequate rendering (culture-specific references etc.)	No!
2) Paraphrase	Altered expression, adequate rendering (non-visualized language-specific phenomena)	No
3) Transfer	Full expression, adequate rendering ('neutral' discourse - slow tempo)	No
4) Imitation	Identical expression, equivalent rendering (proper nouns, international greetings etc.)	No

5) Transcription	Anomalous expression, adequate rendering (non-standard speech etc.)	Yes
6) Dislocation	Differing expression, adjusted content (musical or visualized language-specific phenomena)	Yes
7) Condensation	Condensed expression, concise rendering (normal speech)	Yes
8) Decimation	Abridged expression, reduced content (fast speech of some importance)	Yes
9) Deletion	Omitted expression, no verbal content (fast speech of less importance)	Yes
10) Resignation	Differing expression, distorted content ('untranslatable' elements)	No

Gottlieb (1992) introduces the first four strategies as the most common strategies applied in all kinds of translation, not only subtitling. However, the last six strategies listed in the table above are the more common ones in subtitling. He emphasizes that the strategy of “resignation” can be found in all kinds of verbal transmissions. Furthermore, the three strategies: decimation, deletion and resignation contribute to a loss of semantic and stylistic content. However, Gottlieb (1992) considers condensation as the prototype of subtitling with an emphasis on the fact that the condensation strategy is concerned with reducing the number of words in the utterance, not with the reduction of the semantic content.

2.1.2 Nedergaard-Larsen (1993)

Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p.207) proposes a list of strategies to subtitle culture-bound elements, culture-specific/ language-specific elements or extralinguistic cultural elements, as she calls them. The strategies “range from verbatim transfer, via culturally neutral explicitation and paraphrase, to target language adaptation”. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) follows some theoretical works that address the topic of translation and culture to introduce her typological outline of the strategies subtitlers can apply when they face cross-cultural translation problems.

According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), many problems of subtitling such cultural items are similar to those problems in other forms of translation. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993,

p.212) considers subtitling as “a special type of language transfer: a written, condensed translation of a predominantly spoken original”. In her definition of subtitling, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) summarises the main distinctive features of subtitling that distinguish it from other types of translation. She proposes the outline of the subtitling strategies depending on investigating the problems that the subtitlers face and then suggesting suitable strategies to solve the problems. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p. 12), the special factors in the subtitling environment that are considered the main challenges/problems subtitlers face include the following:

- A. Translation type: transitory (means time/space problems), condensed, from speech into writing.
- B. Media-related factors: include visuals (feed-back effect, gestures & facial expressions, objects & scenery, text (signs)) and soundtrack (feed-back effect (dialogue), prosody, dialect etc., (proper) names, the order of elements, sound effects).

To face the abovementioned challenges/ problems in subtitling, subtitlers use the following strategies according to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p.14):

1. Transfer/loan: (identity/exotism and imitation)
2. Direct translation
3. Explication
4. Paraphrase
5. Adaptation to TL-culture: (situational adaptation and cultural adaptation)
6. Omission

Moreover, some factors play roles in the subtitlers’ decision regarding the most suitable strategy to be applied to subtitle a particular utterance. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), these factors involve three categories. The first category includes some general factors related to the film as a whole, such as “genre, loyalty towards the original and what to expect of its new audience” Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p.238). The second category includes some specific factors related to the cultural items, such as their specific function

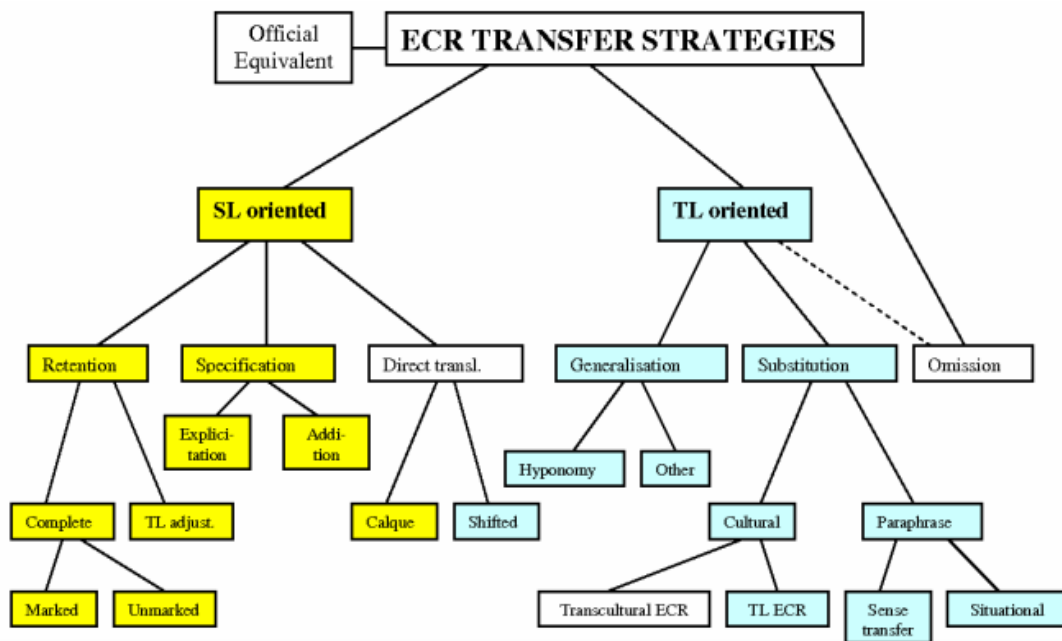
in the discourse, their connotations, and the target audience’s potential ability to comprehend them. The third category includes some specific factors related to the media as a whole, such as redundancy and feedback effect.

2.1.3 Pedersen (2005)

Pedersen (2005) introduces a taxonomy of strategies to render extralinguistic cultural references, in the domain of translation in general and subtitling in particular. Pedersen (2005, p.3) emphasizes that his taxonomy is to some extent similar to that of Nedergaard Larsen (1993) with finer distinctions. The strategies are classified into ST-oriented and TT-oriented, as shown in the following figure.

Figure 1

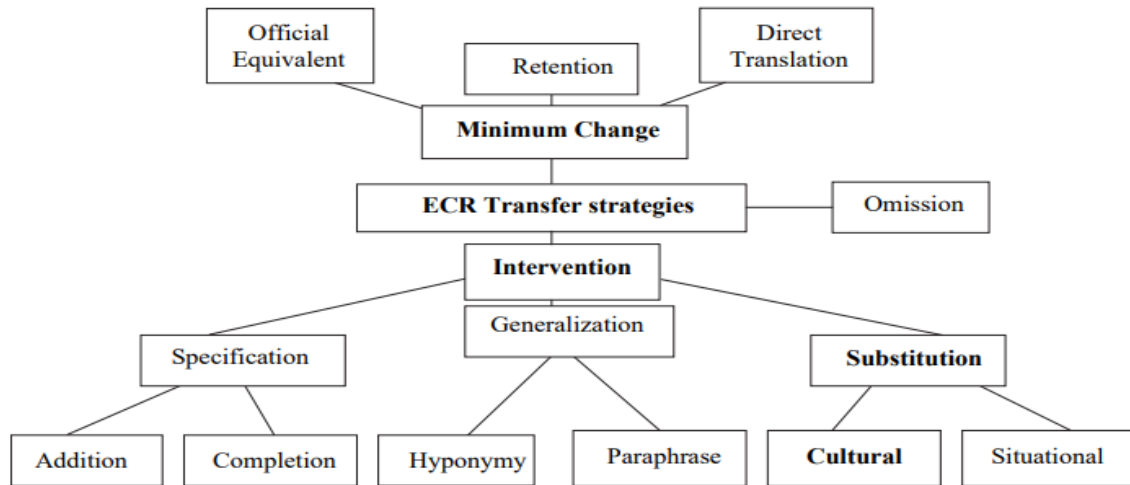
Pedersen’s Taxonomy of ECR transfer Strategies (Pedersen, 2005, p.4)



It is worth mentioning that Pedersen (2007, p.31) proposes another classification of his taxonomy of subtitling strategies illustrating the degree of change that cultural references have after subtitling, as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2

Taxonomy of Subtitling Strategies (Pedersen, 2007, p.31)



1. Official Equivalent⁸:

According to Pedersen (2005), an Official Equivalent is one of the strategies that can be applied to render cultural references; however, it is different from other strategies in that it is more bureaucratic rather than linguistic. It is based on some sort of official decision by people in authority over extralinguistic cultural references.

2. Retention:

This strategy is considered the most SL-oriented strategy applied when the translators/subtitlers allow the cultural reference to enter the target language by adjusting it slightly to

⁸ The best example to be mentioned here is the translation of the Arabic word الله [Allah/the God of Islam] into “Allah” in English in the official and approved translation of the Quran in Saudi Arabia. According to Bruce Lawrence (2015), in a public lecture organized by the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore, one of the translations of the Quran was refused to be distributed by the people in authority in Saudi Arabia because the translators used the English equivalent God for the Arabic word الله [Allah], they considered the official English equivalent is Allah that refers only to the name of the Muslims’ God. However, other authorities in the field of translating the Quran consider the word God an official equivalent for the Arabic word الله [Allah/ the God of Islam].

meet the target language conventions or rendering it completely. It is mostly applied in the case of proper nouns (Pedersen, 2005).

3. Specification:

According to Pedersen (2005), this strategy refers to the process of leaving the cultural reference without translation; however, both addition and explicitation can be used to make the TT cultural reference more specific than its ST. The addition strategy is used for clarification, which involves adding material already latent in the cultural reference as part of the connotations or the sense of the cultural reference. Explicitation is used to make the implicit meaning explicit. Explicitation is best used in the case of rendering acronyms or abbreviations.

4. Direct Translation:

Pedersen (2005) states that this strategy is used to render proper names, names of firms or official institutions. Unlike generalisation and specification strategies, this strategy involves keeping the semantic load of the cultural reference unchanged and without adding or subtracting anything. This strategy includes Shifted and Calque (literal translation), which sometimes seems exotic to the target audience.

5. Generalisation:

According to Pedersen (2005), this strategy refers to the process of replacing the cultural reference that refers to a specific thing with something more general, such as the case of using hyponymy. This strategy is considered a TT-oriented one.

6. Substitution:

By the substitution strategy, Pedersen (2005) refers to the process of replacing the ST cultural reference either with a TT cultural one (which is called cultural substitution) or with different TT elements that paraphrase the ST one “either through ‘reduction to sense’ (Leppihalme, 1994, p.125) or by completely removing all trace of the ECR and instead using a paraphrase that fits the context” Pedersen (2005, p.8), which is called “situational

paraphrase”. In some cases that are considered more marked form, the SL cultural reference is replaced by a TL cultural one. This process is considered the most domesticating one and is mostly used in rendering cultural references that refer to official institutions or titles.

7. Omission:

This strategy refers to the process of deleting the ST cultural reference and not rendering it to the TT at all. There are many factors other than the laziness of the subtitlers to choose the Omission strategy. According to Leppihalme (1994, p.93) as cited in Pedersen (2005, p.7), “a translator may choose omission responsibly, after rejecting all alternative strategies, or irresponsibly, to save him/herself the trouble of looking up something s/he does not know”.

Pedersen (2005) emphasises that it is normal to combine two strategies to render specific cultural references, such as explicitation and direct translation. Generally, Pedersen (2005) states that his taxonomy is based on the translation product, showing whether it is source language-oriented or target language-oriented. Furthermore, in another study by Pedersen (2010), under the title *When do you go for benevolent intervention? How subtitlers determine the need for cultural mediation*, he addresses subtitlers in particular when rendering unknown cultural items to the target audience. Subtitlers have a few options, according to Pedersen (2010), adopting Leppihalme’s (1994), the first option is the specification strategy by adding more information to make the subtitled cultural item intelligible (Pedersen, 2010). The second option is the replacement strategy, where another well-known item replaces the cultural item for the target audience (Pedersen, 2010). The third one is the paraphrasing strategy or generalisation strategy, a way to make the meaning of the cultural item accessible to the target audience (Pedersen, 2010). Finally, another option is the retention strategy or the use of an official equivalent (Pedersen, 2010). According to Pedersen (2010), the subtitling strategies mentioned above introduce a longer subtitled message compared to the ST culturally specific item. However, if the cultural item is well-known to the target audience, no interventional strategy is thus needed. The culturally specific item can be simply retained in the TT. The issue is how subtitlers

determine how many viewers know about the cultural item. In this case, (Pedersen, 2007, p.153) suggests three ways for the target audience (i.e., viewers) to have knowledge about culturally specific items: “(i) encyclopaedically or intertextually, i.e., through the viewer’s cultural literacy of the world and other texts. (ii) deictically, i.e., through deixis in the context or co-text, as explained above. (iii) through benevolent intervention from the subtitlers, working as a cultural mediator”.

Like Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Pedersen (2005) addresses the factors that influence the decision of which strategy is more suitable than others to be applied for rendering specific cultural references. He attempts to list most of the factors. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p.12) talks about only two types of factors that affect the process of subtitling cultural items, which include (translation type and Media-related factors). It seems that Pedersen (2005) builds on Nedergaard-Larsen’s suggested factors (1993) and grounds the investigated data for his study. He lists seven factors: transculturality, extratextuality, centrality of reference, intersemiotic redundancy, co-text, Media-specific constraints, and paratextual considerations. He emphasises that these factors are intertwined and work together to a very great extent in a way that can be an aid or obstruction to the subtitlers in their work.

2.1.4 Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014)

Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014) address the topic of subtitling culture-bound terms. According to Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014, p.200), “culture-bound terms are extralinguistic references to items that are tied up with a country’s culture, history, or geography, and tend therefore to pose serious translation challenges. They are also referred to as cultural references, realia, and, more recently, ECRs or extralinguistic cultural-bound references”. Such terms are considered an integral part of any discourse, and thus, subtitlers should be careful in subtitling them. Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014, p.200) emphasise the importance of such terms in film subtitling by using the metaphor film’s propensity to travel to mean “that the cultural references used to give shape to the story also travel

extensively”. Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014, p.202) propose the following list of the most common subtitling strategies of culturally bound terms.

1) Loan:

This strategy refers to incorporating the ST utterance into the TT due to the similarity between the SL and TL in using the same word or phrase; thus, translation is unnecessary.

2) Calque or Literal Translation:

Both calque and literal translation refer to the process of transferring words literally from one language to another. In this case, the words are subtitled singly, out of context, into their closest equivalents in the TL. It is the same strategy proposed by Newmark (1988) in translating culturally specific items, literal translation.

3) Explication:

In the case of this strategy, “the subtitler tries to make the source text more accessible by meeting the target audience halfway, either through specification, using a hyponym, or by generalization, using a hypernym or superordinate” Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014, p.203). This strategy is similar to the one proposed by Gottlieb (1992), who calls it “expansion”. Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014) claim that hypernym is used more frequently than hyponym in subtitling because generalisation/ hypernym usually has an explanatory function while hyponym narrows down the meaning of words. The translation/subtitling of brand names or abbreviations used for institutions or concept they stand for are examples of hypernym use. Using the explication strategy is restricted in cases where there is enough space and there is a need to explain the ST words.

4) Substitution:

This strategy simply means replacing the closest equivalent of the ST word or phrase in the TT with another TT lexical item. “It is resorted to when spatial constraints do not allow for the insertion of a rather long term, even if it exists in the target culture and a hypernym or hyponym would therefore not really be required” (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.204).

5) Transposition:

According to Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014), this strategy refers to the process of rendering the ST cultural concept expressed in the form of culturally specific items into its culturally accepted equivalence of the concept in TT. This is the case where there is no exact lexical equivalent in the TT. Therefore, the subtitlers render the ST cultural item's meaning through expressions expressing a culturally accepted meaning /concept in the TT. The subtitlers resort to this strategy in the case that the TT audience might not recognize the ST cultural item and using the Explicitation strategy is not possible due to the technical constraints of the mode of subtitling. This strategy is more successful when both the ST and TT concepts are too similar. "Measurements and currencies are often adapted to the system in use in the target culture, but not always" (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.204). It can be said that this strategy is a domesticating one based on Venuti's binary classification of domestication versus foreignisation (1995). However, a drawback of this approach when applied to local names of people or brands is the potential for confusion among the target audience upon encountering subtitles that differ in pronunciation from the spoken names in the source text. Additionally, it poses a challenge for subtitlers in terms of determining when to employ this strategy since "the degree to which subtitlers expect their audiences to know culture bound items varies considerably from country to country" (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.205).

6) Lexical Recreation:

According to Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014, p.206), "lexical recreation or the invention of a neologism in the target language is warranted, may indeed be inevitable, when the source text speaker makes up words as well. The neologism is placed between quotation marks in the subtitle". By neologism, Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014) means creating new lexis that are semantically close to the SL lexis. It is worth mentioning that lexical recreation or a neologism differs from the strategy of loan. Lexical recreation or a neologism is a newly created word or phrase that has entered into common usage, while

loan (borrowing) words refer to words from one language adopted into another language, with (in case of naturalisation) or without modification (in case of transliteration)⁹.

7) Compensation:

Compensation means “making up for a translational loss in one exchange by over translating or adding something in another” (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.206). Sometimes, using this strategy can be impracticable because of the oral-visual cohabitation of the SL and TL; thus, Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014) advise the subtitlers not to deviate excessively from the soundtrack if the target audience can be expected to recognise at least part of what they hear. This strategy can be used only when there is no lexical equivalent in the TT, and other subtitling strategies are not applicable. It can be best used in humorous films (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014).

8) Omission:

Omission or deletion refers to the process where culturally specific items are deleted from the TT either due to technical constraints (for example, there is not enough space), due to the unavailability of an equivalent in TT, and other subtitling strategies are not applicable such as lexical recreation or explicitation, or due to other macro factors beyond the text itself, such as ideology. It is worth mentioning that Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014) classify this strategy under the umbrella of what they call the issue of text reduction in subtitling, which is one of the common strategies adopted by subtitlers due to the technical constraints they face and to the time given to the audience to combine both watching and reading the subtitles. They differentiate between two kinds of text reduction: partial and total reduction. By partial reduction, they mean the condensation strategy where the subtitlers concisely render the ST into TT. Total reduction refers to the omission strategy

⁹ According to Newmark (1988), naturalisation is the process of adapting a loanword (a word borrowed from another language) to the phonological and grammatical rules of the target language, in order to make it sound more natural for native speakers. This process can include changes to the spelling, pronunciation, and inflection of the word. Transliteration, on the other hand, is the process of converting the letters or characters of a word from one script or writing system to another. In the context of translation, transliteration is often used to represent words from languages that use non-Latin scripts, such as Arabic or Chinese, in the Latin script.

where the lexical items are completely deleted. It is worth mentioning that Gottlieb (1992) also uses the same terms 'deletion' and 'condensation' but to refer to two separate subtitling strategies. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014) emphasise that the decision to delete or condense ST segments should not be made randomly by the subtitlers, even when the decision regarding very simple segments such as the greeting 'Good Morning'. It cannot automatically be subtitled as 'Hi' or 'Hello' only because they are shorter in terms of form than 'Good Morning'. It is vital to consider the context, the film and the scene itself. What may seem like a minor aspect, undoubtedly serves a purpose within the broader context of the script (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.148).

9) Addition:

Additions also occur mainly “in passages containing cultural references that are expected to cause comprehension problems but are essential for a good understanding of the program. In such cases, information is added. Additions are always a form of explicitation” (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.207).

To sum up, scholars in the field of translation studies have proposed various classifications of strategies for translating culturally specific terms. However, these classifications have limitations, as categories are often prone to overlap (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014). For example, Pedersen (2005, 2007), has proposed two different versions of his classification of subtitling strategies for cultural references. This highlights the ongoing nature of this field of study and the need for further investigation, particularly in the context of subtitling and the unique cultural references present in different cultures. Using one particular classification does not invalidate others, and different classifications may be more appropriate for addressing specific cultural items. Therefore, this section has provided an overview of the taxonomies of subtitling strategies for culture-specific items as a foundation and reference point for developing a specialised taxonomy of subtitling strategies specifically for Islamic cultural items, as shown in Chapter 5 (see section 5.2.1).

The following section introduces CDA as the theoretical framework of the study to answer the second and the third research question.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA¹⁰ is an umbrella that covers many approaches that all generally aim at investigating language use as a form of social practice critically. CDA is best described as “shared perspectives encompassing a range of approaches rather than just one school” (Bell & Garret, 1998, p.7). Accordingly, several researchers in critical discourse analysis have introduced their definitions of the term. The general and the shortest definition of CDA is the critical study of language, the one provided by Norman Fairclough (1995) in the title of his book *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*, a definition that does not involve only the critical analysis but also “an exploration of how ‘texts’ at all levels work within sociocultural practices” (Candlin, 1995, as cited in Fairclough, 1995, p.xi). More specifically, CDA is defined as the approach that “studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed” (Wodak, 1997, p. 173).

Moreover, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.272) have stated eight concepts included in the definition of CDA, which are: “CDA addresses social problems, power relations are discursive. Discourse constitutes society and culture. Discourse does ideological work. Discourse is historical. The link between text and society is mediated. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Discourse is a form of social action” (Scollon, 2001, p. 114). CDA is characterised as dissident research, a social movement of politically committed discourse analysts, an analytical practice and a discourse study with an attitude (van Dijk, 2015).

¹⁰ The distinction between Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is often blurred, with the latter term more frequently used to describe the former concept. This shift in terminology implies that there is a growing preference for CDA over CL (Wodak, 2001). Van Dijk (2015) suggests also using the general term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) to cover all kinds of studies in this field. However, in this thesis, the term CDA is preferred since most relevant studies continue to use it.

Although there are various definitions and approaches to CDA, the core objective of all of them is to explore the connection between language, power, ideology, and society. The following section overviews the main approaches of CDA.

2.2.1 Main Approaches of CDA

The most famous scholars who are considered the pioneers of CDA and whose works are seminal works in CDA are Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Theo van Leeuwen, Paul Chilton, and Gunther Kress. These scholars introduced different approaches of CDA that all share the same aim: to analyse discourse critically. The following sections outline the four popular approaches of CDA.

2.2.1.1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Approach of CDA

One of the well-known models of CDA is known as “dialectical-relational approach”, “socio-cultural approach”, “discourse as a social practice” and “three-dimensional approach” introduced by Fairclough (1989) in his book *Language and Power*, where he suggests a methodological blueprint of CDA and then in his book (1995), *Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language*, where he discusses his model in more detail. Fairclough (1995, p.2) describes his model as follows:

CDA is consolidated here as a 'three-dimensional' framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.

Fairclough (1995) states that his model includes two kinds of analysis: micro and macro analysis which are integrated together in one model to shed light on and critically analyse the hidden connections between discourse properties, social processes, ideologies and power. Fairclough (1995, p.74) hypnotises that “significant connections exist between features of texts, ways in which texts are put together and interpreted, and the nature of the social practice”. See figures 3 and 4 below.

Figure 3

Discourse as Text, Interaction and Context (Fairclough, 1989, p.25)

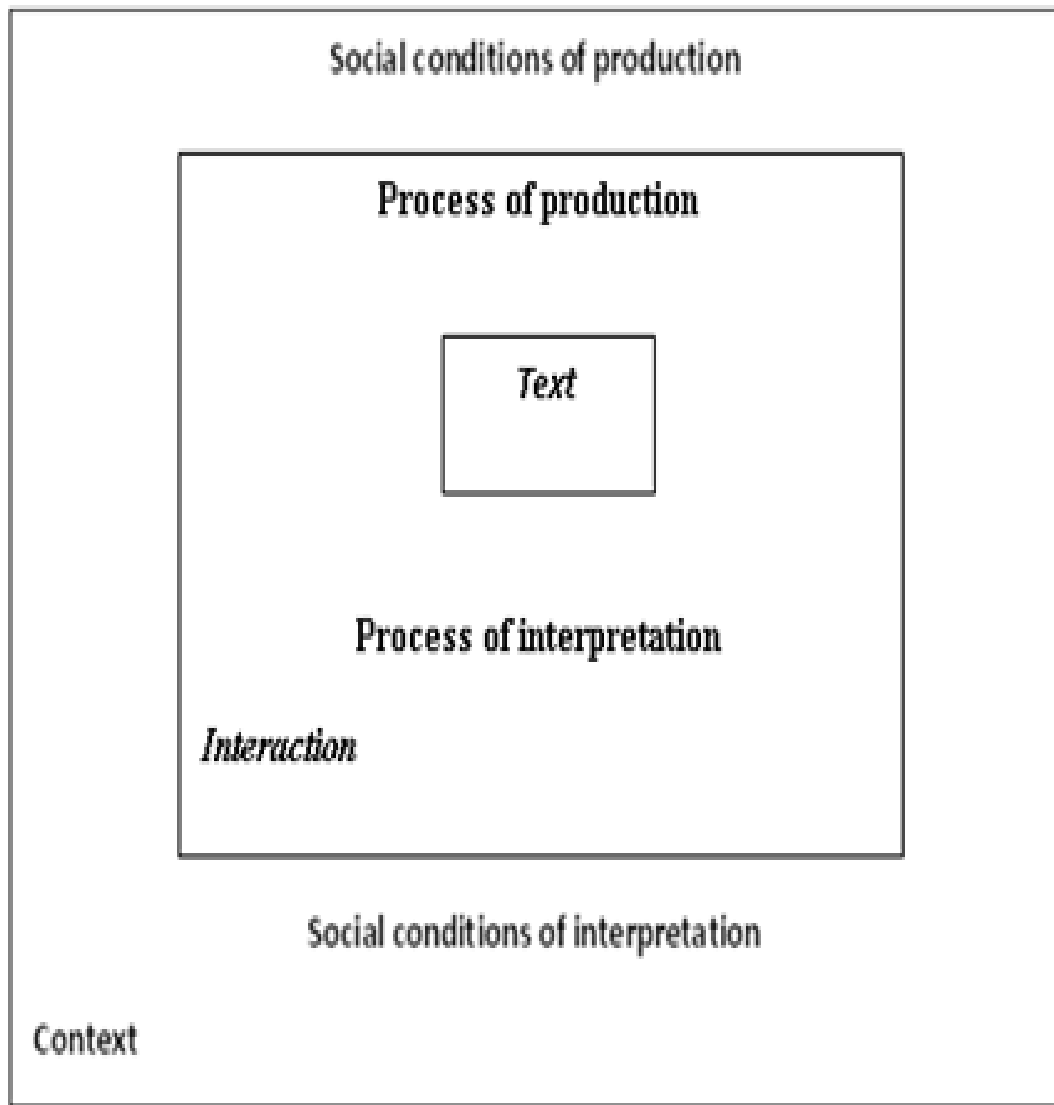
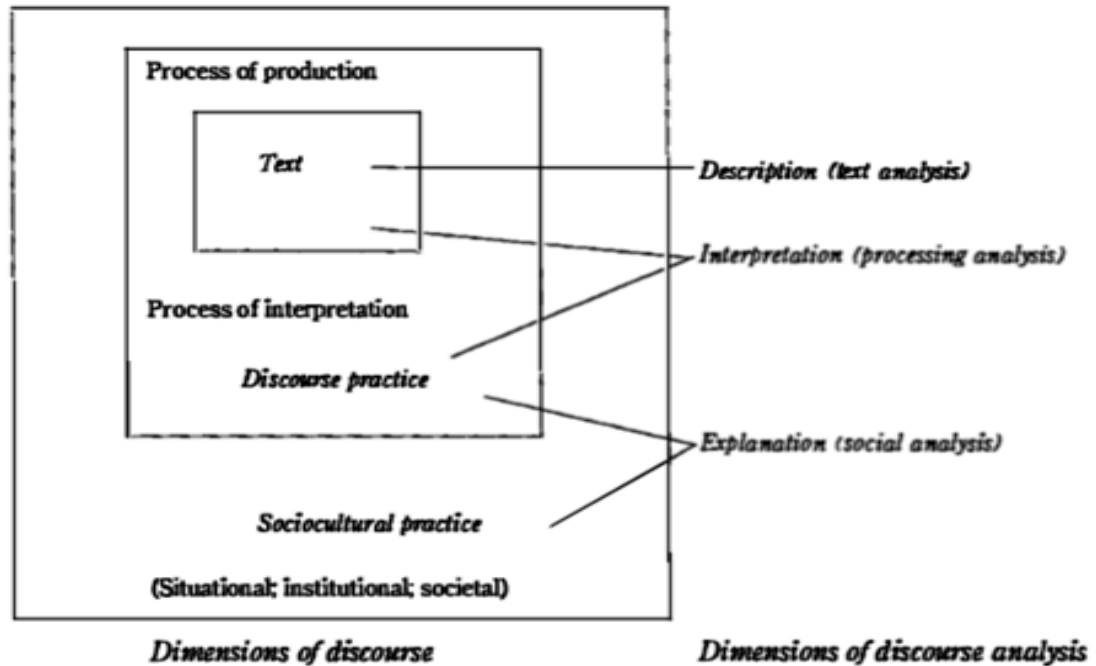


Figure 4

The Diagrammatic Representation of CDA Three-dimensional Model of Fairclough (1995, p.98)



Fairclough's framework of CDA is influenced by both a Bakhtinian theory of genre that is concerned with exploring the nature of the genre and how the different social practices produce heterogeneous kinds of texts and discourses in terms of form and meaning and a Gramscian theory of hegemony that links between power relations and creativity and productivity of discourse practices and investigates how a particular configuration of discourse practice (which is called by Fairclough 'order of discourse') creates one domain of hegemony (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, "analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices within which texts are embedded" (Fairclough, 1995, p.9). In addition, as stated by himself, Fairclough (1989) is also influenced by the linguistic theory by Halliday (1978), *systemic functional linguistics*, in many aspects, for example, in considering "text" as a social space where both main social processes: cognition and the world representation, occur at the same time. Fairclough

(1989) states that he draws upon Halliday's (1978) definition of language as it functions ideationally in the sense that it represents the world and experience, interpersonally in the sense that it creates social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in the sense that it links parts of a text together into a coherent one piece. It links texts to situational contexts, for example, through situational deixis.

Additionally, Fairclough is also influenced by Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, as it "sees and analyses a language as shaped (even in its grammar) by the social functions it has come to serve" (Fairclough, 2001, p.126). Furthermore, Fairclough is influenced by Foucault's work (1979), as Fairclough states in his book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995). It is worth mentioning that Fairclough has provided the literature with more than one version of CDA. For example, Fairclough (2000) introduces an analytical framework of CDA in the analysis of political discourse, which is based on "Bhaskar's concept of explanatory critique" (Fairclough, 2000, p.125). Fairclough (2001) also introduces an analytical framework for CDA as a method in social scientific research.

Fairclough (2014) states that three versions of CDA contributed to responding to social changes, such as the international financial and economic crisis in 2007; however, ideology is still the primary concern of his model versions. Fairclough (2014) discusses the three versions of his CDA model in detail and compares his entire model to other models of CDA. In this study, only the first version of his Three-dimensional Framework of CDA, introduced in (1989) and then in (1995) is adopted, where he addresses questions of power, ideology, language and sociocultural context. It investigates the relation between discourse and other sociocultural elements where the discourse is considered a mirror of social reality (if there is power abuse or ideology). Fairclough (1995, p.74) considers "discourse" as an entity involving three elements: "social practice, discursal practice (text production, distribution and consumption)"; thus, the analysis of any discourse requires analysing each of the dimensions/ elements mentioned above and their interrelations. Doing so is a way to shed light on any critical features of discourse and, in turn, on what action should be taken to improve things.

Fairclough's CDA approach (1989/1995), the three-dimensional framework, is adopted in this study because it is the most relevant to the study's objective. Fairclough's CDA approach is concerned with the representation of lexis, structure and cohesion of a text in a particular sociocultural context and uncovering ideology hidden in a discourse that could affect the audience's cognition. More specifically, Fairclough's model (1989/1995) is helpful for this study, which is mainly concerned with uncovering any traces of ideological manipulation in subtitling ICIs (in the form of intentionally deislamisng or islamising the TT) in documentaries that address the Western audience and talk about people's life during wartimes in Syria. As shown in Chapter Four, Syria has a complex sociocultural and political context. The official religion in Syria is Islam which includes different sects. Syria as a country includes people from different religious sects and different political backgrounds. In the recent war in Syria, ISIS, a terrorist organisation, is also involved in the war under the umbrella of Islam, as they declared. The (mis)representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western media (before ISIS as well as after ISIS), islamophobia, and anti-Islam and Muslims are the most key elements that should be taken into consideration in investigating the subtitling product of such documentaries, which may influence the product either in the form of deislamisng or islamising the TT. Adopting Fairclough's hypothesis (1989) that discursive change in a discourse is motivated by the problems in political and social practices, this study links the strategies adopted to subtitle ICIs to the sociocultural context of Syria in particular and Islam as a religion with different sects and its (mis)representations by media in the West in general in an attempt to find whether there are any ideological manipulation traces either to intentionally Islamise or deislamisng the TT. In addition, this study explores (in the case of having traces of ideological manipulation) how the producers of the English-subtitled discourse in the documentaries propagate it at the textual level (i.e., lexis choices and their syntactic structure). More discussion on Fairclough's three-dimensional approach (1988/1995) is introduced in the next section (see section 2.2.3).

2.2.1.2 Socio-Cognitive Approach

It is one of the main CDA models adopted by van Dijk who is interested in the socio-cognitive interface of discourse analysis (Bhatia et al., 2008). Van Dijk (1993) sees CDA as a model concerned with “how discourse legitimises, resists, or reproduces the interaction between inequality and power abuse among different social groups” (Bhatia et al., 2008, p.11). In other words, CDA is considered an ideological analysis (Van Dijk, 1995). To investigate thoroughly the main feature of ideologies’ structure in discourse, which van Dijk describes (2006b) as the ideological opposition between in-groups and out-groups, all levels of discourse should be studied and analysed at the micro and macro levels (i.e., micro and macro analysis). According to van Dijk (2006b, p.115), “members of ingroups typically emphasise their own good deeds and properties and the bad ones of the out-group and mitigate or deny their own bad ones and the good ones of the out-group”. Van Dijk (2011, p.396) asserts that the demonstration of the group relations category is one of the key strategies of ideological discourse control in discourse as illustrated in the figure below, which van Dijk calls the ideological square.

Figure 5

The Ideological Square (Van Dijk, 2011, p.396)



According to van Dijk (2006a, p.373), this model can be adopted to investigate the ideology embedded in the structures of various discourse levels as indicated in the following table.

Table 2

Van Dijk' (2006a, p.373) Socio-Cognitive Model of CDA

• Overall interaction strategies
-Positive self-presentation
-Negative other-presentation
• Macro speech act implying Our 'good' acts and Their 'bad' acts, e.g. accusation, defence
• Semantic macrostructures: topic selection
- (De-)emphasise negative/positive topics about Us/Them
• Local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g. statements that prove accusations.
• Local meanings our/Their positive/negative actions
-Give many/few details
-Be general/specific
- Be vague/precise
-Be explicit/implicit
- Etc.
• Lexicon: Select positive words for Us, negative words for Them
• Local syntax
- Active vs passive sentences, nominalisations: (de)emphasise Our/Their positive/negative agency, responsibility
• Rhetorical figures
- Hyperboles vs euphemisms for positive/negative meanings
- Metonymies and metaphors emphasising Our/Their positive/negative properties
• Expressions: sounds and visuals

- Emphasise (loud, etc.; large, bold, etc.) positive/negative meanings
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- Order (first, last; top, bottom, etc.) positive/negative meanings

Van Dijk's CDA model focuses on social cognition as a mediating element between society and discourse, differing from other CDA models that primarily view discourse as a form of social practice and the focus is on discursive practice (e.g., Fairclough's (1989/1995)) (Cremades, 2007, p.21).

2.2.1.3 The Discourse-Historical Approach

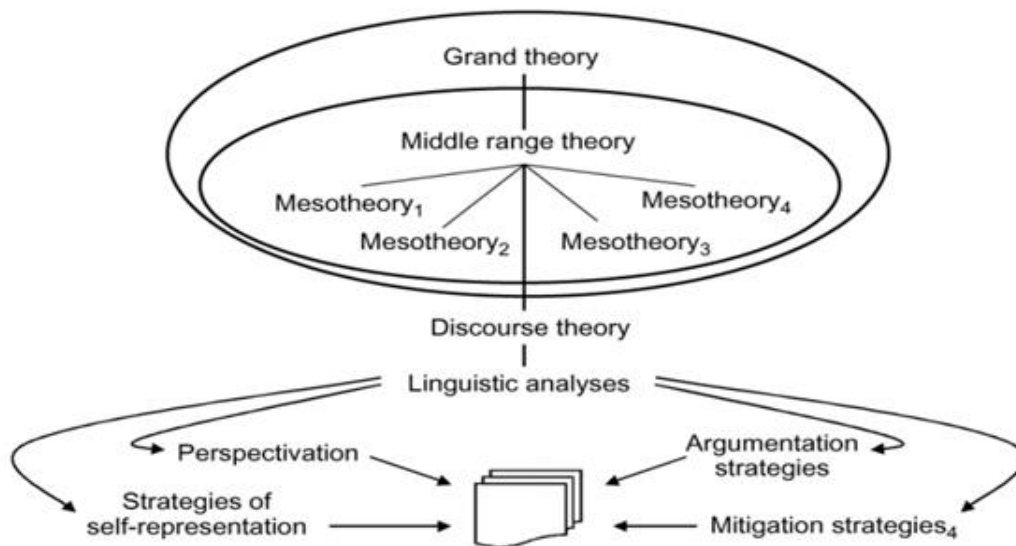
According to Cremades (2007, p.21), "Wodak and her colleagues of the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis have developed a theory of discourse based on sociolinguistics in the Bernsteinian tradition, and on the ideas of the Frankfurt School, especially those of Jürgen Habermas". Wodak and her colleagues focus on the study of language use in institutional settings, on the need for a historical perspective to be taken into consideration by CDA to investigate racism and antisemitism issues, and on "the study of identity constructions and changes of identities at national and transnational levels" (Wodak, 2002, p.18).

According to Wodak (2002, p.8), "in the discourse-historical approach, we elaborate and link to the socio-cognitive theory of Teun van Dijk (1984, 1993, 1998) and view 'discourse' as a form of knowledge and memory, whereas text illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents (Reisigl / Wodak 2001)". In this model of CDA, Wodak (2002, p.12) states that any discourse is historically produced and interpreted in the sense that discourse is set in time and space and in the sense that "it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events happening at the same time or which have happened before". Moreover, discourse "always involves power and ideologies" (2002, p.12) in the sense that "dominance structures are legitimised by ideologies of powerful groups, the complex approach advocated by proponents of CDA makes it possible to analyse pressures from above and possibilities of resistance to unequal power relationships that appear as societal conventions" Wodak (2002, p.12).

In addition, the same communicative event has different interpretations since the discourse receivers differ in terms of their background knowledge and position. In this regard, Wodak & Ludwig (1999, p. 13) as cited in Cremades (2007, p.21) emphasise that “THE RIGHT interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary. Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true”. Therefore, doing the historical analysis involves examining biographically “the course of social matters and their wider political, social and economic context (cf. Wodak et al., 1999; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999)” (Carvalho, 2008, p.172). According to Wodak (2001a, p.67), the discourse-historical approach is mainly based on the concept of ‘context’, which involves four levels of analyses, as illustrated in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6

Levels of Theories and Linguistic Analysis (Wodak, 2001a, p.69)



According to Wodak (2001a, p.65), this model of CDA is distinguished in “its endeavour to work with different approaches, multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information”. For example, to apply this model to investigate historical, political and organisational discourses, the analysts attempt to integrate as much as possible the existing knowledge about the historical sources and

the background of political and social fields where discursive events are embedded. Then, the CDA analysts investigate how specific discourse genres are subject to diachronic change to analyse the historical dimension of discursive actions. Finally, it is necessary to integrate social theories to explain the context of the investigated discourse (Wodak, 2001a, p.67).

It is worth mentioning that this approach of CDA is not applicable to the current study in the sense that this study does not investigate diachronically the subtitling strategies adopted to subtitle the Islamic cultural items in documentaries. However, this approach could be conducted to investigate the subtitling strategies of Islamic cultural items from the historical perspective in the news or in films produced before and after the 11th of September 2001, when Islamophobia has researched at its peak as a reflection of the stereotypes of Muslims and Islam introduced in media.

2.2.1.4 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Multimodal Discourse Analysis or Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis are terms used to refer to the model of analysis that emerged as a combination of Multimodal Discourse Analysis and CDA (Lui & Guo, 2016). Both Kress and van Leeuwen contribute to the development of this model. Kress (1996) and van Leeuwen (1996) have been focused on multimodality and semiotics; they introduce taxonomy to have a more detailed description and interpretation of visual data (Wodak, 2002). “‘Multimodality’ was to follow the works of CDA, but its main innovation was to include not just language but all the semiotic modes that make up a social context” (Machin et al., 2016, p.303).

Van Leeuwen (2014, p.281) states that multimodality refers to “the integrated use of different semiotic resources (i.e., language, image, sound, and music) in texts and communicative events”. More specifically, Kress (1996, p.20) claims that all texts are multimodal and are constituted through several semiotic modes. Linguists have realised the importance of investigating communication as a multimodal entity, not only investigating it from the linguistic perspective in the sense that spoken language can be adequately understood and investigated by also exploring the non-verbal elements such as

image, layout, colour, typography, and music (Van Leeuwen, 2014). According to Djonov (2012, p.2), Kress & van Leeuwen introduced their seminal book, *Reading Images* (1990, 2006), which is considered “the first systematic extension of social semiotic principles to a mode other than language” and their book, *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication* (2001), which is considered the first outline for a theory of multimodal communication. Other scholars also have contributed to this model, such as David Machin and Mayr, who “share their ideas of CDA from a multimodal point of view in their co-authored book, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A multimodal introduction* (Machin & Mayr, 2012), which provides a new visual angle of CDA” (Liu & Guo, 2016). In addition, *Critical Multimodal Studies of Popular Discourse*, the book edited by Djonov and Zhao (2014), consists of 14 contributions of discourse studies that “aim at promoting the establishment of the critical analysis of multimodal discourse as a clear academic field, as well as complementing the developments of CDA with employing theories of multimodality” (Liu & Guo, 2016).

Generally, studies conduct multimodal discourse analysis to investigate not only language but also various semiotic elements such as typography, sound, photographs, clothing, and visual design to show how different semiotic materials have affordances that can be used for ideological purposes (Machin et al., 2016). Therefore, it is essential to mention that this model of CDA is not relevant to the current study since it does not investigate the semiotic elements in films, such as images and music. It only focuses on the Arabic utterances in the films and their English subtitles.

2.2.2 Methodological Framework

As previously mentioned, this study is primarily grounded in Fairclough's (1988/1995) three-dimensional CDA model. Therefore, the following subsections outline the methodological framework adopted in this study.

2.2.2.1 Key Terms Related to Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Framework

Before introducing Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for CDA, it is essential to define some key terms related to the framework from the CDA perspective. One of the

main terms is *Discourse*, which is the primary term in the CDA theory and other theories and fields of study, such as Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1993, p. 138) provides definitions of the most important of the terms as follows: *Discourse* (as an abstract noun): “language use conceived as a social practice”, *discourse* (a countable noun): “way of signifying experience from a particular perspective”, *text*: “the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event”, this definition is modified in Fairclough (1995) to include also other semiotic forms such as sound effects, visual images and music. “Texts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction” (Fairclough, 1995, p.6). *Discursive event*: “instance of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice, social practice”, such as a scientific paper, an interview, or a conversation as a whole. *Genre*: “use of language associated with a particular social activity”. *Order of discourse*: “totality of discursive practices of an institution and relationships between them”. *Interdiscursivity*: “the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres”. The term, *practice*, refers to “discursual action or to refer to specific instances (a discourse, and similarly a practice)” (Fairclough, 1989, p.28). *Intertextuality* refers to the case where “texts are constituted from other already produced texts and from potentially diverse text types (genres, discourses)” (Fairclough, 1995, p.2).

Regarding the concept of *order of discourse*, it is important to mention that Fairclough adopted it from Foucault (1981), as stated by Fairclough himself (1995, p.12) “to refer to the ordered set of discursive practices associated with a particular social domain or institution (e.g., the lecture, the seminar, counselling, and informal conversation, in an academic institution), and boundaries and relationships between them”. In addition, *discourse types* refer to “conventions, norms, codes of practice underlying actual discourse. Discourse types are ideologically particular and ideologically variable” (Fairclough, 1989, p.90).

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) explains that language is considered a social process in the sense that the process of social interaction (discourse as a whole where a text is a part of it) involves three elements: a text, the production process of a text, and the interpretation process of a text which is considered here as a resource. In producing or interpreting a text/ discourse, people refer to what they have in their mind, such as their knowledge of the language, assumptions, natural and social worlds' representations, beliefs, and so on, which Fairclough calls *Members' Resources* (MR). Additionally, language is considered a socially conditioned process in that discourse involves social conditions of both production and interpretation. These are related to three various levels of social organisation, which are also illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 above. Fairclough (1989, p.25) describes the three levels as follows:

The level of social situation or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs, the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse, and the level of the society as a whole. These social conditions shape the MR people bring to production and interpretation, which in turn shape the way in which texts are produced and interpreted.

It is worth mentioning that MR are not only cognitive in the sense that they are in peoples' minds, but also, they are social in the sense that "they have social origins-they are socially generated, and their nature is dependent on the social relations and struggles out of which they were generated- as well as being socially transmitted and, in our society, unequally distributed" (Fairclough, 1989, p.24) and MR also "refers to the common sense assumptions and expectations of the text interpreter" (Fairclough, 1989, p.78) .

Other key terms related to Fairclough's three-dimensional framework are *ideology* and *power*. According to Fairclough (1989, p.94), *ideology* is interpreted as "any social policy which is in part or in whole derived from social theory in a conscious way". *Power* in Fairclough's CDA model includes "the capacity to control order of discourse; one aspect of such control is ideological – ensuring that orders of discourse are ideologically harmonised internally or (at the societal level) with each other" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 30). "Power is exercised only in and through social struggles in which it may be lost" as asserted

by Fairclough (1989, p.43). There are two types of power: power in discourse and power behind discourse (Fairclough, 1989). By power in discourse, Fairclough means exercising power in face-face spoken discourse, in cross-cultural discourse where participants are from different ethnic groupings and in the hidden power of the mass media discourse. Power behind discourse refers to the idea that “the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power” (Fairclough, 1989, p.55).

2.2.2.2 Fairclough’s Three-dimensional Framework

Considering discourse as a social practice, Fairclough (1989) introduces a three-dimensional framework to analyse discourse critically in the form of three levels of language analysis. By critical analysis of discourse, Fairclough (1995) means discourse analysis that aims to explore opaque relations of determination and causality between “(a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles overpower” (Fairclough, 1995, p.132). By opaque relation, Fairclough (1995, p.133) means that such relations between discourse, power, and ideology may not be evident to those involved. Thus, CDA contributes to making these relations apparent. Accordingly, discourse analysis involves analysis of the way that texts work within the sociocultural practice. In such analysis, Fairclough (1995, p.7) asserts that there is a need to pay “attention to textual form, structure and organisation at all levels; phonological, grammatical, lexical (vocabulary) and higher levels of textual organisation in terms of exchange systems (the distribution of speaking turns), structures of argumentation, and generic (activity type) structures”. The reason behind the need of such analysis is “that any level of organisation may be relevant to critical and ideological analysis” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 7).

In consequence, the three levels of analysis of the Fairclough model of CDA are discussed in detail in relation to the current study as follows:

Description: Textual Analysis

The first level is called *Description*, which is concerned with textual analysis. The analysis focuses on discourse as a text (vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure) and its formal properties. In relation to the current study, the focus is only on vocabulary, the lexical choices by the subtitlers, grammar, and syntactic structures of the lexical items used for subtitling Islamic cultural items in the selected documentary films. In this stage, the Islamic cultural items in the Arabic discourse are isolated to be compiled in a manual corpus with their counterpart English subtitles. Investigating ideological manipulation through examining the lexical choices is discussed by other researchers such as Hatim and Mason (1997) and Schäffner (2003). Hatim and Mason (1997) give examples of using lexical items with negative connotations in the English version of a text talking about the proud history of Mexicans. In the English translation, some of the words used give a lower profile of the role of indigenous people and show them as less active.

Similarly, Schäffner (2003) illustrates that the ideological perspective can be noticed within a text at the lexical and grammatical levels. For example, at the lexical level, choosing certain lexical items or avoiding particular lexical ones can be a clue for a specific ideological perspective. Examples at the grammatical levels involve the use of passivation to hide agency. Conversely, these ideological manifestations of each text are different based on the topic and genre of the text and its communicative purposes, according to Schäffner (2003).

Several questions and sub-questions related to English vocabulary choices/ potential equivalence and syntactic structures used in subtitling the Arabic Islamic cultural items are addressed in this stage, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. To interpret what feature is actually present in a text (e.g., the chosen lexis or syntactic structure), the other potential choices /features that might have been made is a must to be taken into consideration since analysing texts involves focusing on both what is the text and the discourse type(s) upon which the text draws (Fairclough, 1989). It is worth mentioning that most of the questions and sub-questions adopted here are from the suggested blueprint of the CDA framework

by Fairclough (1989, pp. 112-130), who states that he bases on Halliday's *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985) in constituting the questions which are vital for text analysis.

A) Vocabulary

1. Do subtitlers subtitle the ICIs into English with observance of the same connotation as the Arabic items? Are there any ideological traces in subtitling such items?

The vocabulary used in SL and TL is also investigated in terms of their denotation and connotation meanings. *Connotative meaning* refers to the overtones that the given word has. In Lyons' words (1977, p.176) as cited in Elewa (2015, p. 6), "the connotation of a word is thought of as an emotive or effective component additional to its central meaning". Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) describes Connotations as secondary meanings or associations of certain events, names etc., that are usually specific to a single culture. Subtitling Connotations is a special problem that subtitlers face. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), some connotations are essential for comprehension. However, including them in subtitling is sometimes difficult. The subtitlers have to decide whether to include them or not based on their significance to the character description, plot structure or context understanding. However, what if the subtitlers conceal some connotation for ideological purposes? This is what is not addressed by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). According to Farhan (2017, p.32), "the translator's ideology might be reflected in their lexical choices. It is often the power of connotations associated with lexical items that gives the ST and the TT different shades of meaning to vary the ideology conveyed". In contrast, *Denotative meaning* refers to the meaning of a word without context. It is also known as the referential or cognitive meaning. "It is some sort of denotative meaning which can be defined as the direct dictionary definition of a word, stripped of any overtones, emotion, or attitude"; for example, "the shining star in the sky" is the denotative meaning of the word "sun" (Elewa, 2015). Investigating connotations is very important since the most distinctive feature of Islamic cultural items is their Islamic connotation. The aim is to check the connotative meanings of the Islamic items transferred into English.

For example, in the study corpus, there are instances where subtitlers translate the Arabic phrase *ان شاء الله* as *Allah willing*, *God willing* or *hopefully*. Denotatively, the phrase *Allah willing* or *God willing* expresses a belief in the control or influence of a higher power, specifically a deity, over future outcomes. In contrast, the word *hopefully* carries a denotative meaning of expressing a desire or wish for a positive outcome without explicitly attributing it to any external force. Connotatively, the use of *Allah willing* or *God willing* imbues the statement with a religious or spiritual connotation. While *Allah willing* carries an exclusive Islamic connotation, *God willing* carries a broader religious connotation, which will be further explored in Chapter 6. This usage reflects a sense of faith, humility, and reliance on a higher power. On the other hand, *hopefully* lacks the religious connotation and does not evoke the same sense of faith or reliance on a higher power. Although *Allah willing* and *God willing* share a similar denotative meaning, they differ in their connotative implications. *Allah willing* carries an Islamic connotation, while *God willing* has a broader religious connotation. Subtitlers who choose *Allah willing* are opting to islamise the TT, while those who choose *God willing* or *hopefully* are opting to deislamise the TT. In summary, the substitution of *Allah willing* (i.e., islamisation) or *God willing* (i.e., deislamisation) for *hopefully* (i.e., deislamisation) carries both denotative and connotative differences.

2. What expressive values do the subtitled ICIs have? What expressive values do the ICIs in the source language have, and whether these values are deleted or changed in the subtitles?

The concept of expressive value in language pertains to the emotional or attitudinal implications conveyed by individual words or phrases. To illustrate, the term *lovely* possesses a positive expressive value, while *terrible* carries a negative expressive value. In the context of our study corpus, we observed the Arabic word شهيد [martyr] exhibiting both positive and negative expressive values. One instance presented a positive expressive value, whereas another instance conveyed a negative expressive value. Notably, the expressive values of words are subject to change based on their contextual employment.

For instance, the aforementioned Arabic word شهيد [martyr] assumed a negative expressive value when combined with the word *belt*, resulting in *Shahid belt* instead of *an exploding belt*. Conversely, in a different example, the same word *Shahid* was followed by the noun phrase *a martyr saint* in the TT, thereby contributing to its positive expressive value, as discussed in Chapter 6¹¹. Both instances of the word *Shahid* in the target text possess Islamic connotations, albeit with varying expressive values. According to Fairclough (1989), “text producers often adopt strategies of avoidance with respect to the expressive values of words for relational reasons.” (Fairclough, 1989, p.117). Negative or positive evaluations of some practices can be implicit in the vocabulary used. Distinctions between discourse types in the expressive values of words are again considered ideologically considerable (Fairclough, 1989). “A speaker expresses evaluations through drawing on classification schemes which are in part systems of evaluation, and there are ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types” (Fairclough, 1989, p.117).

3. Is there any ICI deleted or not subtitled at all? Is there any ideological perspective behind deletion? Is deletion used as a resort for technical constraints?

In this stage of textual analysis, the researcher lists all the Islamic cultural items that are not subtitled at all in TT and deleted. Investigating the subtitling technical constraints is needed to determine whether the deletion process is considered a clue for any ideological perspective or whether it is just a need the subtitlers resort to due to the technical constraints. Numerous instances within the study corpus exemplify the aforementioned case. One such example involves the translation of the testimony *I testify that there is no God except Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah*. Subtitlers face a decision-making process in handling this specific phrase, as it may be subject to deletion due to technical constraints. Simultaneously, ideological manipulation may prompt its removal owing to varying religious beliefs.

¹¹ See Example 1 on page 233 and Example 2 on page 237.

B) Grammar: Syntactic Structure

This study covers the lexical and syntactic aspects of the subtitlers' work. For example, the connotation meaning of the Arabic Islamic word شهيد [martyr] in English, is not preserved in the English subtitles in some of the films investigated. This Arabic word, a noun in terms of its part of speech, is subtitled into *Killed*, a verb in passivation structure, where both its connotation meaning, and its syntactic structure are not preserved in TT. In this case, the question is what this may ideologically imply. Furthermore, some of the Islamic cultural items are complete sentences in terms of syntactic structure, such as the verses of the Quran, Aladhan [the Call for praying], and Alhadith. Investigating the syntactic structures of such items in the TT is essential as it can uncover any traces of ideological manipulation.

Accordingly, the following grammar-related questions are taken into consideration during the textual analysis.

1. What is the grammatical process used?

This question is vital for investigating subtitling the Islamic cultural items that are sentences in terms of the syntactic structure, such as Aladhan, and verses of the Quran, or only words and phrases in utterances. For example, simple declarative sentences in English express three main kinds of processes: actions (Subject-Verb-Object), events (Subject-Verb), and attributions (Subject-Verb-Complement) (Fairclough, 1989). Choices between these process types are possibly ideological; such choices may be to background or highlight agency (Fairclough, 1989, p. 122). The grammatical process of sentences containing ICIs or ICIs in the form of a sentence is investigated.

2. Is there any change in the modality through subtitling?

The declarative clauses have various types of modalities: high-affinity epistemic (or 'probability') modalities, for instance, "the post is available", deontic ('obligational') modality such as *applications should be lodged*, and one case where there is uncertainty between deontic and epistemic modality (mixing permission with possibility) such as

further particulars may be obtained; modality is used to represent the degree of certainty of propositions (Fairclough, 1995, p.146). However, modality is not exclusively expressed by modal auxiliary verbs (e.g. may, should, will, must); it can be expressed through a range of linguistic forms such as adverbs (e.g., probably, certainly), adjectives (e.g., necessary, certain), main verbs (e.g., need, predict), and nominalisation (e.g., obligation, desirability) (Fowler, 1985, p.73, as cited in Farhan, 2017). Thus, the current study examines the impact of changing the mode of expression (i.e., modality) of utterances containing ICIs, in relation to the subtitling process and its potential effect on ideological stance.

3. Is agency unclear?

Generally, agents are animate. However, agents can also be recognised as inanimate nouns, nominalisations, or abstract nouns; in all such cases, “one should be sensitive to possible ideologically motivated obfuscation of agency, causality and responsibility” (Fairclough, 1989, p.124). For example, *nominalisation* is defined as a grammatical process (simple sentence) that is converted into a noun and is reduced “in the sense that some of the meaning one gets in a sentence is missing - tense, so there is no indication of the timing of the process; modality and often an agent and/or a patient”, as stated by Fairclough (1989, p.124).

4. Are sentences active or passive?

Passivation sometimes omits the agent phrase, which leaves agency and causality undistinguishable (Fairclough, 1989). *Causality* refers to identifying “who is represented as causing what to happen, who is represented as doing what to whom” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 125). Causality contributes to leaving essential aspects of the process unspecified. Causality involves both agentless passivation and nominalisation (Fairclough, 1989). It is essential to investigate whether the active sentences in ST are subtitled into the form of passive and the reason behind this.

In short, this analysis stage undertakes a dual analysis of the subtitled text, focusing on the vocabulary and syntactic structures of the English subtitles of ICIs. It specifically seeks to identify and analyse the potential traces of ideological manipulation in the form of (de)islamisation of the TT in subtitling ICIs by investigating the lexical choices made during the subtitling process and examining the denotative and connotative meanings of both the original Islamic cultural items and their English subtitles. In addition, it investigates the construction of ideology through language at the grammatical levels (i.e., the process of syntactically structuring the TT that serves ideological purposes).

Interpretation: Text production, Consumption and Distribution

Interpretation is the second level of analysis, concerned with discursive practices. Fairclough (1989) sees discourse as something produced, distributed, circulated, and consumed in society. Therefore, this stage focuses on the process of TT production, distribution and consumption and how these processes affect discourse interpretation. In other words, how text receivers are directed towards a favoured comprehension. The discourse practice analysis focuses on socio-cognitive aspects of both text production and interpretation (Fairclough, 1995). Investigating “the cognitive processes within the black box of translators’ minds has been the interest of many scholars since Krings’ (1986) to examine the way translators work and how they produce their translations” (Massey & Jud, 2020, p.359).

Fairclough (1989) uses the term *Member’s resources* (MR) to refer to the cognitive processes involved in this stage. According to Fairclough (1989, p.41), “the stage of Interpretation is concerned with participants’ processes of text production as well as text interpretation”; “interpretations are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is ‘in’ the interpreter, in the sense of the members’ resources (MR) which the latter brings to interpretation” (Fairclough, 1989, p.41).

More specifically, this stage is concerned with investigating the processes of production, consumption and interpretation of the subtitled Islamic cultural items. In the stage of interpretation, it is crucial to examine the situational and intertextual contexts of a discourse (Fairclough, 1989). The situational context of discourse involves answering four main

questions: What is going on? (Activity, topic, and purpose), who is involved? In what relations? What is the role of language in what is going on? (Fairclough, 1989). The first question refers to identifying a situation in terms of the activity type (the social order in a particular institution). This research endeavour focuses on the subtitling process of Arabic documentaries that chronicle real-time events and personal narratives from the Syrian wartime context into English. Consequently, the specific activity under examination is the subtitling of discourse within these documentary films. The subject matter pertains to the experiences and circumstances encountered by individuals in Syria. The primary objective is to furnish the audience with a translated documentation of the Syrian situation in an alternate language.

The second and third questions are closely connected and refer to identifying who is involved in subtitling the ST and what the relationships of power and social distance are set up in the situation. In the subtitling field, text producers refer not only to subtitlers who are translators as well as mediators of cultures, as described by Hatim and Mason (1990) but also to editors, proof-readers, and institutions that produce and broadcast the subtitled films. Thus, it is also necessary to investigate the institutional constraints such as the in-house subtitling guidelines set by the broadcasting institutions (in the case of the current study, Netflix, Amazon Prime, and For All). It is also necessary to collect information about subtitlers of the films, such as “whether they are employed by the film producers or by the film broadcasting institutions. Some producers produce the original films with subtitles; others produce only the film in the SL, and the broadcasting companies add subtitles. In addition, it is essential to identify the time and place of the discourse production (both the ST and TT). For example, when and where the selected documentary films were produced, broadcast, and subtitled? The fourth question refers to identifying the role of language, which determines its genre and channel (spoken or written). In the case of the current study, subtitling involves transferring spoken language into written language.

In terms of intertextual contexts, questions are involved, such as: What intertextual factors influence the process of the production and interpretation of a discourse? In the case

of the current study, this question is related to the fact that the English subtitles of the Islamic cultural items (TT) are constituted from the Arabic ones (ST) (referring to the definition of intertextuality by Fairclough mentioned before). This requires considering the different modes of the ST as spoken and TT as written. Therefore, the relevant question arises is: What are the subtitling strategies adopted to produce subtitles that fit in with the technical constraints of the mode of subtitling? This question is answered in Chapter 5. Furthermore, this stage entails an examination of the impact of the subtitling strategies utilised on the target text (TT) in regard to which strategies contribute to maintaining Islamic connotations within the TT (i.e., islamising the TT) and which strategies contribute to eliminating such connotations from the TT (i.e., deislamising the TT). This serves as the foundation for the textual analysis in Chapter 6, where the subtitles of the Islamic Cultural items (ICIs) are analysed in terms of their semantic associations (i.e., their Islamic connotations) and their syntactical structure. This analysis aids in understanding the motivations behind the selection of certain strategies and the avoidance of others, taking into account any technical limitations.

To sum up, the observed features of the physical situation and text are considered crucial indications that are analysed in conjunction with members' resources (MR). Additionally, it is essential to note that this level focuses on "how text producers draw upon and restructure orders of discourse, producing new configurations of genres and discourses". However, there is still a need to integrate close textual analysis with social analysis of organizational routines for producing and consuming texts (Fairclough, 1995, p.9).

Explanation: Social Practices

According to Fairclough (1988/1995), the third level of analysis, referred to as *Explanation*, examines the ways in which social practices and effects shape discourse. This level of analysis considers the role of non-linguistic factors such as ideology, power, and hegemony in controlling the discourse. Fairclough (1995, p. 134) posits that examining discourse as a social practice can encompass various levels of social organization,

including the context of the situation, institutional context, and the broader societal or cultural context.

In the context of this study, which investigates the process of subtitling ICIs in documentary films about the war in Syria on people's lives, three interrelated contexts should be considered, as illustrated in Chapter 4. These include: the specific context of the Syrian war as depicted in the documentary films, the sociocultural and religious context of Syria as a state and Islam as a religion, and the broader context of (mis)representation of Islam as a religion in the West.

The analysis stage involves examining the impact of these interrelated contexts on the subtitling process, with particular attention paid to the ways in which the TT discourse produced by these films may shape the perceptions of their Western audience. As Fairclough (1995, p. 133) argues, the relationship between sociocultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice, and any level of analysis may be relevant to understanding the ideological and critical implications of the discourse under examination.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter introduces the theoretical and methodological framework that is used to answer the research questions. Firstly, it provides an overview of the existing taxonomies of subtitling strategies, which serves as a foundation for building a specific taxonomy for Islamic cultural items. This taxonomy will be developed based on the examination of the subtitling strategies of ICIs employed in the documentary films and with reference to the existing taxonomies in literature by adopting the abduction approach¹² in research. By doing so, a more detailed understanding of the ways in which Islamic terms are subtitled in these films is provided.

¹² The Abduction approach proposes "to isolate the most convincing reasons (hypotheses) from a research result and to research these hypotheses further" (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013, p.15). The Abduction approach was firstly mentioned by C.S. Peirce in 1878 (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013). This approach is characterized by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) as seeking understanding by uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one's results.

The second section introduces CDA as the theoretical framework for investigating any potential traces of technical manipulation and ideological manipulation in the form of deislamisising or islamising the TT, which can consequently shape the target audience's worldviews. More specifically, this study adopts the CDA approach, as outlined by Fairclough (1988/1995), which provides a comprehensive framework for examining the ways in which discourse is shaped by social practices and effects, including the role of ideology, power, and hegemony in controlling discourse. Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989/1995) is considered the most relevant and valuable for the current study since it explores lexical choices and the syntactic structures of the text in a particular context. In other words, it scrutinises how discourse producers transmit certain ideologies by using textual elements that cognitively affect the audience's minds. Analysing texts is not supposed to be "artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursal practices within which texts are embedded.

Adopting Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989/1995), the data analysis will be divided into three stages of analysis. The first stage, description, introduces the textual analysis of the data. It investigates the textual features of the study data at the lexical and grammatical levels. The second stage of analysis, interpretation, investigates the way of TT production, consumption and distribution. It investigates the subtitling strategies employed to render the ICIs into English. It also investigates the subtitling guidelines that may affect the process of TT production, the member resources MR of translators as producers of the TT and the audience including the discourse analyst as the interpreters of the TT. The third stage of analysis, explanation, investigates three interrelated contexts considered in the analysis as this study investigate the subtitling process of ICIs in documentaries talking about the Syrian war. The first one is the cultural and religious context of ICIs in Syria. The second one is the specific context of the Syrian war as depicted in the documentary films. The third one is the broader context of misrepresentation of Islam as a religion in the West. The analysis stage involved examining the impact of these sociocultural and political contexts on the subtitling process, with particular attention paid

to the ways in which the discourse produced by these films may shape the perceptions of their Western audience.

The following chapter introduces the study data and methodology: the description of the data sources and methods of data analysis.

Chapter Three: Data and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The present study employs a methodological framework that is comprised of both quantitative and qualitative elements. Initially, the Islamic cultural items (ICIs) present in the selected films are quantitatively assessed to identify the strategies employed for subtitling these items and to calculate the rate of (de)islamisation for each film, each broadcasting platform, and the entire corpus of the study. Subsequently, based on Fairclough's Model of CDA, the three-dimensional Framework (1989/1995), a qualitative analysis of the dataset is conducted to investigate the presence of technical and ideological manipulation in the form of islamisation or deislamisation of the target text (TT).

This chapter consists of three main sections. The first one provides an overview of the process of data collection. It explains the rationale and the selection process of the documentary films subject to analysis, as well as any relevant information about the films, such as international awards received and the names of the subtitlers/translators. The second section describes the process of the study corpus compilation. It also presents the categorisations of the ICIs in the data corpus. The third one illustrates the method used to develop a particular taxonomy of the subtitling strategies of ICIs, to calculate the (de)islamisation rate, and to analyse the study data. This chapter ends with concluding remarks.

3.1 Data collection

This section elucidates the reasoning behind the choice of documentary genre as the source of data subject to analysis. It also provides an overview of the data collection process utilised in the current research. Specifically, it discusses the data sources from which the study corpus is compiled, and the methods used to gather and organise the data. The data collection process is a crucial aspect of any research as it determines the quality and reliability of the findings. Thus, this section provides a detailed description of the data sources, the selection criteria used to gather the data, information about the films, such as

their international awards and subtitlers/translators. The information presented in this section serves as a foundation for the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the data.

3.1.1 The Rationale

Documentary films, also called featured films, constitute one kind of factual media and informative resources (Nichols, 2017). Traditionally, the dominant cultural stereotype is that "documentaries explore actual people and actual situations" (Rabiger, 1998, p.1). They are entirely different from the other genres (e.g., horror, melodrama, adventure, science, etc.) because they address the world where people live rather than a world created by the filmmaker's imagination (Nichols, 2017).

Documentary films were chosen as the genre of the case study due to several reasons. The most important reason is that the documentary genre is under research in translation studies and has not been investigated yet in the Arabic- English translation studies. In addition, nowadays, documentaries receive high recognition from their audience and film industry professionals. Many international awards are yearly designed for the best documentaries, including a category for best documentary as determined by the audience, in highly prestigious festivals such as Academy Award-winning Documentaries, International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA), the Copenhagen International Documentary Film Festival, and the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA). This highlights the importance of documentary films and their influence on the audience. With the rise of streaming services (e.g., video-on-demand broadcasting platforms) and social media platforms, documentaries have become more accessible to a wider audience. The recognition of these films through prestigious awards not only validates the hard work of the filmmakers, but also draws attention to the pressing issues discussed in the documentaries, ultimately leading to greater awareness and potential for change, as they are traditionally known as an objective portrayal of fact.

Therefore, the documentary film industry plays a vital role in influencing the world nowadays, especially with these kinds of films about people living during wartime. It is a

bridge between East and West. It is the medium that links Arabic/Islamic culture to western culture. This role is clearly and literally expressed by one of the film characters in the documentary film *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), who says that the reason for accepting to participate in the documentary film is to inform the world and the West, in particular, about who they are and what they are even if doing this may cost them bombing the hospital or any being in danger when the ruling regime in Syria knows about what they are doing. The utterance as it is in the film below (Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski, 2014, 1.23:25 - 1.24:10):

ST:

هذا القرار الي اخذته بإجراء هاي المقابلة. بانه بين شقين: هل أوري المشفى للعالم ويقصف، ام لا اوريه وأفقد جسور التواصل مع الآخرين. مع الغرب على الاقل ليفهموا من نحن. لذلك اخترتكم أنتم، أنتم بالذات. ليكي يرو العالم من نحن بالضبط. وقد رايتهم منكم تتقصون الحقيقة لترو العالم من نحن بالضبط. ونحن على علم وتمايم اليقين ان لن يصيبنا الا ما كتبه الله لنا.

TT:

When I decided to give you this interview, I had a dilemma: whether to show the hospital to the world at the risk of it being bombed out of revenge or not to show it and lose the opportunity to expose what we are doing. If only in the west. For you to understand who we are. That's why I chose you, for the world to see what we are. I can see that you want to show it to the world. We believe that we won't be harmed, that we will be given what Allah intended for us.

Figure 7

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:23:25)

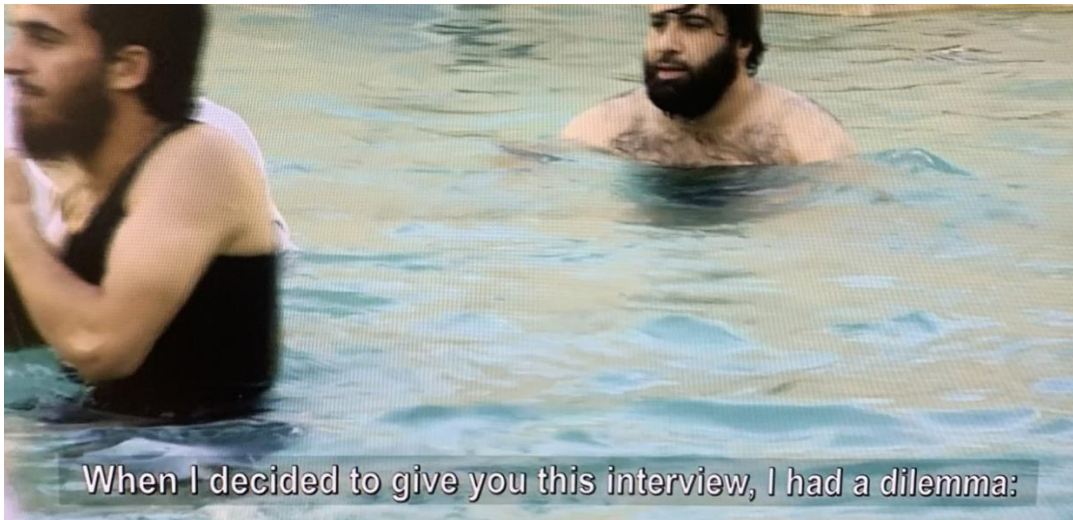


Figure 8

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:23:35)

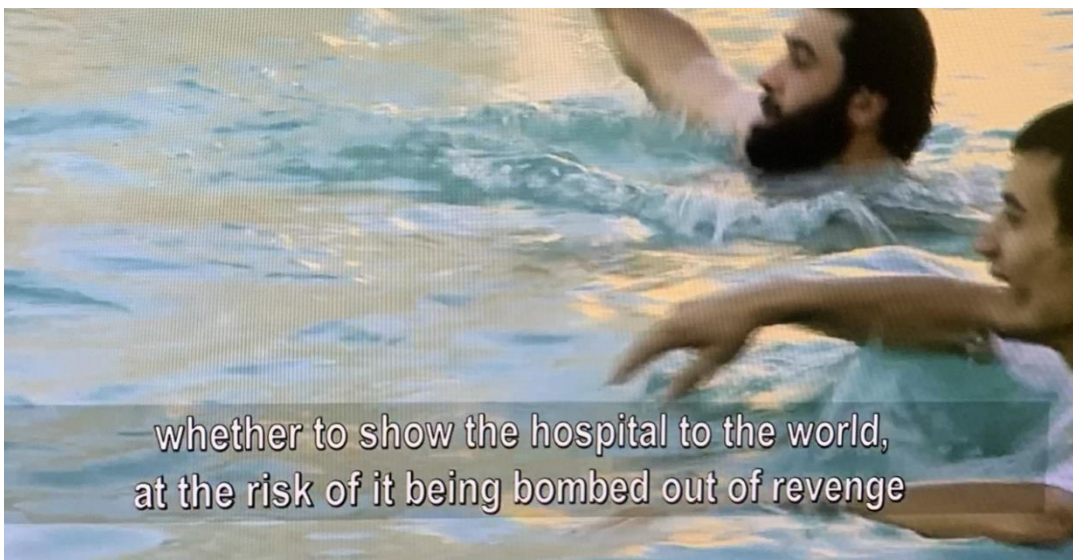


Figure 9

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:23:45)



Figure 10

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:23:55)

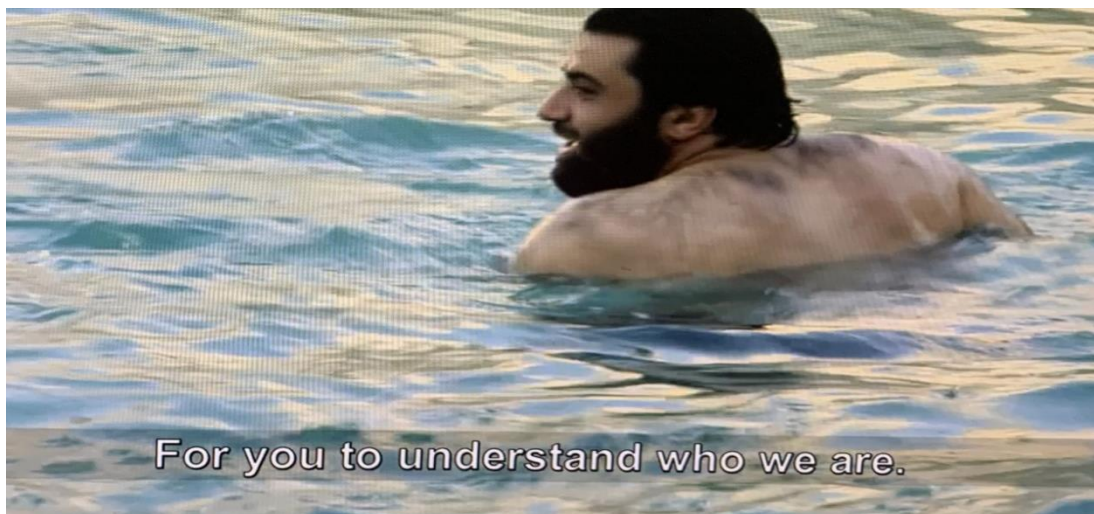


Figure 11

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:23:60)

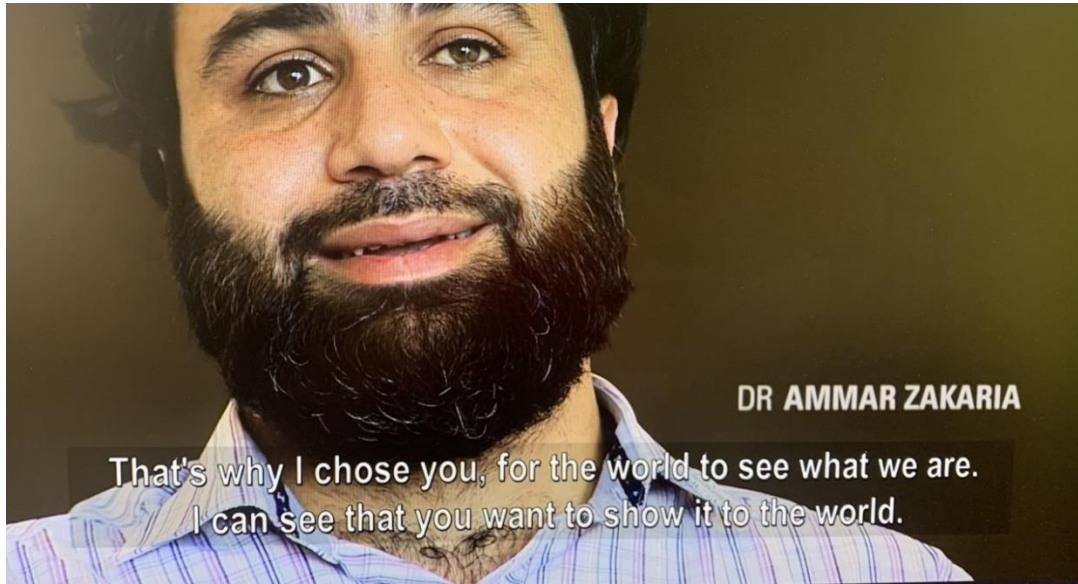
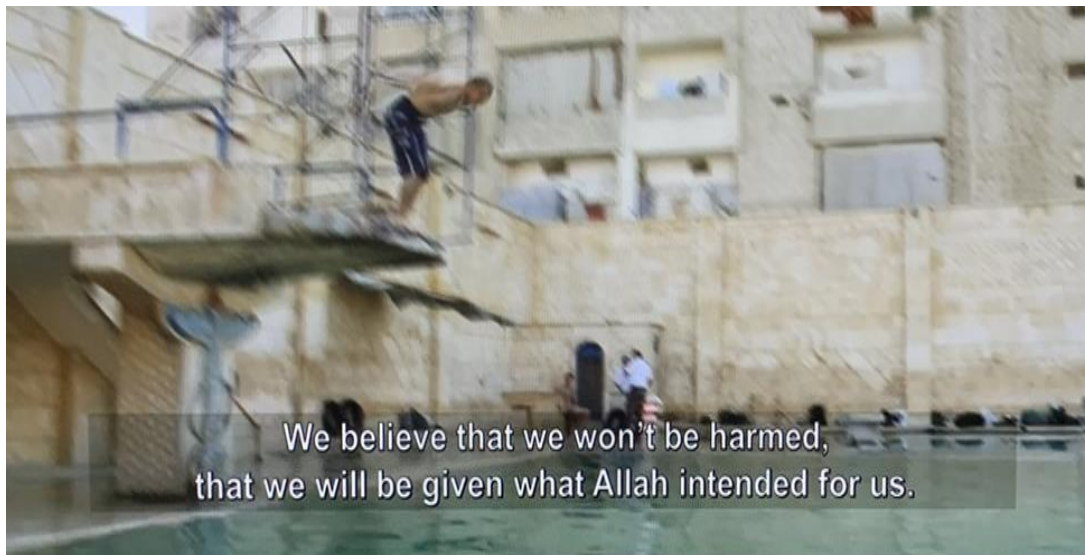


Figure 12

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:24:06)



Moreover, documentaries talking about war are a good source for my study data. They represent real people, real stories, and thus real everyday language. They record the everyday language of people's talks. Maybe, it is the nature of humans to resort to their God/religion when they are in difficult situations such as fear, wars, and grief, which is reflected in their everyday language/discourse. Therefore, the documentary films were selected following a thematic criterion; the socio-political theme in which films talk about suffering people during wartime in Syria. Furthermore, applying the CDA model by Fairclough (1989/1995) requires investigating the social practices relevant to the study data. Therefore, investigating only one genre about one topic is essential to the study's validity. Additionally, the topic itself may be a variable that affects the utilisation of the subtitling strategies. Therefore, documentary films that talk mainly about certain topic with relation to the war in Syria such as ISIS in Syria during wartime were excluded. Similarly, scientific, biographical, or historical documentaries are excluded because they are categorised under different types of documentaries regarding their features, content, and target audience.

It is worth mentioning that there are six primary types of documentary films: poetic documentaries, expository documentaries, observational documentaries, Participatory documentaries, reflexive documentaries, and performative documentaries (Nichols, 2017). This study only investigates films of observational documentaries. Documentaries observe the world around them. Observational documentaries about war, as in the case of the Syrian war, build bridges of empathy between the film audience and the film's characters, the Syrian people. Generally, Arabic documentary films are subtitled into English to address the western audience/culture. Such films are a link between two cultures (East and West). In addition, it is important to emphasise that this study investigates only Arabic documentary films that talk about the recent Syrian war and Syrians' life during wartime.

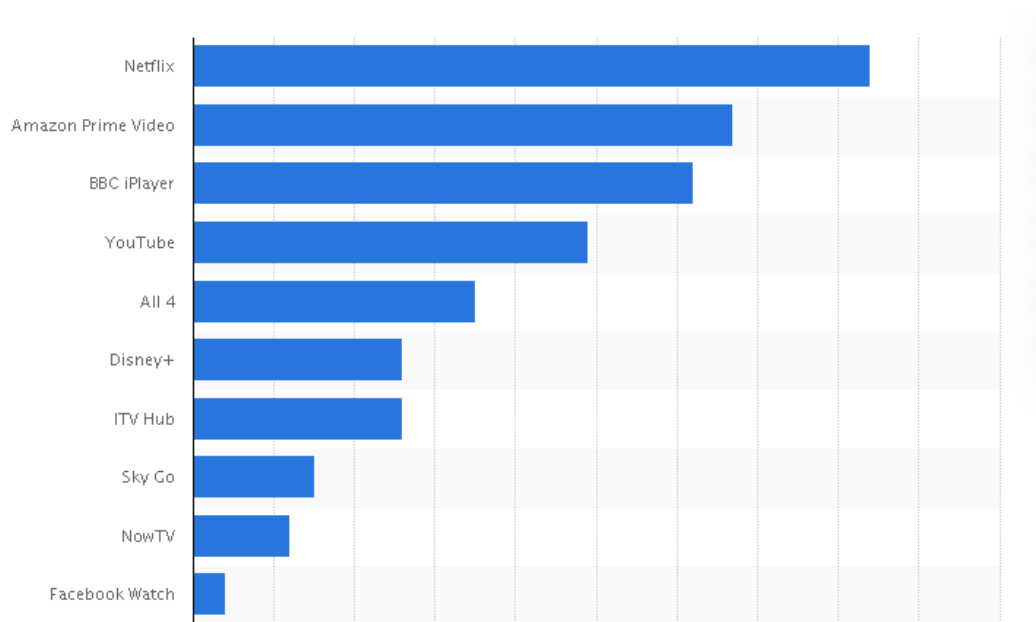
3.1.2 Data Sources

The first step to selecting the documentary film data is to explore the top ten streaming platforms in the United Kingdom, as one of the western countries. However, the list may

differ in the order in other western countries. According to Julia Stoll (2021), the results of an online survey conducted to investigate the most used video streaming and downloading services in the UK in 2020 list the following platforms as the top ten as illustrated in figure 13 below: starting from Netflix in the top, then Amazon Prime Video, BBC iPlayer, YouTube, All4, Disney Plus, ITV Hub, Sky Co, Now TV, and Facebook watch.

Figure 13

Top Streaming and Downloading Service Used to Watch TV, Series or Movies in the UK (Stoll, 2021)



Therefore, I started with documentary films about Syria on Netflix; there are three documentary films about the war in Syria. However, one *E-Team* (2014, dir. Katy Chevigny & Ross Kauffman) contains scenes about other Arab countries, such as Libya. Therefore, it was excluded. The following table illustrates the list of films found on Netflix.

Table 3*Lists of Documentary Films about the War in Syria on Netflix*

S	Documentary film	Year of Production	Director(s)	Status
1	<i>Born in Syria</i>	2016	Hernán Zin	Included
2	<i>The White Helmets</i>	2016	Orlando von Einsiedel	Included
3	<i>E-Team</i>	2014	Katy Chevigny & Ross Kauffman	Excluded

Then, I investigated the documentary films about the war in Syria on Amazon Prime, and there are 16 films, as illustrated in Table 4 below. In fact, Amazon Prime is found to be the platform with more documentary films about the war in Syria compared to other platforms. Filtering the documentary films manually after reviewing their content, I excluded some films since their content and topic discussed is not mainly about the Syrian people's life in wartimes, or they contain scenes about other countries. For example, films discussing ISIS, particularly in Syria, were excluded. Finally, the documentary films selected for the current study from Amazon Prime are five.

Table 4*Lists of Documentary Films about the War in Syria on Amazon Prime*

S	Documentary film	Year of Production	Director(s)	Status
1	<i>7 Days in Syria</i>	2016	Robert Rippberger	Included
2	<i>Cries From Syria</i>	2017	Evgeny Afineevsky	Included
3	<i>Syria: The Legions of Holy War</i>	2017	Yacine Benrabia and Farouk Atig	Excluded
4	<i>Birth of a Monster</i>	2017	Paul Moreira	Excluded
5	<i>Married to Islamic State</i>	2019	Dylan Welch	Excluded
6	<i>End of Truth</i>	2019	Tricia Todd and Eric Matthies	Excluded

7	<i>War Reporter: Cameras Don't Stop Bullets</i>	2017	Mohamed Amine Boukhris	Excluded
8	<i>Dugma: The Button</i>	2016	Paul Salahdin Refsdal	Excluded
9	<i>Sky and Ground</i>	2018	Talya Tibbon and Joshua Bennett	Included
10	<i>My Jihad</i>	2015	Mark De Visscher	Excluded
11	<i>Orphans of ISIS</i>	2019	Dylan Welch	Excluded
12	<i>Children of ISIS</i>	2017	François-Xavier Trégan and Thomas Dandois	Excluded
13	<i>City of Ghosts</i>	2017	Matthew Heineman	Excluded
14	<i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i>	2018	Matt Brown	Included
15	<i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i>	2014	Michal Przedlacki and Wojciech Szumowski	Included
16	<i>Of Fathers and Sons</i>	2018	Talal Derki	Excluded

The third streaming platform is BBC iPlayer. Exploring the documentary films available on BBC iPlayer, 40 films are available; however, no film is relevant to the current study. Two documentary films about the war in Syria were found on YouTube Movies: *City of Ghosts* (2017, dir. Matthew Heineman), and *Of Fathers and Sons* (2018 dir. Talal Derki). They are also available on Amazon Prime. However, both are excluded because their content is mainly about ISIS in Syria. Finally, documentary films about the war in Syria are available in All 4 are only two, and both are included in the corpus as shown in the following table.

Table 5

Lists of Documentary Films about the War in Syria on All 4

S	Documentary film	Year of Production	Director(s)	Status
1	<i>For Sama</i>	2019	Waad al-Kateab and Edward Watts	Included
2	<i>Syria's Torture Machine</i>	2011	Julie Noon	Included

Investigating the other broadcasting platforms on the list of top streaming and downloading service used to watch tv, series or movies in the UK (Stoll, 2021) (see Figure 13 above), no relevant documentary film about Syria was found on Disney Plus UK, ITV Hub, Sky Go, and Now TV. Regarding the Facebook Watch, it is excluded from the data source due to the following two reasons. Firstly, it was found that most Arabic documentaries have less than 20 minutes duration under the category of documentary films on Facebook Watch. Secondly, other longer documentaries are provided with no subtitles or subtitles of languages other than English. To sum up, Table 6 presents the details of the documentary films covered by the current study."

Table 6

List of the Documentary Films Covered in This Study.

S	Documentary films	Broadcasting Company	Year of Production	Directors	Duration of the Film
1	<i>Born in Syria</i>	Netflix	2016	Hernán Zin	1 hour 26 minutes
2	<i>The White Helmets</i>	Netflix	2016	Orlando von Einsiedel	40 minutes
3	<i>Cries From Syria</i>	Amazon Prime	2017	Evgeny Afineevsky	1 hour 51 minutes
4	<i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i>	Amazon Prime	2014	Michal Przedlacki and Wojciech Szumowski	1 hour 27 minutes
5	<i>7 Days in Syria</i>	Amazon Prime	2016	Robert Rippberger	1 hour 14 minutes
6	<i>Sky and Ground</i>	Amazon Prime	2018	Talya Tibbon and Joshua Bennett	1 hour 27 minutes
7	<i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i>	Amazon Prime	2018	Matt Brown	43 minutes
8	<i>For Sama</i>	All 4	2019	Waad al-Kateab and Edward Watts	1 hour 40 minutes
9	<i>Syria's Torture Machine</i>	All 4	2011	Julie Noon	51 minutes and 13 seconds

3.1.3 Film Awards

This section examines the awards and award nominations that the films have received. Awards and nominations are a measure of a film's reach and impact on audiences around the world. They serve as evidence of the film's ability to resonate with viewers and to make a lasting impact on the culture. a significant number of the documentary films under investigation have received international accolades in the form of awards and nominations. This indicates that films that have garnered such recognition are likely to have a broader reach, and thus the subject matter of these films will have a wider impact on audiences.

The following table presents an overview of the awards and award nominations received by most of the investigated films. However, in the case of the film, *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts), which has won 71 awards and received 48 award nominations, only a select few (due to the word limit), specifically those related to Audience Awards and prestigious international awards, are included in the table. Additional information on the awards received by this film can be found on IMDb, the Internet Movie Database, and a streaming platform owned and operated by Amazon. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt9617456/awards?ref =tt_awd.

Table 7

Awards and Nominations of the Films

Documentary Films	Awards	Awards' nominations
<i>Born in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Platino Award for Best Documentary in 2017. 2. Iris Awards (Atv), Spain in 2017. 3. José María Forqué Awards 2017 (Best Documentary) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Cinema Writers Circle Awards, Spain 2017 (Best Documentary). 2 Goya Awards 2017 (Best Documentary).
<i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Academy Awards, USA 2017 (Oscar: Best Documentary Short Subject). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Primetime Emmy Awards 2017: Exceptional Merit in Documentary

<p>Orlando von Einsiedel)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. -Hamptons International Film Festival 2016: Audience Award. 3. International Documentary Association 2016. 4. - Toronto International Film Festival 2016: Short Cuts Award - Honorable Mention (Best International Short Film). 	<p>Filmmaking and Outstanding Music Composition for a Limited Series, Movie, or Special (Original Dramatic Score).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2 International Documentary Association 2016. 3 Motion Picture Sound Editors, USA 2017: Golden Reel Award. 4 Music + Sound Awards, International 2017: Best Original Composition.
<p><i>For Sama</i> (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Amsterdam International Documentary Film Festival 2019 (IDFA Audience Award). 2 Arabisches Film Festival 2019 Winner (Tübingen Audience Award). 3 Biografilm Festival 2019 (Audience Award) & (Best Film Unipol Award). 4 Calgary International Film Festival 2019 (Audience Award). 5 CinEuphoria Awards 2021 for Best Documentary - International Competition, Freedom of Expression - Honorary Award, and Top Ten of the Year - Audience Award. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Academy Awards, USA 2020 (Oscar for Best Documentary Feature) 2 Austin Film Critics Association 2020. 3 Australian Film Critics Association Awards 2020. 4 Chicago Film Critics Association Awards 2019. 5 Cinema Eye Honors Awards, US 2020 (Cinema Eye Audience Choice Prize).

<p><i>Cries From Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Cinema for Peace Awards 2018 (Most Valuable Documentary of the Year). 2 Critics' Choice Documentary Awards 2017 (Best Director). 3 Documentaries Without Borders Film Festival 2017 (Outstanding Excellence Award: Revolution and Reform; Viewer Impact: Motivational/Inspirational, Direction). 4 Fort Lauderdale International Film Festival, US 2017. 5 Humanitas Prize 2018. 6 International Documentary Association 2017: Courage Under Fire Award. 7 Overseas Press Club of America Awards 2018 (The Peter Jennings Award). 8 WorldFest Houston 2018 (Gold Remi Award: for News and Documentary Program Directing). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 American Cinema Editors, USA 2018. 2 Awards Circuit Community Awards 2017. 3 Critics' Choice Documentary Awards 2017 for Best Documentary and Best Song in a Documentary. 4 Hawaii Film Critics Society 2018. 5 Hollywood Music In Media Awards (HMMA) 2017 for Best Original Song – Documentary: For the song: "Prayers for This World"). 6 New Mexico Film Critics 2017. 7 News & Documentary Emmy Awards 2018 for Outstanding Current Affairs Documentary, Outstanding Writing, Outstanding Research, Outstanding Music and Sound. 8 Satellite Awards 2018 for Best Motion Picture, Documentary Best Original Song: Song: "Prayers for This World". 9 PGA Awards 2018 for Outstanding Producer of
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		Documentary Theatrical Motion Pictures.
<i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)	NA	Jihlava International Documentary Film Festival 2014 (Silver Eye Award).
<i>Sky and Ground</i> (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett)	NA	International Documentary Association 2018 (Best Feature Documentary)

3.1.4 Film Translators/ Subtitlers

The identification of the translators/ subtitlers responsible for the films included in this study was hindered by the absence of their names in either the opening or closing credits of the films. Although the names of the subtitlers were acknowledged in the closing credits of seven out of the nine films under examination, I encountered difficulties in locating their contact information. Despite conducting extensive searches through various online platforms, such as Google and social media profiles, I was only able to secure a limited number of contact details for some of the subtitlers. Table 8 below presents a comprehensive list of the known translators, including the contact information that was obtained during the research process.

Table 8

List of the Film Subtitlers

S	Documentary Films	Translators/ Subtitlers
1	<i>Born in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)	Deirdre Mac Closkey, Guney Tanriverdi, and Jose` Antonio Rebolledo
2	<i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)	Shiyar Sayed Mohamad and Farouos Bahbouh

3	<i>Cries From Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)	Eva Abu Aataya, Petr Felcer, Yara Abu Aataya, and Jakub Kolacek
4	<i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)	Alaa Aldeen and Abdullah Shatila
5	<i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)	S. Elsalfiti & Reem Aboukhter
6	<i>Sky and Ground</i> (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett)	Zakia Aqra & Naline Malla Mahmoud
7	<i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i> (2018, dir. Matt Brown)	NA
8	<i>For Sama</i> (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)	Mowaffaq Safadi, Wafa S.T, Najat Abdul-hamid, Hussein Maamo, Mona Hamad, Houda Dansa, and Shadi Asaad.
9	<i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon)	NA

I attempted to contact and interview them to find out how they subtitled films, whether they received any guidelines regarding Islamic cultural items, and their reasons for using specific subtitling strategies. However, I was unable to reach any of the subtitlers due to a lack of information about them and lack of response to contact attempts. Therefore, the study is only based on textual analysis of collected data.

Due to the limitation of not having interviewed the film subtitlers, the confirmation of cases of ideological manipulation within the scope of this study cannot be fully established. However, confirmed instances of technical manipulation were excluded as they could be easily justified through investigation of technical constraints. The potential cases of ideological manipulation were thoroughly investigated, and the findings were presented objectively to the readers.

3.2 Corpus Compilation

In this study, a corpus of Arabic utterances containing Islamic cultural items and their corresponding English subtitles in nine documentary films is compiled in a Word document. To facilitate analysis, the Arabic utterances are back-translated by the

researcher. In the case of verses from the Quran found in the corpus, the translation provided is that of Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984). This translation is chosen as it is one of the most popular official versions of the translation of the Quran (Mohammed, 2005; Dodge, 2019). It is published by the King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Quran, which is one of the biggest centres in the Arab countries which publish ten million copies of the Quran annually. According to Mohammed (2005), this translation has been approved by the University of Medina and the Saudi Dar al-Ifta. The English subtitles of the verses of the Quran appearing in films (TT) are compared to the English translation of the same verses produced by Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984) and approved by one of the most prominent Islamic institutions in the Arab countries¹³.

Furthermore, the corpus includes the timestamp of the appearance of the Islamic cultural items in the film. The corpus is used to analyse subtitling strategies of ICIs by comparing the source text (ST) utterances to their corresponding target text (TT) subtitles, as shown in the following table.

Table 9

A Segment of the Corpus

1	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English back translation
	0.40:27.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

Finally, information about the films subject to analysis is collected from the broadcasting platforms, such as the names of the film subtitles, film duration, and film genre. As mentioned previously, not all subtitlers of the films covered in the study are

¹³ Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984) use the word “Allah” for the Arabic word “الله” [Allah]. However, other translators of the Quran use the word “God” instead. This topic is discussed in Chapter 6.

known. Two films out of nine do not mention the name of the film subtitlers either on the opening credits or on the closing credits.

3.2.1 Categories of the Islamic Cultural Items in the Study Corpus

ICIs are religious culturally specific items that belong to or are derived from the religion of Islam. In this study, ICIs refer to any linguistic elements with Islamic connotations in the source text. This study identifies 790 Islamic cultural items within the study corpus, representing the frequency of their occurrence rather than their distinct number. This section categorises the instances of Islamic cultural items found in the study corpus into two groups. The first group contains the Quranic material, verses or parts of verses of the Quran, with a total of 21 occurrences. The second group contains the non-Quranic material, with a total of 769 occurrences, which includes the Arabic ICIs. The non-Islamic Arabic expression subtitled into English as an Islamic item is also categorised in this group.

3.2.1.1 Quranic Material in the Study Corpus

The Quran consists of chapters called *Surahs* in Arabic. Each *Surah* [chapter] consists of verses called *Ayat* in Arabic. Verses of the Quran are one of the ICIs' categories. Therefore, this section lists the verses of the Quran mentioned in the ST corpus (either as a whole or as a part of a verse).

Before listing the Quranic material, it is important to shed light on a relevant controversial issue related to one of the verses found in the ST corpus, the verse بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ, ["in the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful" (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.1)]. This verse is called *Bismillah*. It is mentioned in the data collected seven times.

Bismillah refers to a part of verse 30 from chapter 27 of the Quran, النمل [The Ants]. The whole verse is: إِنَّهُ مِنْ سُلَيْمَانَ وَإِنَّهُ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ["Verily! It is from Sulaiman (Solomon), and verily! It (reads): In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful" (Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.508)]. This part of the verse, *In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful, Bismillah*, is agreed by all Islamic theological schools that it is a part of the Quran (Ozek et al., 1996). However, the other

occurrences of *Bismillah* in the printed Quran, such as the first verse in the opening chapter of the Quran and at the beginning of all other chapters of the Quran except Chapter 9, التوبة [Repentance]¹⁴, have received a long controversial discussion in the Islamic doctrine regarding whether it as a verse of a Quran or not. Ozek et al. (1996, p. XVI) summarise the different theological viewpoints as follows:

The Basmala comprises the words “In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.” According to the Hanafi School of thought, this formula is to be recited silently in prayers, because it does not form part of the Fatiha or other Surahs, with the exception of a verse occurring in Surah al-Naml. According to the Shafii School of thought, however, the Basmala is part of the Surahs, and hence should be recited aloud. According to another hadith, “Everything which does not begin with a Basmala falls short (of the blessing of Allah).” All Muslims believe in the beginning everything with it, so that the lord’s blessings may be bestowed on them. According to Surah al-Nahl, verse 98, it is also necessary to recite the “Isti’adha”¹⁵, a formula by which one seeks Allah’s protection, before starting to recite the Basmala and the Holy Quran.

On the other hand, most printed versions of the Quran (e.g., those printed by the ministry of religious endowments and Islamic affairs in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Qatar) only count *Bismillah*, بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ, [In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful] as a first verse of الفاتحة [the opening chapter of the Quran] and as a part of verse 30 in chapter 27, النمل [the ants]. Other occurrences at the beginning of the other chapters of the Quran have not been counted as a verse of a chapter; it is considered in such occurrences as an invocation used by Muslims at the beginning of undertaking most of their deeds, which is also shortened into only بِسْمِ اللَّهِ [In the name of Allah].

¹⁴ Chapter 9, *At-Taubah* [Repentance], does not begin with *Bismillah* at all. The most popular interpretation of the absence of *Bismillah* at the beginning of chapter 9 [At-Taubah], Repentance, is that the chapter discusses the disbelievers of Islam who showed aggression against the Muslims and constantly violated their peace agreements with Muslims. In this chapter, Muslims were commanded to defend themselves by fighting them. Therefore, this chapter does not begin with *Bismillah* since *Bismillah* implies asking for Allah’s mercy which should not be given to such disbelievers mentioned in the context of this chapter.

¹⁵ Isti’adha is a statement uttered by Muslims to seek Allah’s help to protect them against the Satan’s manoeuvres by saying the words أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ [I seek refuge in Allah from the accursed the Satan].

Accordingly, this study considers *Bismillah* as a verse of the Quran if it is mentioned as the first verse of the opening chapter of the Quran, *Al-Fatiha* (i.e., when it is followed by the other verses of the opening chapter of the Quran and as a part of verse 30 chapter 27, النمل [the ants]). Otherwise, including the short form of it, it is considered an invocation uttered by Muslims at the beginning of most of their deeds. However, both cases of *Bismillah* are ICIs. *Bismillah* has occurred in the data seven times. Only one instance is a verse, namely, verse 1 from the opening chapter 1. Other instances are mentioned in the ST as an invocation. It is worth mentioning that the total number of the occurrences of the Quranic references found in the study corpus is 21, and they are all listed and discussed in Chapter 6 (see section 6.2).

3.2.1.2 Non- Quranic Material in the Study Corpus

This section introduces the non- Quranic material found in the study corpus which includes the Arabic ICIs and the non-Islamic Arabic expressions subtitled into English as Islamic items. As mentioned previously, this study identifies 790 ICIs within the study corpus. It is worth mentioning that this figure doesn't signify the absolute count of unique items, but rather the frequency of their occurrences in the corpus. Excluding the Quranic material, the occurrence of the non-Quranic material is 769. Since the thesis has a word limit, and appendices 1-9 encompass all the Islamic cultural items that were identified in the corpus categorised by the films, only a selection of some items along with their frequency of occurrence are depicted in the table below.

Table 10

A Sample of ICIs/Non-Quranic Material with the Frequency of Occurrence in the ST Corpus

S	Islamic Cultural Items	Frequency of ICIs Occurrence	Back Translation
1	الله (as mentioned in the entire corpus)	471	Allah/God ¹⁶

¹⁶ Using “Allah” or “God” is discussed in Chapter 6.

2	الله أكبر	138	Allah is the greatest.
3	استشهد (and its derivatives in the ST corpus)	63	Martyred.
4	إن شاء الله	43	If Allah wills/ Allah willing (God willing).
5	الشهادة (and its derivatives in the ST corpus)	27	a testimony that there is no God but Allah.
6	السلام عليكم	17	Peace be upon you.
7	جهاد (and its derivatives in the ST corpus)	11	The holy war

The following table illustrates the non-Islamic Arabic expression found in the study corpus that was subtitled into English as an Islamic cultural item.

Table 11

The Non-Islamic Arabic Expression Subtitled into English as an ICI

S	Arabic words in ST	English subtitles TT	Literal Translation / Back Translation
1	هذا حزام ناسف	This is a shahid ¹⁷ belt	This is an explosive/ dynamite belt.

3.3 Methods of Data Analysis

Qualitative research is considered an advantageous way to uncover unexplored cases (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Dornyei, 2011). Due to the nature of the research questions as well as the aims of the current study, the data is mainly analysed qualitatively. However, a quantitative analysis is also carried out to investigate the ratio of

¹⁷ This example is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (see section 6.1.1).

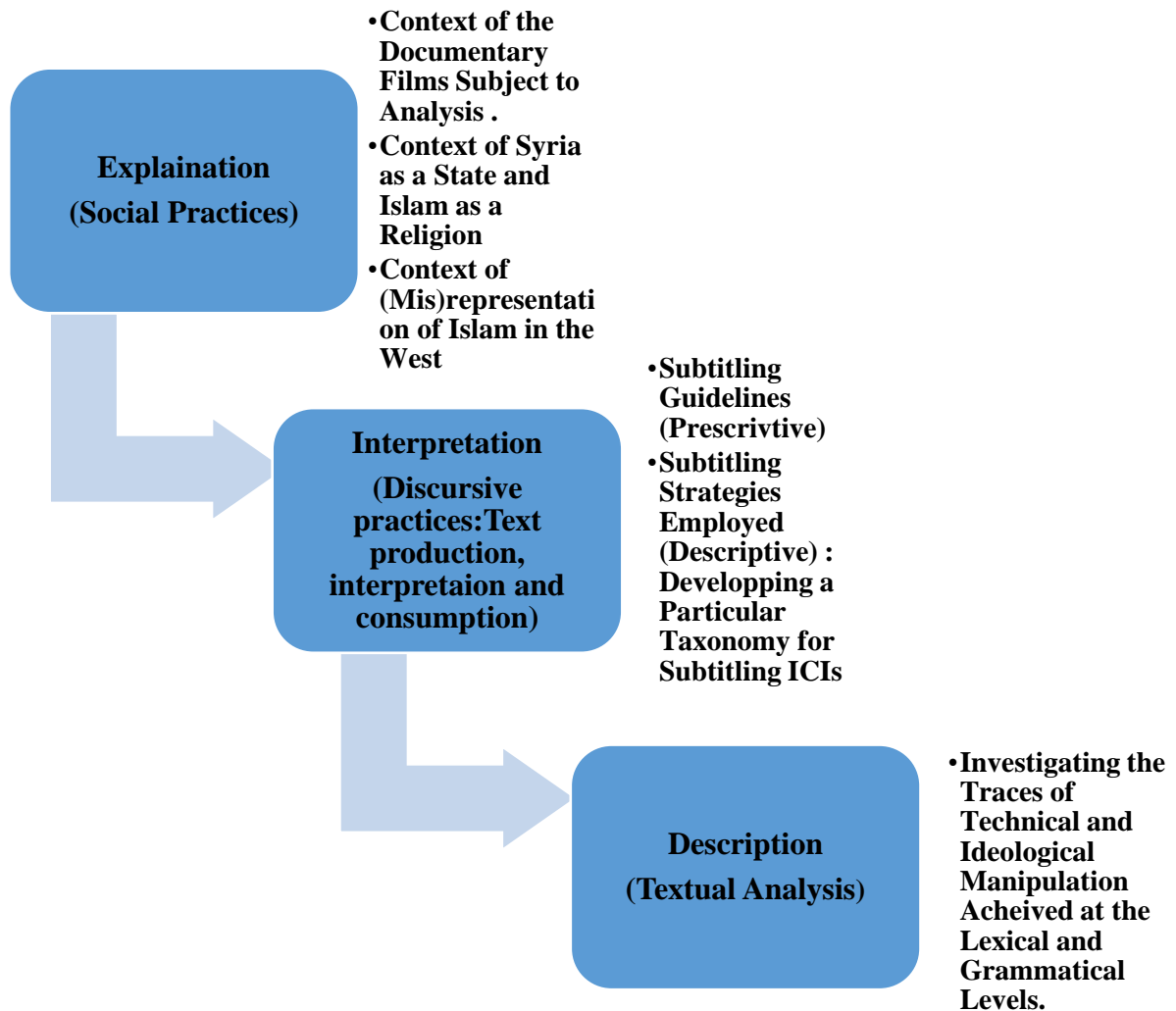
(de)islamisation of the TT discourse and to investigate the frequency of each subtitling strategy employed in each film. Then, the quantitative results are analysed qualitatively. In addition, mentioning the frequency of the Islamic cultural items found in the films investigated is just quantifying the data, but the data analysis is still mainly qualitative. Notably, the quantity of Islamic cultural items in the corpus illustrates how important this topic is to be addressed and shed light on in the literature.

The data collected for this study is analysed using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The Fairclough model of CDA (1989/1995), the three-dimensional model, is utilised to conduct a qualitative analysis at the three levels of description, interpretation, and explanation. Additionally, by conducting an abduction approach, a particular taxonomy of subtitling strategies of ICIs is proposed, and a quantitative analysis of the employed subtitling strategies is carried out.

Since the study focuses on nine films that dealt with the recent war in Syria and its impact on Syrians 'life, the data analysis is conducted in three stages. The first stage involves an examination of the interrelated contexts of the films, including the Syrian war, Syria as a state and Islam as a religion, and the misrepresentation of Islam in the West. The second stage involves investigating the discursive practices of TT production, interpretation and consumption by examining the subtitling guidelines and strategies employed by film subtitlers. The films were grouped by their broadcasting platform, and each film was analysed separately. The third stage involved a textual analysis of the ICIs at the lexical and grammatical levels, examining potential traces of technical and ideological manipulation in the form of islamisation and de-islamisation. Figure 14 below shows the process of analysis adopted chronologically in the current study.

Figure 14

Levels of Data Analysis



The following subsections illustrate the process of developing a particular taxonomy for the subtitling strategies of ICIs, the film analysis, the calculation methodology to determine the (de)islamisation rate of the TT, and the ICI analysis as a segment to identify the

potential traces of ideological manipulation in the form of islamisation and deislamisation of the TT.

3.3.1 The Proposed Taxonomy of Subtitling Strategies of ICIs

As previously mentioned, there is no particular taxonomy for the subtitling strategies of ICIs. Therefore, to develop a certain taxonomy for the subtitling strategies of ICIs, the abduction approach in research is used. The process involves the following steps:

- Collecting all ICIs (ST) with their English subtitles (TT).
- Reviewing the existing taxonomies of subtitling strategies of culturally specific items, such as Gottlieb (1992), Pedersen (2005/2007), and Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014).
- Generate hypotheses on subtitling strategies of ICIs using study data and relevant taxonomies of culturally specific items.
- Testing and evaluating the hypotheses through further analysis of subtitling data and examples.
- Drawing a conclusion about the subtitling strategies in ICIs based on the results and refining the hypotheses.
- Using the refined hypotheses to make new predictions about subtitling strategies in ICIs and repeating the process until a satisfactory understanding is achieved.

This approach is an experimental method which relies on the researcher's intuition and judgement. It allows for flexibility and adaptability in the research process (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013).

3.3.2 Film Analysis

Firstly, the subtitling guidelines issued by each platform are examined separately. An overview of each platform and metadata related are presented. Then, all films are grouped in the same section of the analysis, starting with the films broadcast on Netflix, then those broadcast on Amazon prime, and finally, those broadcast on All 4. All films subject to analysis are investigated in terms of the subtitling strategies adopted to render ICIs into English thoroughly. This process includes:

- analysing all instances of Islamic cultural items in each film,
- distributing the strategies based on the proposed taxonomy of the subtitling strategies of ICIs,
- identifying the strategies that contribute to (de)-islamising TT of ICIs, and
- investigating the ratio of (de)islamising the subtitled discourse based on the subtitling strategies adopted.

Then, the mean of the (de)islamisation rate of film groups broadcast on various video-on-demand platforms is investigated in order to determine the mean of the (de)islamisation rate for each platform. Additionally, the mean of the (de)islamisation rate of all films in the dataset is also examined to identify the overall mean (de)islamisation rate for the entire data.

The following subsequent section presents the calculation method utilised to determine the (de)islamisation rate in the TT discourse of each film and, subsequently, across each platform and the entire dataset of the study.

3.3.3 (De)islamisation Ratio Calculation

The following equation is used to identify the (de)islamisation rate in the TT discourse of each film, and subsequently, across each platform and the entire dataset of the study.

$$\textit{Islamisation Rate} = \frac{\textit{The number of TT subtitles that have Islamic connotations}}{\textit{the total number of the ICIs in the ST}} * 100\%$$

$$\textit{Deislamisation Rate} = 100\% - \textit{Islamisation Rate}$$

For example, the total number of ICIs in *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) is 75 and there is only one word in the subtitles of the TT that has an Islamic connotation. Therefore, the islamisation rate of the TT is 1.3% as a result of $1/75 * 100\%$ and the deislamisation rate is 98.70% as a result of $100\% - 1.30\%$.

The subsequent section illustrates the process of the analysis of the ICIs to identify any potential traces of technical and ideological manipulation in the form of islamisation or

deislamisation of the TT and the way they are achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels.

3.3.4 Thematic Qualitative Analysis of Lexical and Grammatical Manipulation in Subtitling ICIs

This study follows a thematic qualitative analysis approach that focuses specifically on exploring and analysing in depth the theme of (de)islamisation in the target text. In this study, a thematic qualitative analysis approach is adopted to investigate instances of subtitling Islamic cultural items to identify potential traces of ideological or technical manipulation. It is worth mentioning that each instance of the Islamic cultural items in the corpus is textually analysed in terms of its lexical and grammatical features and the subtitling strategies employed, taking into consideration the technical constraints (the time and space allocated for each item to appear on the screen). After excluding the instances of technical manipulation, any traces of ideological manipulation and overlapping cases between technical and ideological manipulation are thoroughly investigated through an examination of the discursive and social practices.

However, the textual analysis represented in Chapter 6, the description stage of analysis divides the analysis into two separate sections: one for the non-Quranic material and one for the Quranic material. The textual analysis section of non-Quranic material focuses on specific instances where the target text has undergone (de)islamisation, and the lexical and grammatical structures used to achieve this effect are examined in detail. For the lexical items, the analysis focuses on examples that are frequently mentioned in the study's corpus, particularly those that are subject to negotiation in the field of translation studies, such as the words 'jihad' and 'martyrdom.' By analysing these examples, the study aims to identify the specific lexical structures used to achieve (de)islamisation in the target text. In terms of the grammatical structures, the study only includes examples that reflect each way of manipulating grammar to achieve deislamisation or islamisation in the target text. These examples are carefully selected to illustrate the specific techniques used to

achieve these effects and provide a comprehensive understanding of how the (de)islamisation is achieved at the grammatical level.

In the context of this study, the Quranic material analysed is limited due to the small number of verses or parts of verses found in the study corpus, with a total of 21 Quranic references identified. Due to the distinctive nature of the Quranic verses as Sacred texts and to the limited number of their instances found in the study corpus, a separate textual analysis section of the Quranic material is provided in Chapter 6, where each of the 21 Quranic references is examined in detail, considering the technical constraints and the lexical and grammatical structure of their TT subtitles. The textual analysis provides a comprehensive understanding of how the Quranic material is translated and manipulated in subtitling, taking into account its unique nature as a sacred text. This separate analysis allows for a focused examination of the Quranic material and its translation in the target text, providing valuable insights into the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of the Quranic material in documentary film subtitling.

To sum up, the textual analysis of ICIs represented in Chapter 6 illustrates the traces of any potential technical and ideological manipulation in subtitling ICIs (Quranic and non-Quranic material) based on the qualitative analysis of lexical and grammatical levels.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides a comprehensive outline of the methodology adopted to address the research questions as well as the description of the study dataset. It presents a thorough examination of the methods used to collect and analyse the study data, as well as an overview of the data sources (i.e., the documentary films subject to analysis), including other relevant information such as the Awards the films have received and the subtitlers of the films.

Moreover, this chapter illustrates the process of the study corpus compilation and the categorisations of the ICIs in the study corpus. The ICIs are categorised into two main groups: Quranic and non-Quranic material.

Furthermore, the chapter introduces the two methods of analysis: a quantitative and qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis is conducted to identify the subtitling strategies employed to render ICIs into English and to calculate the (de)islamisation rate. This chapter, therefore, illustrates the methods of developing a particular taxonomy of the subtitling strategies of ICIs and the calculation methodology of identifying the (de)islamisation rate of the TT of a film, of a group of film broadcasts on one platform, and of the entire dataset.

In addition, this chapter illustrates the qualitative method of analysis conducted based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA (1989/1995). It illustrates the process of analysing the subtitling strategies used for ICIs and investigating whether there are indications of technical or ideological manipulation in the form of (de)islamisation in the translated subtitles. Specifically, the chapter chronologically outlines the levels of data analysis in three main stages based on Fairclough's model of CDA (1989/1995) as follows:

- *Explanation Stage* (Social practices): it includes three interrelated contexts of the study dataset, namely, the context of the Syrian war that the documentaries talk about, the context of Syria as a state and Islam as a religion, and the contexts of the negative representation of Islam and Muslims disseminated through media in the western countries.
- *Interpretation Stage* (Discursive practices): It includes the process of TT production, interpretation, and consumption, the prescriptive subtitling guidelines and the descriptive subtitling strategies of ICIs employed by the film subtitlers.
- *Description Stage* (Textual analysis): It includes the analysis of ICIs and their TTs at the lexical and grammatical levels.

The chapter also acknowledges one of the study's limitations: the inability to interview the film subtitlers and the reliance on textual analysis at the lexical and grammatical levels to analyse Islamic cultural items.

The following three chapters (4, 5, & 6) represent the data analysis based on the methodology presented in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Social Practices

4.0 Introduction

Discourse is a social practice related to a particular social context (Fairclough, 1989). Social practices can be noticed in media representation. For example, the way that different social groups are represented in news articles, television shows, and other forms of media can reveal how language is used to construct and reinforce stereotypes, biases, and social hierarchies. Furthermore, social practices can be in political discourse. For example, the way that politicians use language in speeches, debates, and other forms of public communication can reveal how they use language to assert power, create social divisions, and mobilise support. Social practices can also be in interpersonal discourse. For example, the way that language is used in everyday conversations can reveal how power and dominance are asserted and negotiated in personal relationships and how people position themselves and others in society. Social practices can also be in translated discourse. Translators reproduce the source text/ discourse in the form of Target Text /discourse. Translators may reflect the social practices that are already embedded in the ST. They are no longer considered invisible or transparent entities (Lefevere, 1992; Venuti, 1995; Bassnett, 2003; Schäffner, 2007). They may reproduce and generate new social practices that reflect their or others' ideologies, beliefs, and biases, such as editors, publishing institutions, or political entities in society. Social practices in translation, the ways that translators produce the TT or use the TT to disseminate their own or others' ideologies and beliefs, can be detected by investigating the translation strategies employed to transfer the ST from one language into another, from one cultural or even from mode into another (i.e., from spoken into written as the case of subtitling). However, in subtitling, technical constraints may affect the process of transferring the spoken text (ST) into a written form (TT) and the process of reflecting on the social practices (either already embedded in the ST or generated through the TT).

By adopting CDA, Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA (1989/1995), this study critically investigates the process of subtitling Islamic cultural items in Arabic

documentary films subtitled into English to address worldwide (including the Western audience). It unveils any traces of ideological manipulations held in the target text, either in the form of islamising or deislamising the TT, after excluding the traces of technical manipulation. To do so, this study first examines the social practices that contribute to encoding the ideological orientations within the subtitled text (in the case of the current study, the TT of documentary films about the Syrian war, which started in 2011, and its consequences on Syrian civilians and refugees). This process is called the explanation, a stage of analysis based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA (1989/1995)¹⁸. The explanation stage of analysis reveals the relationship between social practices and the interpretation of the text, the process of producing, consuming, and distributing the text.

All social practices are situated within specific contexts and serve as the mechanism through which extant social relations are perpetuated or challenged, and various agendas are advanced (Janks, 1997). As this chapter investigates social practices, it is essential to contextualise the study's data to provide a comprehensive knowledge of the interrelated contexts.

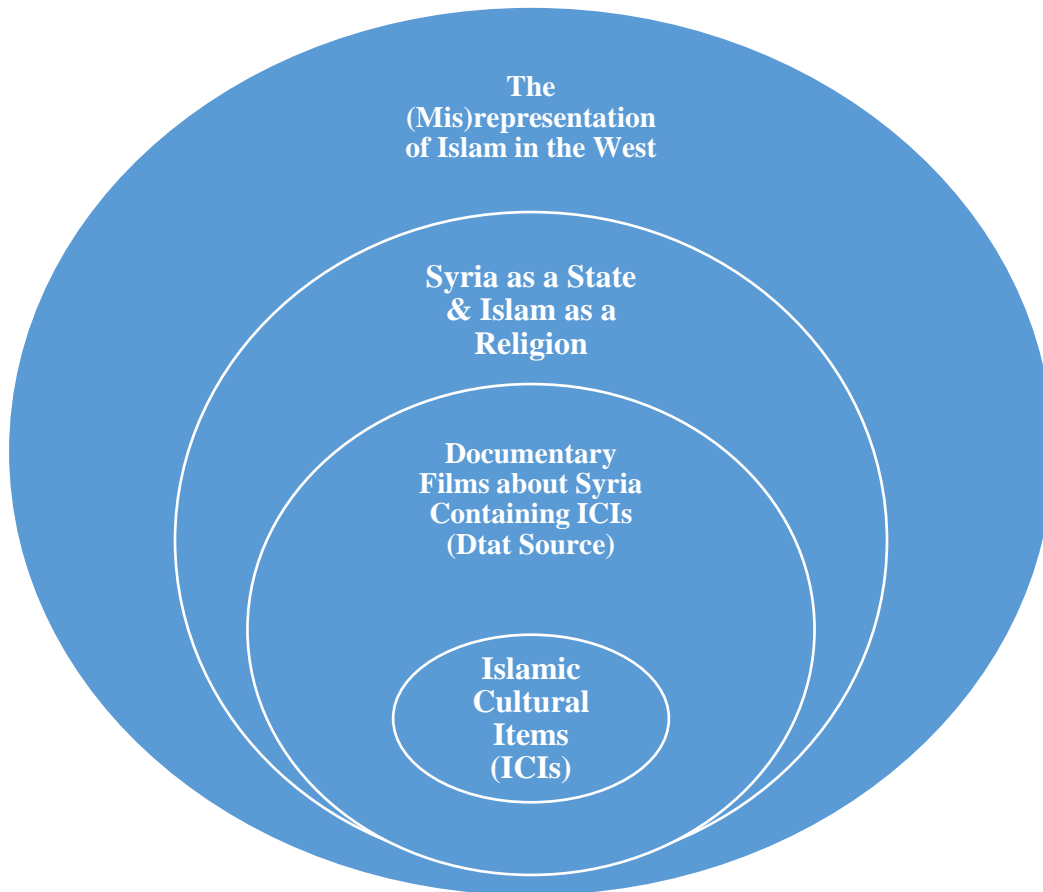
As mentioned, this study investigates the subtitling process of Islamic Cultural items (ICIs). ICIs pertain to the religious practices and customs of Islam. These items are mentioned in documentary films about Syria, a country known for its diverse religious sects, with Muslims being the majority. Religion plays a significant role in Syrian politics and discourse, as evidenced by the ongoing conflicts between the Sunni and Shiite sects and the presence of terrorist organisations that claim to operate under the banner of Islam. Furthermore, the broader socio-political context, including the (mis)representation of Islam in the West, must be considered when examining the process of subtitling ICIs in films that are intended for Western audiences.

¹⁸ In doing so, I pre-empt the explanation stage of the procedure of the three-dimensional CDA model of Fairclough (1989/1995). This stage should be applied first to have a comprehensive perception of the context of the translated discourse, which, in turn, contributes to understanding and analysing any ideological manipulation that might be held in the TT. Fairclough (1989, p.176) asserts that "no reason why the procedure should be applied in one order rather than another. Indeed, it is often helpful to come back to a stage one has already applied in the light of what emerges from applying the other stages". Therefore, the complete data collection process was done after investigating the social practices of the study context.

Accordingly, the interrelated contexts are the context of the Syrian war the documentary films talk about, the context of Syria as a State and Islam as a religion, and the (mis)representation of Islam worldwide (more particularly the western audience) through media, as illustrated in Figure 15 below.

Figure 15

Social Practices: The Interrelated Contexts of the Study Data (ICIs)



Investigating these three interrelated contexts contributes to answering the following questions:

- How does the diversity of the religious demography in Syria influence the Syrian discourse?

- How are the different religious sects of Islam reflected in the TT discourse as the TT is a reproduction of the ST?
- To what extent does the (mis)representation of Islam as a religion in the west may affect the process of subtitling ICIs into English to address the western audience?
- How can social practices contribute to either intentionally islamise or deislamise the TT?

Accordingly, this chapter consists of three main sections. The first one is an overview of the context of the documentary films subject to analysis: the Syrian war (2011-April 2023), as the study data source. The second section sketches out the context of Syria as a State and Islam as a religion in this state. It is noteworthy to emphasise that determining the role of Islam as a religion encompasses determining its relationship with other religious denominations as well. Therefore, the second section consists of three subsections: one investigating the religious demography in Syria and overviewing the various religious sects in Syria and, at the same time, the main religious beliefs of each sect, one exploring religion in Syrian politics, and one exploring religion in the Syrian discourse (secular vs non-secular) and discussing the relationship between secularisation and (de)islamisation of discourse. The third section discusses the (mis)representation of Islam as a religion worldwide (particularly in the West) through media. Finally, this chapter ends with a section of concluding remarks.

4.1 The Syrian War (2011- April 2023): Context of the Documentaries Subject to Analysis

This section contextualises the documentary films that are subject to analysis. They are all about Syria. More specifically, they document the Syrians' life during the war times (the Syrian war 2011- April 2023).

Syria is a country in the Middle East officially called the Syrian Arab Republic and whose capital is Damascus. Bordered by Jordan to the south, Iraq to the east, the Mediterranean Sea to the west, Turkey to the north, Israel/Occupied Palestine, and Lebanon to the southwest, its geographical position makes it lie “at the meeting point of three

continents, south from Europe, west from Asia and east from Africa, the history of Syria has been the history of a battle-ground between great empires fighting for mastery” (Antonius,1934, p.524).

Syria has been suffering from its recent civil war, which started as a revolution in March 2011. The Syrian war resulted in an enormous number of refugees worldwide and oppressed civilians in Syria. Many international powers and various religious sects were involved in the Syrian war.

The Syrian war, which the world has been watching its consequences till now, was a revolutionary war against the ruling regime in Syria. It was an extension of the Arab spring¹⁹, which spread over many countries in the Arab world since December 2010. The Arab Spring first started in Tunisia. The Tunisian revolution, also called *The Jasmine Revolution*, began on 17 December 2010 against the autocratic regime led by President Ben Ali. Following the Tunisians in their revolution, many Syrians from different ethnicities and religious sects protested against the Syrian dictatorial ruling regime led by Bashar Al-Assad in March 2011 (Haj Omar, 2016; van Dam, 2017). Many factors contributed to the Syrian revolution, such as refusing the injustice and oppressing practices by the Syrian regime and in response to the economic corruption, civil violence (Van Dam, 2017), underemployment, economic and social injustice, and the general frustration (Haj Omar, 2016). However, Ziadeh (2015, p.230) asserts that “the Syrian revolution had less to do with unemployment than with honour and dignity”. Ziadeh (2015, p.230) reports that “the mass demonstrations that began in Daraa seemed to gather the country’s disparate groups in a call for human dignity. Respect for human rights, equality, and protection from corruption underpinned all the popular revolutions of the Arab Spring, including Syria”.

¹⁹ - For more information about the term Arab Spring, from where it comes and why it is used, see Mair & Keeble (2011), Barton (2011), Weyland (2012), Souaiaia A.E. (2013), and Huber & Kamel (2018).

- Ayasrah (2015) reports that the expression “spring” was used in the Syrian context before 2011 to label some other political movements, such as “Rabī Dimashq” [The Damascus Spring] during the early period of Bashar’s rule in 2000 and then in 2005 another spring-like movement known with “E’Iàn Dimashq” [The Damascus Declaration] was held towards emancipation, freedom, and equality. “Although both movements towards democratisation and political plurality failed to change the political situation in Syria in that time, they were seen as catalytic providing oxygen for the current Arab Spring” (Ayasrah, 2015, p.91).

The longstanding revolution in Syria did not spring up overnight. Syrians suffered a lot from the ruling regime, the Ba'ath regime. Hafiz Al-Assad and Bashar Al-Assad followed the same oppressive and terrorising policy of ruling their people for decades (Ziadeh, 2015, p.230).

However, Saouli (2018) argues that the Ba'ath party itself generated the seeds of the ruling regime's erosion and the disintegration of Syria as a state which in turn can be considered one of the main factors that led Syrians to uprising against the ruling regime. According to Saouli (2018, p.12), "intra-regime and regime-society struggles for domination led to the monopolisation of power by a narrow elite, leading to mass political exclusion". In addition, the Ba'athist military elite worked to consolidate and reproduce power through kinship and regional ties that contributed to effectively stimulating both identity and regional divisions, which in turn contributed to exposing Syria and its ruling regime to external threats and intervention (Saouli, 2018).

Syria was called the kingdom of silence (Ziadeh, 2015; Neggaz, 2013). Syrians were forced to be silent for more than 40 years; they did not dare to talk about politics because the ruling regime could easily crush them and their loved ones. Whatever the actual reasons behind the Syrian revolution were, the salience was broken in March 2011 when Syrians revolutionised, chanted slogans about politics, and protested against the ruling regime and their journey about stopping the oppression, fear, and humiliation started. However, Syria descended into a sectarian and civil conflict. It was also a ground for terrorist movements, such as ISIS, that all contributed to the current chaos and the massive destruction in the social fabric of the Syrian nation (Van Dam, 2017).

The Syrian regime had successive crackdowns; thousands of Syrians officially deserted from the Syrian army to join the Free Syrian Army established by Riad Al-Asa'ad against Bashar's regime (Bodansky, 2012). The Syrian uprising started peacefully, then became militarised and more complicated, especially after the intervention of ISIS in 2014 in the Syrian war. Many parties were involved in the Syrian war (Besenyő & Gömöri, 2015). Russia and China backed Bashar Al-Assad's regime and Shiite powers in Lebanon, namely Hezbollah, in Iran and Iraq on one side and the Free Syrian Army, alongside many Islamist

factions, worked against the regime on the other side. In addition, ISIS fought against Al-Assad's regime and the other opposition forces. Over time, Syria was controlled by different parties. Some cities were under the control of the Syrian regime, and others were under the control of ISIS, the Free Syrian Army, and other militias.

The Syrian regime was rigorous and violent with the civilian Syrians. Many cities such as Aleppo, Homs, Hama and Der Alzoz were under an intense bombardment that contributed to killing civilian Syrians in thousands and forcing people to leave these cities looking for a safe place for themselves and their families. Many international powers called to stop the war in Syria and asked Bashar to step down. In 2012, the Arab League and the United Nations appointed Kofi Annan as an envoy to Syria to work on a peace plan. However, all their efforts failed to stop the bloody crackdown of Bashar's regime (Haj Omar, 2016). Not only the regime's army carried out mass executions as well as many massacres in many protesting cities, but also other armed gangs who stood by the side of Al-Assad's regime, known as *shabiha*, took part in the bloody crackdown that left thousands of civilian Syrians dead (Holliday, 2013).

On the other hand, there were about 1,000 independent groups of the Syrian opposition, narrowed down to "four major military actors: the Free Syrian Army / the Supreme Military Command, the Syrian Islamic Front and Islamic Liberation Front, the Jabhat al-Nusra and the Islamic State (of Iraq and Syria), and the (Kurdish) People's Protection Units" (Besenyő & Gömöri, 2015, p. 221). Groups, such as ISIS, Al-Nusra, and Salafi-jihadists that presented themselves as Islamic organisations, placed a significant emphasis on their extremist Sunni Islamic identity, thereby accentuating the distinctions between their religious identity and that of minority groups (Abdel-Samad, 2016).

Backing Syria, both Russia and China prevented the United Nations Security Council from passing a resolution denouncing Bashar's regime and even from imposing any sanction on the Syrian regime because of the use of their vetoes. Since Bashar's regime was supported by Russia, Hezbollah, and Iran militarily, it received many militants fighting on the ground. The Syrian war left around half a million dead, nearly two million injured,

and millions of refugees worldwide. Some cities in Syria were damaged completely (Zisser, 2019).

Dabashi (2012) claims that the Arab uprising was out of ideologies and could not be classified accordingly as nationalist, Islamist or socialist. However, what happened in Syria could be described as a conflict or clash of different ideologies. It was a conflict between those on the side of the existing ruling regime and protesters for a new justice regime. After the intervention of ISIS, which worked under the name of Islamic extremists against the Syrian Alawite Shiite ruling regime of Syria and other civil militias such as the Free Syrian Army, different ideologies contributed to accelerating the civil war in Syria so far (Haj Omar, 2016). Shiite militias from Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon, and Syria were formed to be extensive Shiite militia fighting in Syria alongside the Syrian Alawite Shiite regime under the support of Iran (Holliday, 2013).

Moreover, Ba'athists, Islamists and socialists that took part in the war tried to impose their own agenda. In other words, it was a clash between the Shiite and various Sunni ideologies; the Iranians and the Arabs; and Islamist groups and the secularist powers (Haj Omar, 2016). Nevertheless, the uprising itself remained a social movement that was not entirely seized by any particular ideology (Haj Omar, 2016).

It is worth mentioning that at the time of writing this thesis, there is no evidence confirming that the civil war is over. The Syrian Ba'athist regime under the leadership of Bashar Al-Assad has been ruling Syria so far, which is considered one aspect of the regime's victory. Nonetheless, Syrian refugees are still in many countries all over the world. Some countries have still been receiving requests from asylum seekers and refugees from Syria. Many civilian Syrians are still in Syrian prisons due to their standing against the regime. Finally, billions are needed to rebuild destroyed Syria. Syrians in Syria in many cities suffer from the lack of basic living needs.

4.2 Syria as a State & Islam as a Religion

Investigating the process of subtitling Islamic Cultural items in documentary films about Syria requires addressing Islamic religious themes in the source text (ST) presented in everyday language. It is crucial to establish the extent to which the religion of Islam is

connected to Syria as a nation. Furthermore, it is important to examine the role of Islam as a religion in relation to other religious denominations in Syria, as this would provide a deeper understanding of the religious diversity within the country and its impact on society and discourse.

Syria has an estimated population of 22.5 million (Bednarowicz, 2014). It is recognised for its diverse religious sects, including Sunni Muslims, who constitute the majority of the Syrian population, Alawis (also known as Nasurai/ Nasoraeans), Shiite Muslims, Ismai'lis, Druze, Yazidis, Christians, and Jews (Bednarowicz, 2014; Phillips, 2015).

Consequently, this section addresses three main topics: the religious demography in Syria, religion and the Syrian politics, and religion in the Syrian discourse.

4.2.1 Religious Demography in Syria

The Syrian population is heterogeneous in terms of religion. At the beginning of the war, Christians and Alawis were around ten per cent of the Syrian population. At the same time, Sunni Muslims amounted to more than 50 per cent of the population in Syria. Druze constituted three per cent of the population, and other religious sects, such as Shiite Muslims, Jews and Yazidis, contributed to the rest of the population (Bednarowicz, 2014; Phillips, 2015). However, these various religious sects existed in Syria for centuries prior to the recent war.

This section covers Islam as a religion. Sunni and Shiite Islam are the two main religious sects playing crucial roles in the Syrian war, as shown later in this chapter. The other religious sects are briefly introduced from the theological perspective. Only the main differences between the religious sects relevant to the topic of the study are covered. For those who do not know some of these religious sects, the following overview can unveil any ambiguity related to some Islamic cultural items in the data collected. It also makes the data analysis more adequate since discourse generally reflects people's lives, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies.

4.2.1.1 Islam

Islam is a religion that appeared in the early seventh century when the prophet Muhammad received the first verse of the Quran, and Allah, the only God in Islam, asked him to invite people to Islam (Berkey, 2002). The holy book in Islam is called the Quran, which was revealed to the prophet Muhammad over 22 years (610–632). Islam, as a term, means submission to the will of God. Muslims is the term used to refer to the followers of Islam. “Currently, 48 countries are Muslim-majority countries, representing almost 20% of the world’s nations” (Koehrsen, 2021, p.3).

Muslims believe that there is no God except Allah and Muhammad is the last prophet sent to people by Allah. Muslims believe in the existence of other prophets and respect them. Respecting and believing in the previous prophets (e.g., Ibrahim [Abraham], Musa [Moses], and Isa [Jesus]) sent by Allah are obligatory in Islam. Muslims also believe in all previous Scriptures sent by Allah to His Prophets (e.g., *Tawrat* [Torah/ the Hebrew Bible] sent to Moses, and *Injeel* [the Bible] sent to Isa /Jesus). However, Muslims believe that no previous Scripture is completely preserved in its original form except the Quran, which functions as Allah’s last message to all humankind.

There are five Pillars of Islam. First, *AL Shahada*, [the declaration of Faith by testifying that there is no god except Allah and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah]. Second, *Iqamat AL Salat*, [praying for Allah five times a day]. Third, *Ita’a Al Zakah* [money deducted from Muslims’ income under specific rules and given to other Muslims in need]. Fourth, *Sawm Ramadan* [fasting during the Arabic month, Ramadan, yearly]. Finally, *Hajj*, [a pilgrimage to Makkah at least once in a lifetime if possible]. In addition, Muslims also have *Hadith*, *Sunnah*, [the practical example of Prophet Muhammad]. A mosque is a place where Muslims gather for worship. However, Muslims can worship in any other place (e.g., work, home, park. Etc.). The Islamic code of law is called *Shari’a*. The following sections overview the various religious sects in Syria.

4.2.1.2 Sunni Islam

Sunni Muslims constitute most of the Muslim population (estimated 85%) (Blanchard, 2006). The name Sunni(s)²⁰ comes from the word [Sunnah] in Arabic, referring to Muslims who follow both the Quran and the Sunnah²¹ of the prophet Muhammad. Both Sunnis and Shiites are considered the main Islamic sects. Sunnis believe that the first four caliphs²² after the prophet Muhammad's death were the rightly guided rulers, including Ali Ibn Abi Talib, whom Shiite Muslims consider the first eligible Imam as opposed to the other Caliphs. Sunni Muslims believe that the leader of the Muslims should be chosen based on many factors, such as the communal consensus, the existing political order, and the individual merits of the selected leader (Blanchard, 2006). "Sunni Muslims do not bestow upon human beings the exalted status given only to prophets in the Quran, in contrast to the Shiite veneration of imams. Sunnis have a less elaborate and arguably less powerful religious hierarchy" (Blanchard, 2006, p.11). However, after the end of the Ottoman empire²³, the biggest Sunni empire lasted for centuries during the Islamic caliphs ended, and Muslims have been ruling by political leaders. All Arab countries (except Lebanon²⁴), where most Muslims live, require their political leaders to be Muslims. Sunni Muslims in Syria constitute most of the Syrian population. However, they have been ruled by the Ba'ath party, which is dominated by a minority of Alawi Shi'is that has been led by Hafiz Al-Assad and his son, Bashar Al-Assad, since 1970.

²⁰ In the modern era, Sunni Muslims is the general term used to refer to any Muslim who follows the Quran and the Sunnah. They do not need to belong to certain sects under the umbrella of Sunnis. However, especially with involving Islam in politics, some modern Islamic sects present themselves as Sunni sects, such as Salafis, Wahabis and Islamists, who are considered Sunni puritanical movements (Blanchard, 2006; Saltman & Winter, 2014). These sects are known for their political intervention and are highly active in some countries, such as Wahabis in Saudi Arabia.

²¹ Sunnah refers to a record of the words and actions of the Islamic prophet Muhammad.

²² The first four caliphs in Islam after the prophet's death were Abu Bakr AlSiddiq, Umar Ibn al-Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan, and Ali Ibn Abi Talib.

²³ It ended in 1922.

²⁴ According to the constitution of Lebanon, the president of Lebanon is always a Maronite Christian, and the prime minister is always a Sunni Muslim. However, the Prime Minister is appointed and removed by the president of Lebanon.

4.2.1.3 Shiite Islam

Shiite Islam refers to “the followers of ‘Ali Ibn Abi Talib, cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad. The Shi’is disagreed with other Muslims over the question of succession to Muhammad²⁵. They felt (and still feel) that ‘Ali was the first legitimate successor” (Swayd, 2009, p. 40). After the prophet of Islam, Muhammad, had died in 632, Muslims negotiated about succession. There was no son to be an heir of the prophet, so most Muslims agreed that any qualified Muslim was eligible to be the prophet’s successor. However, another small Muslim group did not agree and claimed that Ali bin Abi Talib was the heir of the prophet Muhammad. They claimed that the prophet appointed Ali bin Abi Talib, his cousin and his son-in-law, as his successor (Momen, 1985; Talhamy, 2012). It is worth mentioning that Ali Bin Abi Talib agreed with the majority of Muslims who appointed Abu Bakr as the prophet’s heir²⁶ (Abbas, 2021). Accordingly, Muslims then split into two groups: those who were the majority and called Sunni Muslims and those who were the minority and called Shiite Muslims. As they were the majority, Sunni Muslims agreed on Abu Bakr Al-Sedīq, the prophet’s close friend, to be the successor and the first Caliph of Muslims. Abu Bakr led the Muslim community for 27 months (about two and a half years). After the death of Abu Bakr, Umar Alkhatāb was chosen as the second caliph who ruled for ten years (Madelung, 1997). Then, Uthman bin Afan was elected to be the third caliph of Muslims; Uthman ruled the Muslim community for 12 years and was killed in 656 (Rogerson, 2006). “While the Shiites, for their part, considered the first three Caliphs as usurpers. Ali was not named as the Prophet’s heir until 656 when he was chosen to be the fourth Caliph of the Muslim community” (Talhamy, 2012, p.976).

After around five years of rule, Ali was killed in 661. Then, the negotiation about who was supposed to be his heir started. Those who supported Ali claimed that his sons by his wife Fatima, the prophet’s daughter, were supposed to be his successors. “They were called

²⁵ See Rogerson (2006) and Campbell (2008) for more information about Leadership succession in early Islam after the death of the prophet Muhammad.

²⁶ “You are well aware that I am the most entitled to the caliphate. But by God, I shall resign myself to this situation for as long as the affairs of the Muslims are being soundly governed” (Ali ibn Abi Talib, as cited in Abbas, 2021, p.92).

the Imams, and the Shiites believe that there were twelve of those; this is why the Shiites are also called the Twelvers. In the course of time, there were many splits among the Shiite branch of Islam” (Talhamy, 2012, p.976). After Ali bin Abi Talib’s death, the question arose about who was supposed to be the Imam again. “According to the Shiites, the line of inheritance runs through the descendants of Imam al-Husayn Ibn Ali, and the firstborn son of each Imam is the one chosen by God” (Talhamy, 2012, p.977).

In addition, Shiite Islam does not adhere to the Islamic code of law *Shari’a* compiled from the four Sunni schools²⁷: namely, Hanbali, Shafi’i, Maliki and Hanafi. Shiite Muslims adhere to other schools, such as Akhbari and Usuli (Swayd, 2009). “In most of the world, Shiites would continue as a minority. Today, according to some estimates, Shiite Islam is practiced among approximately 10% to 15% of the world’s Muslim population” (Blanchard, 2006, p.11).

4.2.1.4 Alawis

Alawi(s) or Alawite Shiite Muslims are a Shiite Islamic sect emerging in the 9th century. Alawism or as known in the past with Nusayrism is distinguished by believing in the deification of Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib, the practice of shrine beliefs, reincarnation, in securing the transfer of secret religious knowledge between their generations, and the role of [batin] beliefs, the inner meaning of religious texts (Türk, 2010). “Practically all ‘Alawis are Arabs. Their total number is about four million, among which some 2.5 million reside in Syria, where they constitute roughly 12 per cent of the population” (Procházka, 2015, p.1). Alawis in Syria comprise four tribes, namely, Haddadin, kalbiyya, Matavira, and Khayatin (Türk, 2010; Skutsch, 2013).

However, Sunni Muslims see Alawis as non-Shiite Muslims, heretics, or non-Muslim at all (Skutsch, 2013). Some studies reveal that Alawis are originally not Muslims. However, they are descendants of people inhabiting the isolated region during the ruling period of Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE), and they were influenced by Christianity

²⁷ The names of these schools refer to the names of Imams who founded the schools: Ibn Hanbal, Al-Shafi’i, Malik, and Abu Hanifa.

and Islam (Skutsch, 2013). Moreover, Sunni Muslims consider Alawis as a non-Muslim because Alawis reject one of the basic tenets of Islam (Pipe, 1989); “Muslims proclaim their faith with the phrase: ‘There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is His prophet’, Alawis assert ‘There is no deity but Ali, no veil but Muhammad, and no bab but Salman” (Pipe,1989, p.431). Moreover, “the theologian al-Ash’ari (874-936) held that Alawism encourages male sodomy and incestuous marriages” (Pipe,1989, p.432). They also follow some non-Islamic rituals that are derived from both Zoroastrianism and Christianity; one of the Sunni theologians known as Sheikh al-Islam, Ibn Taymiyya, announced that Alawis are more dangerous than Christians and called Muslims for jihad against them (Skutsch, 2013). Religious secrecy is strongly maintained by Alawis, who hide their faith not just from non-Alawis but even from the majority of Alawis themselves (Pipe, 1989). “Alawism permits only males born of two Alawi parents to learn the religious doctrines. When deemed trustworthy, these are initiated into some of the rites at 16 to 20 years of age; other mysteries are revealed later and only gradually” (Pipe, 1989, p.431). Alawis do their best to keep their faith principles secret for example, “the most renowned apostate from Alawism, Sulayman Efendi al-Adhani, was assassinated for divulging the sect’s mysteries” (Pipe, 1989, p.431).

Nonetheless, other studies assert that Alawis are Shiite Muslims, particularly emerged from Ismaili Shiite sect (Skutsch, 2013). Like Shiite Muslims, they believe that Ali ibn Abi Talib, the prophet Muhammad’s cousin, is the legitimate prophet’s heir; they consider Ali a bearer of the divine essence. They highly appreciate Ali more than any other prophets (Skutsch, 2013). They believe in the holy war (Jihad) and devotion to Ali ibn Abi Talib’s family *Waliyah*. Alawis do not perform key Islamic duties, such as fasting Ramadan or performing Hajj [pilgrimage to Mecca], although they claim that they have secret knowledge of religion that is not revealed to any other Muslims. “Indeed, they consider the pilgrimage to Mecca a form of idol worship” (Pipe,1989, p.432). What is known about Alawis’ religious practices is limited. Pipe (1989) mentions some of these practices. For instance, women are not required to be veiled. Wine drinking is permitted. Some religious ceremonies are held at night. There is no specific prayer or worship place. There are no

religious structures to visit other than tomb shrines. However, seeing Alawis pray alongside other Muslims in a mosque is not surprising. This behaviour is called Taqiya [religious dissimulation]; it is practiced by Alawis and other sects of Shiite origins (Pipe, 1989; Talhamy, 2012).

Studies, such as Pipe (1989) and Fildis (2012), claim that the name, Alawis, was used during the French mandate for political purposes. Until 1920, the name “Nusayris” or “Ansaris” was used to refer to this religious sect. “Because of their major concentrations in the Nusayriyya Mountains in northwestern Syria and at that time being followers of Abu Shu’ayb Muhammad Ibn Nusayr (d. 880), they are often referred to as Nusayris, especially in earlier centuries” (Swayd, 2009, p.64). After the French mandate arrived in Syria, the name Alawis was started to be used. “Nusayri” emphasizes the group’s different approach to mainstream Islam, whereas “Alawi” suggests an adherent of Ali (the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad) and accentuates the religion’s similarities to Shii Islam” (Fildis, 2012, p. 150). Showing Alawis as an Islamic religious sect was very crucial to enable them to have high positions in different Syrian governmental positions, especially in the ruling regime, since the official religion in Syria is Islam, and the Syria constitution stipulates that being a Muslim is a prerequisite to be the head of the state Muslim (Pipe, 1989; Skutsch, 2013).

Until the 20th century, Sunni Muslims did their best to keep Alawis isolated and economically and socially deprived in Syria because they considered them non-Muslims and anti-Muslims (Pipe, 1989; Skutsch, 2013). However, during the French mandate, Alawis settled in an autonomous district on the Syrian coast, which was later known as the Alawi region and the territory of Alawis (Pipe, 1989; Skutsch, 2013). French followed the policy of split and rule to suppress the national independence movement; they established religious courts for both Sunni and Shiite Muslims and considered Alawis a religious Shiite sect and allowed them to have communal representations in parliament as well as positions in the military (Pipe, 1989; Fildis, 2012; Skutsch, 2013).

After the end of the French mandate in 1946, Alawis were refought by Sunni Muslims; they were withdrawn from governmental positions. However, “The Syrian Ba’ath party proved attractive for the Alawis, especially for its socialism and secularism; whereas the former offered economic opportunities for poor and rural Alawis, the latter meant lesser prejudicial treatment from the Sunni majority” (Skutsch, 2013, p.62). Accordingly, Alawis gradually joined the military and got high positions in both the Ba’ath party and the Syrian military, which are considered the strong instrument of Alawis’ social mobility in Syria (Pipe, 1989; Fildis, 2011/2012, Skutsch, 2013). Alawis became the ruling elite of Syria by dominating the Syrian government (especially when Hafiz Alassad became the first Alawi head of the state in 1970), having very crucial positions in the Syrian military and the general intelligence agency and becoming wealthy (Drysdale, 1981; Pipe, 1989; Fildis, 2011/2012, Skutsch, 2013). Nowadays, Alawis, as a minority, have strong political power in Syria, where two-thirds of the population is Sunni. Many Sunni Muslims regard the Syria Ba’athist Alawis as anti-Islamic, oppressive, and illegitimate (Fildis, 2012).

4.2.1.5 Druzes

Druze is derived from Husayn Nashtakin al-Darazi, who refers to an early member of this community. Al-Darazi later became a heretic and deviated from the teaching of this community that declared him an apostate [Zindeeq] heretic. Thus, Druze became the hegemonic name for this community, although it was not used in the authentic Druze manuscripts in the early eleventh century (Talhamy, 2012; Swayd, 2009).

Generally, Druzes are considered one of the smallest religious groups in the world. They are around only a million. It is worth mentioning that conversion and proselytizing have not been allowed in this religious community since 1043; therefore, a non-Druze cannot become a Druze (Talhamy, 2012; Swayd, 2009). Nowadays, Druzes are dispersed in small groups among Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and a continuously growing diaspora. Because of their history, culture, religion, and traditions, they are considered - and they consider themselves, a very independent, unique group (Swayd, 2009).

As a religious minority, Druze eschatology and cosmology include the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) as references to their origin in the period of 2000–300 B.C.E.; Druze ancestors were Christianised and then were islamised (Talhamy, 2012; Swayd, 2009). In 996, the preparation phase of the Tawhid Call (Da'wat Al-Tawhid, which hereafter is known as Druzism) begins secretly; then, in May 1017, Druzism was officially announced as a religious sect under the leadership of Hamza Ibn' Ali as an Imam (Talhamy, 2012; Swayd, 2009). Druzes settled in different areas in what is known now as the Middle East. In modern history, Druzes entered Damascus in 1918 with the forces of King Faisal. During the French mandate in Syria, the administratively independent state for the Druzes was established in 1921 in the area known as the Druze Mountain (Swayd, 2009). According to the Druze religious doctrine, the Druze faith is a religious reform sect (madhhab) or movement (harakat islah) that emerged out of other various religious sects, namely, the Islamic, Shi'i, Isma'ili, and Judeo-Christian traditions (Swayd, 2009). The main act of faith in the Druzism is *Tawhid*, [Unitarianism], which refers to “the complete conviction in the Unity of God without a doubt in thought, perception, speech, or action” (Swayd, 2009, p.38); the sources of Unitarianism [Tawhid] are various and include the Quran, the New Testament, and the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, Druzes's three main acts of worship reflect an interpretation of Islam's pillars and the biblical teachings and commandments.

It is worth mentioning that the spiritual and religious doctrine of the Druze²⁸ is still mainly in manuscript format. “These manuscripts can be divided into three distinct types: scriptural, biographical, and dialogical. The scriptural manuscripts refer to the more revered ones and include a well-known manuscript titled Epistles of Wisdom *Rasa'il al-Hikmah*, which consists of 111 epistles” (Swayd, 2009, p.154); various versions of these epistles are now accessible to many research libraries all over the world. However, The Druze legal code derives from many Islamic schools (particularly the Sunni Hanafi school (Swayd, 2009).

²⁸ For more information about the spiritual and religious doctrine of Druze, see Swayd (2009, p. 154).

Some of the distinguished beliefs of Druzes are that “God manifested himself in flesh and blood, and the last of those manifestations was in the person of al-Hakim²⁹, who would return at the end of days to deliver the believers and punish the heretics” (Talhamy, 2012, p.977). In addition, “they believe in reincarnation (taqamus), that all the souls were created on the same day and their number is permanent. When a person dies, his soul moves to another human body, and this process continues until the Day of Judgement” (Talhamy, 2012). Moreover, the Druze celebrate Eid Alfitr (the festival days after Ramadan, the fasting month in Islam, although they do not fast Ramadan and do not perform Hajj, the pilgrimage in Islam (Hodgson 1965, as cited in Talhamy, 2012). Finally, the Druzes must marry within the same religious sect (Firro, 1992, as cited in Talhamy, 2012).

Bashar Al-Assad continued his father’s policies and maintained close relations with the Druze leadership in both Syria and Lebanon (Swayd, 2009). However, after the Syrian revolution in 2011, the Druze faced many threats from ISIS and Jabhat Al-Nusra, who both considered the Druze as heretics on one side, and the repressive regime of Al-Assad on the other (Abdel-Samad, 2016).

4.2.1.6 Yazidis

The words *Yazidi*, *Ezdayi*, or *Yezidi* are variant names for the same religious minority that come from Kurdish and mean God or The Creator, according to Kreyenbroek and Rasha (2005) as cited in Kizilhan (2017, p.333). Yazidism, as a religious sect, is considered one of the most endangered religious minorities in the world; They speak Kurdish; they around 800,000 to 1,000,000 inhabitants in a wide area stretching across northern Syria, western Iran, eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, and the former Soviet Union (Allison, 2017; Kizilhan, 2017; Cetorelli et al., 2017). Until the 14th century B.C., Yazidis assumed they were originally from the Mithraic religion; however, up to the seventh century A.D., there is no mention in any historical source of *Yazidi*. Around the turn of the century, some

²⁹ Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah was the sixth Fatimid caliph, and during his reign, the Druze faith was founded by one of his supporters, Husayn Nashtakin al-Darazi. The Druzes considered Al-Hakim the Mahdi, the guided person for whom The Druzes had been waiting (Talhamy, 2012).

historians and cleric Muslims started using the term *Yazidi* (Al-Damalgi, 1949, as cited in Kizilhan, 2017, p.334).

Yazidis believe in one God (Omarkhali, 2017); they call their God “Xweda” (Khuda), which means the one who created himself (Grant, 1915, as cited in Kizilhan, 2017, p.333). Actually, “their belief system incorporates visible elements from the three “religions of the Book” (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) and traces of lesser-known religions, upon a substratum that may derive from Iranian religions (Zoroastrianism or similar)” (Allison, 2017, p.1). Yazidi religion is not proselytized; it is determined by birth and forbids marriage from non-Yazidis (Allison, 2017). Yazidi’s religious beliefs incorporate some elements from the Abrahamic religions, such as saints and the Islamic Sufi brotherhood known as *Adawiyya*, which played a crucial role in Yazidis’ history. However, there is no historical evidence that they are a religious sect split of Islam or even any other Abrahamic religions (Allison, 2017). Yazidi’s esoteric religious knowledge in the sacred texts is confined to a few religious people who give practical advice to other Yazidis. According to (Allison, 2017), Yazidis do not have a universal declaration of their faith like *AlShahadah* in Islam or definitive doctrines that should be known by all Yazidis (like the Christian catechism). However, Yazidis believe in God as a relatively remote figure who is contacted through seven Holy Beings known as “Angels” such as *Melek Tawûs*, the Peacock Angel whom God assigns to control the world. The Holy beings also include humans, such as prophets of Abrahamic religions (e.g., Adam and Jesus) (Kizilhan, 2017; Allison, 2017). They do not believe that there is Satan or even any evil principle. Therefore, it is taboo to pronounce the word Satan or any other words resembling it (Allison, 2017).

Moreover, Yazidis believe in the necessity of purity in their religious and non-religious practices, such as no marriage out or even living away from the Yazidi community. In addition, Yazidis consider both the Sinjar and Sheikhan regions in northern Iraq holy places where the Holy Beings descended to earth (Omarkhali, 2017; Kizilhan, 2017; Allison, 2017). Yazidis are obliged to visit “Lalish,” the holy temple in northern Iraq, once during

their lifetime; they also must fast on three days yearly in December to show gratitude for God, their faith and the creation of the earth (Kizilhan, 2017).

It is worth mentioning that “Yazidism has passed on its sacred and secular texts orally, with a taboo against reading and writing for all but ‘Adani sheikhs” (Allison, 2017, p.9); However, there are some written texts such as the collection of manuscripts known with *mişûr* and *qewls* kept only by their religious men. Due to the absence of a powerful system to disseminate religious knowledge, it is not surprising that Yazidis differ in their religious ritual practices (Allison, 2017).

Many authorities have fought Yazidis during their history, such as Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, and the most egregious attack and example of forced conversion was in August 2014 by Da’esh, the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) who considered Yazidis as “devil worshippers” and non-Abrahamic religious sect. Firstly, ISIS attacked Yazidis living in Iraq on Mount Sinjar, close to Syria’s border. ISIS massacred hundreds of men and enslaved thousands of children and women. They also drove around 350,000 Yazidis into camps in the Kurdish-inhabited area territory (Allison, 2017).

4.2.1.7 Christianity

The Christians constitute an important minority in Syria, constituting around 10% of the population (i.e., around 2.3 million) (Besenyő & Gömöri, 2015). They mostly live in Aleppo, Damascus, and the southern areas of Homs city, close to the Lebanese Syrian border (Besenyő & Gömöri, 2015). Before the recent Syrian war, the Ba’athist Alawi ruling regime was supported by leading families of other religious sects, with more emphasis on Christians who had business and personal interests in backing the ruling regime (Besenyő & Gömöri, 2015). However, during the Syrian war, which became a sectarian and civil war, Christians caught in the crossfire between the two main parties (Sunni rebels and Shia government and its allies) were categorised as allies of the Assad regime (Besenyő & Gömöri, 2015). After the intervention of ISIS in the Syrian war, the Christians were imposed by ISIS on the *jizya* [a special tax to be paid for protection]. In addition, most churches were ruined and bombed during military operations. Accordingly, about thirty

thousand Christians from Aleppo and fifty thousand from Homs were expelled (Bednarowicz, 2014).

One of the main differences between Islam and Christianity is the belief in the nature of God and the concept of Jesus Christ. Muslims believe in the Oneness of God (Tawhid) and that there is only one God who is the creator of the universe, and Jesus (Isa) is considered as one of the prophets of God but not the son of God. On the other hand, Christians believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, which states that God exists in three persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. They believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who is fully God and fully human and is the saviour of the world (Marshall, 1960). This belief is rooted in the Bible and the teachings of Jesus Christ³⁰.

Another main difference is the belief in the final prophet and messenger of God. Muslims believe in Prophet Muhammad as the last prophet sent by God, as stated in the Quran, which is considered as the final and complete revelation from God. While Christians believe in Jesus Christ as the son of God and the saviour of the world.

Additionally, the beliefs and practices of Islam are based on the Quran and Hadith, while those of Christianity are based on the Bible. The two religions have different laws, customs, and rituals. The way of performing the prayers, the way of performing the rituals, and the dietary laws are different.

4.2.1.8 Judaism

Historically, most Jewish families lived in Aleppo in Syria during the Ottoman period. Then, many families immigrated to various places worldwide, especially during the French mandate over Syria (Hamui-Halabe, 1997; Zenner, 2000). Before the recent Syrian war, Jews constituted a minority in Syria. They were under many severe government restrictions (Zenner, 2000). For example, from 1950 till 1992, Jews were only permitted to travel within their town Qamishli. In addition, Jews were arrested when they were caught illegally

³⁰ This difference is reflected in the translation of the Arabic word الله [Allah] into English, where some believe that it is equal to God while others believe it is not equal to the word God in English and thus should be translated to Allah or the God of Islam. More discussion on this topic is introduced in Chapter 6.

immigrating to Israel/ Occupied Palestine. After 1992, the pattern life of Jewish life in Syria changed into more let-up, although some restrictions on their schools and travel continued to be applied (Zenner, 2000; Zisser, 2019). However, after the recent Syrian war in 2011, no information is available about the Jews in Syria³¹.

One of the main differences between Islam and Judaism is the belief in the final prophet and messenger of God. Muslims believe in Prophet Muhammad as the last prophet sent by God, as stated in the Quran, which is considered as the final and complete revelation from God. On the other hand, Jews do not recognize Muhammad as a prophet and instead consider Moses to be the last prophet sent by God, as stated in the Torah, which is considered as the primary sacred text of Judaism. This belief is rooted in the Jewish belief in the special relationship between God and the Jewish people, and the belief that God's message was revealed only to the Jews.

Another significant difference is the belief in the nature of God. Jews believe in one God, the creator of the universe, but the understanding of God's nature is different from Islam. According to Judaism, God's nature is unknowable and that it is beyond human comprehension as stated in the Talmud, which is considered as the secondary sacred text of Judaism (Heilman, 1996). This belief is rooted in the Jewish belief in the transcendence of God, and the belief that God's essence cannot be known by human beings. On the other hand, Muslims believe that God is knowable and that He can be known through His attributes and actions, as stated in the Quran.

Overall, it is essential to note that Syria's religious landscape is complex and multifaceted, consisting of various religious sects, such as Sunni Muslims, Alawites, Christians, and Druze. Each of these sects holds unique beliefs and practices that can influence their social, political, and cultural attitudes, which can be noticeable in their discourse. Understanding the religious diversity and the beliefs that shape it can provide a deeper understanding of the social practices in Syria and discourse.

³¹ To the best of my knowledge.

4.2.2 Religion and Syrian Politics

As shown in the previous section, the population of Syria belongs to various religious sects, which is considered a big challenge for the political entity in Syria to keep the country as one united state. Religion, however, existed as a primary factor preventing the political entity of Syria from being a solid political community. According to Ma'oz (1972), Religion in Syria in the form of various religious sects is one of the main challenges contributing to making the Syrian population heterogeneous and thus making Syria a state without a nation-state. Even in the past, Syria witnessed cooperation between different religious sects to fight, for example, the Ottoman government. However, the cooperation practices were limited (Ma'oz, 1972).

This section addresses three primary themes: the overarching dynamics of religious conflict in Syrian politics, the unique role played by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) within that context, and religion in Syrian discourse. The examination of ISIS is particularly important as the organisation significantly impacted both the political landscape of Syria through its efforts to establish control during the war, as well as the perception of Islam in the West, given its self-proclaimed status as an Islamic political entity adhering to Sharia law and its association with Al-Qaeda and the phenomenon of islamophobia.

4.2.2.1 Conflict Dynamics of Religion in the Syrian Politics.

Different religious sects inside Syria played crucial roles in the Syrian politics. Historically, the political power in Syria was transferred from those who were Sunni Muslims to those who were Alawi Shiite. The conflict between the Sunni officers in command during the period of 1946-1963 contributed to clearing the way for other officers in command from monitories in Syria, particularly Alawi officers, to have political power (Pipes, 1989). In 1963, the Ba'ath party held a military coup that Amin al-Hafiz, a Sunni Muslim, led. Then, Alawi officers got high positions in the ruling regime. Then, they overthrew Amin al-Hafiz in a bloody coup in 1966 and cleansed other officers from other monitories, such as Druze, to enhance their rule (Pipes, 1989). In 1970, Hafez Al-Assad,

an Alawi Shiite, became the secretary-general of the Ba'ath party and then the president of Syria after taking over in a military coup to overthrow President Nur al-Din al-Atasi, a Sunni Muslim. Before Hafez Al-Assad's coup, "the political and economic elite mostly comprised of Sunni Muslims from Damascus and Aleppo. While the regime did not forcefully shift power towards the Alawi community, it gradually entrusted Alawites with key positions" (Lakitsch, 2018, p.431). However, the Ba'ath party declared that it adopted the secular pan-Arabist mission because there is no relevance to the sectarian religious differences in the party. This made the national consciousness ambiguous because the regime adopted a sectarian staffing policy contrary to the declared mission (Salamandra, 2013).

The Ba'ath regime tried to prompt a Syrian Arab identity as a national consciousness. However, at the same time, it adopted the French Personal Status Law, which classified legal subjects based on their religious affiliations (Phillips, 2015). The regime also extremely limited the Islamists' role in Syria (Talhami, 2001). Therefore, the baseline for sectarianism was preserved. Phillips (2015, p.366) describes the ruling period in Syria by Hafez al-Assad as a paradoxical one. "Sect was officially dismissed and inclusive, Syrian Arab nationalism encouraged, but politicised sect identities were simultaneously reproduced, either by the regime or by its internal and external enemies". Bashar Al-Assad, who became the president of Syria after his father's death, Hafez Al-Assad, in July 2000 and as the secretary-general of the Ba'ath party, followed in his father's footsteps (Zisser, 2006).

Furthermore, religion was visible during the recent Syrian war. In the beginning (particularly in March 2011), the religion baseline was very weak since Syrians started with a revolution against the ruling regime. The Syrian protests asked for dignity, democracy, and economic and political access for all as one national identity. However, the current ruling regime responded to their demands with fierce violence. Then, the religious sectarian patterns were activated, and the social fragmentation in Syria began (Salamandra, 2013; Lakitsch, 2018).

Nonetheless, how Syrians classify themselves in terms of identity now is not necessarily based on their religious affiliations. "Individuals, groups and areas that depended on the regime felt a stronger allegiance to the Syrian nation than their religious identity group. On the other hand, those that had been economically and politically alienated were receptive to sectarian thinking" (Lakitsch, 2018, p.433). Accordingly, Syrian people were divided into two groups: those people who considered themselves in a war against other religious sects and those who considered the religion to be of no relevance and they supported or stood against the current ruling regime, the Ba'ath party, under the leadership of Bashar Al-Assad, regardless of their religious identity (Lakitsch, 2018).

4.2.1.2 ISIS and the Syrian Politics

IS (Islamic State), ISIS (the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria), or Daesh (transcribed the Arabic term داعش "traces its roots to AlQaeda in Iraq under Abu Mousaab Al-Zarqawi" (Abdel-Samad, 2016, p.902). ISIS, as a descendant of AlQaeda³², follows the Wahabi tradition of Islam, an Islamic religious sect that emerged from Sunni Islam. Wahabism was founded in Saudi Arabia by Abd Al Wahab, a disciple of Ibn Taymiyya, who believe that those who do not believe in Allah are heretics. Thus, violence against heretics is justified (Abdel-Samad, 2016). In addition, Bunzel (2015) reports that ISIS, like any other branch of AlQaeda, identifies with Jihadi-Salafism, a movement with an Islamic political view.

Following their interpretation of Ibn Taymiyya's views, both ISIS and other Salafi jihadist³³ groups (e.g., Jabahat Alnusra) in Syria used extreme violence against other religious minorities whom they considered heretics (Abdel-Samad, 2016). Such minorities

³² Jones et al. (2017, p. x) assert that ISIS is "a byproduct of the American intervention in Iraq and the subsequent American departure. The 2003 intervention shifted the political balance in the country away from the formerly dominant Sunni minority toward the Shi'a majority, leaving Sunnis disgruntled, adrift, and divided". Accordingly, militant Sunni extremists fought against the American occupation and Shiite-led government in Iraq, and they allied themselves officially with AlQaeda and Osama Bin Laden in 2004. After the withdrawal of the American forces from Iraq and the start of the revolution in neighbouring Syria in 2011, AlQaeda, under Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's leadership, centred in Iraq and Syria. "Following a failed attempt to assert his leadership over another already present al-Qa'ida affiliate, Baghdadi broke with the parent organization in 2014 and established the Islamic State as a new claimant to global leadership of the Salafi-jihadist movement" (Jones et al., 2017, p. xi). According to Gerges (2017), the estimated annual budget of ISIS at that time was more than one billion US dollars with more than thirty thousand fighters.

³³ A religious and political sect emerged from Sunni Islam.

had only two choices, either death or forced conversion to Islam based on the interpretation of Sharia³⁴ law by ISIS and the Salafi jihadists³⁵.

The role of ISIS in the Syrian politics first appeared during the recent Syrian civil war in 2011, which started as a revolution against the ruling regime. As mentioned, ISIS was established in Iraq in 2004 and was known as the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI). ISI was in Iraq suffering losses but then successfully engaged in a restructuring process. The Syrian revolution gave ISI a chance to expand its control over Syria. In 2014, ISIS succeeded in controlling enormous swaths of Syrian territory. Then, the term ISIS was widely used to refer to it. However, "observers accuse Assad of contributing to the creation of Islamic State in order to establish legitimacy and gain Western support under the pretext of fighting against terror" (Haj Omar, 2016, p.59). Other observers accuse Western powers of creating ISIS to change the geographical map of the Middle East (Haj Omar, 2016).

ISIS is known for its terrifying behaviours towards people. ISIS beheaded, killed, burnt, and tortured to death of civilians and soldiers under the name of Islam. To fight this terrifying terrorist group, an international coalition composed of military forces from more than thirty countries under the leadership of the United States, known as Combined Joint Task Force – Operation Inherent Resolve, was established on the 17th of October 2014 (Rosen, 2014). The international coalition worked with both the Iraqi and Syria military

³⁴ "Sharia guides all aspects of Muslim life, including daily routines, familial and religious obligations, and financial dealings. It is derived primarily from the Quran and the Sunna—the sayings, practices, and teachings of the Prophet Mohammed" (Swayd, 2009, p. 190).

³⁵ It is worth mentioning that every Islamic sect reflects its Islam and its own interpretations of the Quran and Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad. Some sects use Islam for particular political and ideological agendas. For instance, ISISs themselves asserted that they followed the Quran and Sunnah. However, not all Muslims agree with ISIS. Indeed, ISIS is seen by many most Muslims as outlaws from Islam and does not belong to real Islam at all due to many Islamic facts. According to Islam doctrine, for instance, people are not forced to convert to Islam, as mentioned in the following verse in the Quran. "لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ" (Quran, 2: 256) "الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْعَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَىٰ لَا انْفِصَامَ لَهَا وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ" [there is no compulsion in religion. Verily, the Right Path has become distinct from the wrong path. Whoever disbelieves in false deities and believes in Allah, then he has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that will never break. And Allah is All-Hearer, All-Knower]. In addition, to convert to Islam, a person should believe in Allah and Islam doctrine. Therefore, it is unsurprising that many Muslims from different countries, such as Jordan and Saudi Arabia, participated in fighting ISIS. Although this study does not aim to classify ISIS as Muslims, it is crucial to shed light on this point that would justify the existence of different Islamic ideologies during the Syrian war and the clashes between them.

forces and succeeded in destroying ISIS, especially after the Russian intervention in Syria that also aimed to destroy ISIS. In 2015, ISIS began to lose territory (Jones et al., 2017).

Consequently, more than ten thousand ISIS fighters were killed, and their military infrastructure and financial base were degraded. On Saturday, 23/10/ 2019, the United States officially announced the end of ISIS³⁶ after a victory in liberating the last area held by ISIS in Syria, known as Baghouz (Issa, 2019). However, "ISIS continues to conduct and inspire attacks abroad in an effort to exact revenge on its enemies, coerce the withdrawal of foreign forces, and bait foreign governments into overreacting in hopes of expanding the reach of its radical ideology" (Jones et al., 2017, p. xii). Therefore, the United Nations designated ISIS as a terrorist organisation.

ISIS has played a significant role in perpetuating negative perceptions of Islam globally, particularly in the Western countries.

4.2.3 Religion in the Syrian Discourse

It is crucial to critically examine the role of religion in the discourse surrounding the Syrian conflict, as discourse is closely linked to the daily experiences and power dynamics within society, particularly in the context of war. By analysing religion in the discourse of the Syrian conflict, one can gain a deeper understanding of the religious elements present in documentary films subject to analysis and enhance the analysis of discursive practices during subtitling. This section will present a comprehensive overview of the public discourse pertaining to the Syrian conflict, which can be divided into secular and non-secular discourse based on the involvement of religion.

4.2.3.1 Secular Discourse

The secularisation of discourse refers to the process by which religious ideas and concepts are removed from discourse. It can also refer to the replacement of religious language with non-religious one. Overall, the secularisation of discourse reflects a shift away from religious influences in shaping discourse (Calhoun, 2008). In this case, we can

³⁶ For more information about ISIS, its ideology, its history, and its political agendas, see Gerges (2017).

call the discourse that lack to any religious language, concepts and connotations a secular discourse.

Secular discourse is present in the Syrian discourse either by politicians or the public, in general, to emphasise the unity of Syria as one national identity regardless of the different religious identities of the Syrian population. For instance, secular discourse is required to legitimise the regime on a broader basis in Syria. This has been illustrated in the discourse practices of the ruling regime, the Ba'ath party. For example, the regime selected the words وحدة [unity], حرية [freedom], and اشتراكية [socialism] to be the official Syrian mottos by way of unifying all Syrians under the umbrella of one national identity. Some other discursal practices by the regime focus on Syrian ethnicity as an Arabian country rather than an Islamic country, where most of the population is Muslim. According to Zisser (2006, p. 179), “Ostensibly, Bashar’s commitment to Arabism required no substantiation. He frequently stressed his loyalty to the Arab nation in public statements and depicted Syria as a fortress of Arabism” to emphasise that the unity of Syria as one nation regardless of the different religious sects included should be the main concern of the regime, and Syria should foster religious tolerance that contains all religious sects under one national identity. However, Zisser (2006) claims that the Syrian identity throughout the 20th century oscillated between Syrianism and Arabism based on his critical analysis of many speeches by Bashar Al-Assad. Like many other pan-Syrianism people, Bashar Al-Assad showed his commitment to the Syrian identity by negating, ignoring, or repressing the Islamic elements in this identity. In the same vein, those who protested against the regime also used the national identity of Syria as one country where religion is of no relevance. This was also illustrated in the various slogans used during the Syrian conflict. For instance, “peaceful anti-regime activists continued to cry out for Syrian unity: ‘One, one, one, the people of Syria are one’” (Salamandra, 2013, p.303). Moreover, many Syrian protesters, for instance, called for introducing the civil state دولة مدنية [a secular state] where religion should play no role in politics. “This concept gained prominence following the Arab Spring in 2011 and has remained in the Arab world’s political discourse” (Lakitsch, 2018, p. 13).

The tendency to secularise political discourse in Syria, as well as in many other Arab countries, can be understood as a result of these countries' historical, social, and political contexts. In the case of Syria, the rise of secularism in political discourse can be traced back to the Ba'ath party, which espoused a secular socialist ideology, as previously mentioned. The party's emphasis on nationalism and socialism led to the marginalisation of religious actors in the political sphere and the promotion of secular discourse in public life. This trend of secularisation in political discourse can also be observed in other Arab countries, such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Lebanon. In these countries, the rise of secular ideologies and political movements in the 20th century led to a decline in the influence of religious actors in politics and the promotion of secular discourse in public life.

The rise of authoritarian regimes in many Arab countries has also contributed to the secularisation of political discourse. Authoritarian regimes have often suppressed religious opposition and promoted secular ideologies to justify their rule. Several scholars have studied this issue, such as Sharabi (1988), Tibi and Sluglett (1990), and Tibi (1997); where they argue that secularism has been an essentially political ideology in the Arab world, challenging religious movements and authoritarianism. More specifically, after the Arab Spring, scholars such as Dabashi (2012), in his book *"The Arab Spring: The end of postcolonialism"* and Netterstrøm (2015), in his article *"After the Arab Spring: The Islamists' Compromise in Tunisia"*, analyse how the Arab Spring 2011 movement has brought the question of secularism to the forefront of political debate in the Arab world.

4.2.3.2 Non-Secular Discourse

In contrast to secular discourse, non-secular discourse is characterised by the presence and influence of religious ideas and language in discourse.

Non-secular discourse is a form that is not limited to a specific religion and can encompass both specialised religious discourse, such as religious sermons, and non-specialised religious discourse, such as the use of religious cultural items (e.g., ICIs) in everyday discourse, the case of the current study. It is important to note that the presence of religion in non-specialised religious discourse does not negate its involvement in the

discourse. This is why I prefer to use the term non-secular over religious discourse, as the latter term can encompass both specialised and non-specialised forms of discourse.

In the Syrian context, non-secular discourse existed before and during the current Syrian war in the form of official talks and speeches by elites or even in the form of slogans by people. Examples of religious discourse are countless, such as the Salafist jihadist discourse, which was prominent before and during the Syrian war. Salafist jihadist discourse, “which opposes the regime’s allegedly secular and multi-religious character, unveils the underlying problems of the regime’s discourse” (Lakitsch, 2018, p. 13). For example, some Syrian Islamists such as Abu al-Nasr al-Bayanuni, the leader of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood in 1980, called for jihad, the holy war, against the ruling regime in Syria, which was seen as a heretical regime based on the fatwa by Ibn Taymiyyah (died 1328). This Sunni reformist scholar denounced Alawis as heretical and more disbelieving than the Christians and Jews and declared jihad against them a good deed (Farouk-Alli, 2015). This kind of religious discourse, called Takfir discourse (Lakitsch, 2018), was violently crushed by the Ba’ath regime, which successfully banned such kind of discourse and solidified their nationalist discourse instead till 2011. However, it was prominent again during the recent Syrian war and the intervention of ISIS and other jihadist groups. Other examples of religious discourse are the slogans and chants during the demonstrations in Syria. As documented in the investigated films, many Syrian protesters chant Islamic cultural items such as ‘الله أكبر’ [Allah is the greatest] and ‘الشهيد حبيب الله’ [The martyr is Allah’s beloved]. It is worth mentioning that using religious words in demonstrations against the current regime does not necessarily infer that the protesting Syrians have any interest in the religious reconstruction of the state, but this illustrates how the non-specialised religious discourse still can be seen.

Investigating the religious context of Syria both at the level of politics and discourse raises essential questions such as:

- Are the subtitlers of the covered films aware of the complex religious context of Syria, and are they Syrian themselves? If so, do they intentionally deislamise or secularise the target text (TT) in favour of a nationalist perspective that portrays Syrians as a united national entity?
- Are the subtitlers or editors of the subtitles influenced by their own religious beliefs? For instance, if the subtitler is Alawi, do they omit Aladhan because they do not accept that Mohammad is the messenger of Allah, a key part of the Aladhan testimony?

Such questions are explored by analysing the discursive practices of subtitling Islamic cultural items into English in the covered films in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.3. (Mis)representation of Islam in the Western Media Discourse³⁷

Since this study investigates the subtitling strategies of Islamic cultural items in documentaries about the Syrian war subtitled into English to address the western audience and the possibility of involving any ideological manipulation in the process of subtitling, it is important to consider the wider contextual aspects related particularly to Islam as a religion and its perceptions in the West. In addition, ISIS was involved in the Syrian war, and some of the investigated documentaries covering ISIS include some scenes that illustrate the terrible acts that ISIS committed under the name of Islam. In this context, it is necessary to consider ISIS and its relation to Islamophobia in the West to examine properly any relevant aspect that may influence the subtitling of Islamic cultural items into English. Therefore, this section provides a brief overview of Islamophobia, anti-Islam, and anti-Muslims as a related ideological wave in western countries. This overview supports the analyses of the subtitlers' lexical choices in terms of ideological concepts.

As illustrated above, the religion of Islam has been very prominent in the recent war in Syria in many aspects. For example, Islam as an identity marker of the Syrian people

³⁷ Regarding Islam and Muslims, five kinds of people live in the West: those who are already Muslims, those who do not know about Islam at all, those who have islamophobia, those who are anti-Islam/Muslims, and those who know Islam and have a neutral position.

involved in the war (Alawite, Shiite, Sunni, and non-Muslims) and Islam as a motivational factor of Jihad either by ISIS or by other Islamic groups who make use of Islam for particular political and ideological agendas not only in Syria but also in the entire world. ISIS and AlQaeda, have been termed as extremists and terrorists; they are considered the main terrorist threat to the security of the world (Stern & Berger, 2015). However, the misuse of Islam by AlQaeda (especially after the 11/9 events), ISIS, and other radicals contribute to supporting negative stereotypes³⁸ of Muslims and Islam as a religion in the west that was firmly in place long before the 11th of September attacks. Various media outlets (including news agencies) also play a very significant role in capturing and disseminating misconceptions about Muslims and Islam. As a result, some western people have a deep mistrust of Islam and Muslims. Some are now anti-Muslims, anti-Islam, and anti-Arabs (because most Arabs are Muslims). Some of them go extremely to be afraid of Islam and Muslims, which refers to a prominent phenomenon in the west called islamophobia³⁹ (Helbling, 2012; Abbas, 2019). Islamophobia “is functionally similar to xenophobia and offers a useful shorthand way of referring to a dread or hatred of Islam and therefore a fear or dislike of Muslims (Runnymede Trust, 1997)” (Sheridan, 2006, p.317). However, some people for particular political agendas foster, use and nurture islamophobia as a political strategy of racism against Muslims (Lean, 2012).

Edward Said sheds light on the role of media in disseminating the negative depiction of Islam and Muslims before the 11th of September events. In his book, *“Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World”*, Edward Said (1981) asserts that the media reporting of Islam is biased. It is

³⁸ It has been common in western sources for centuries. “Indeed, as early as the medieval period (twelfth to fourteenth centuries), a distorted image of Islam was present in Europe” (Stewart, 2012, p.9). Montgomery Watt (1972, 73), as cited in (Stewart, 2012, p.9), identifies four characteristics of Islam that were viewed in medieval European. “The Islamic religion is a falsehood and a deliberate perversion of the truth, it is a religion of violence and the sword, it is a religion of self-indulgence, and Muhammad is the Antichrist” (Stewart, 2012). These inaccuracies contributed to inciting loathing and fear within the European public and were used to create support for incursions of the European military to the Holy Land during the Crusades (Stewart, 2012).

³⁹ “The first known printed usage of the word islamophobia appears to be in February 1991, when it was published in a periodical in the United States (see Runnymede Trust, 1997). It has been included in the Oxford English Dictionary since 1997” (Sheridan, 2006, p.317).

generally a dominant trend in the media. According to Said (1981), media uses its power to produce knowledge about Muslims and Islam, regardless of whether the information disseminated about Islam and Muslims is inadequate or incorrect. For example, “the American media has historically portrayed Muslims as barbaric, irrational, and anti-modern non-citizens who reject the West and principles of peace, freedom, and tolerance” (Lankford, 2012, p. vi). However, the dissemination of Islamophobia as a contemporary phenomenon in the United States and other western countries became more prominent after the 11th of September 2001. “The grief and anger caused by the 9/11 attacks established an ideological wave throughout the country in which Islam and Muslim people are considered equivalent to terrorism and terrorists” (Naghmeh-Abbaspour et al., 2019, p. 1165). In addition, similar subsequent attacks, such as the London Bombings in 2005 and Madrid Bombings in 2004, contributed to the reconfiguration of the geopolitical map of the world represented in the UN-brokered Global War on Terror (Ayasrah, 2015). However, both wars on terror and the expansion of the AlQaeda’s organization contribute to bringing “new ideologically charged media and political discourses brought about by political, religious and cultural confrontations between the East and West rival poles fuelled by the rising prevalence of Globalization, Informatics and new technologies which have made the world more vulnerable” (Ayasrah, 2015, p.84).

Indeed, disseminating islamophobia in the west is now very noticeable in the film and TV series industry. Films and series that propagate negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims, depicting them as terrorists, for example, are numerous. A simple search of the internet movie/series database today finds enormous titles of films with contents that contribute, indirectly or directly, to the defamation of Muslims in the media, such as *Under*

*Siege*⁴⁰ (1992, dir. Andrew Davis), *True Lies*⁴¹ (1994, dir. James Cameron), *24*⁴² (2001-2010, dir. Joel Surnow & Robert Cochran), *Homeland*⁴³ (2011-2020, dir. Michael Cuesta), *American Sniper*⁴⁴ (2014, dir. Clint Eastwood), *Jihad: A Story of the Others*⁴⁵ (2015, dir. Deeyah Khan).

From the linguistic perspective, some Islamic cultural items are also linked to terrorism and bombing belts. Unfortunately, one might chant الله اكبر *Allah Akbar* loudly [Allah is the greatest]. In a public place in any western or even Arab country, imagine how people will behave; they will be terrified, trying to flee to any safe place. Many real examples show how some Islamic expressions, such as ‘*Allah Akbar*’, are now being used by various media outlets in Islamophobic contexts. For instance, in a very disseminated video of a Lebanese bride⁴⁶ knocked down to the floor because of the massive explosion in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, in October 2020, people hear the cameraman saying, *Allah Akbar*. This video was spread all over the world by being posted by many famous influencers and big stars on social media and the websites of top-rated news agencies. Many non-Arabic people who watch the video on western platforms question if the cameraman has anything to do with the explosion since the expression *Allah Akbar* is always associated with terrorism in western culture (Boggs & Pollard, 2006); However,

⁴⁰ It is an American film. It is about a group of suicide Terrorists (who are in the film Arab and Iranian Muslims) launch an attack against the USA by a truckload of explosives at an army base in Washington DC.

⁴¹ It is an American action-comedy film. It is about a mission of the film protagonist to stop the terrorist organization that is led by a Muslim extremist, who is attempting to acquire nuclear weapons to use against the United States. This portrayal of Muslim extremists as the main antagonists of the story has been criticized for perpetuating negative stereotypes about Muslims.

⁴² It is an American TV series known for its portrayal of Arab and Muslim characters as terrorists, and often depicting them as the enemy.

⁴³ It is an American TV series It has been criticized for its portrayal of Muslim characters as violent and dangerous individuals.

⁴⁴ It presents a highly controversial and stereotypical portrayal of Muslim characters as violent extremists.

⁴⁵ It is a documentary film that has been criticized for its stereotypical portrayal of Muslim characters as terrorists.

⁴⁶ See <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/aug/06/we-are-still-in-shock-beirut-brides-wedding-video-captures-explosion>

*Allah Akbar*⁴⁷ was uttered by the cameraman just because he was terrified due to what had happened.

Moreover, some media outlets also stick the negative stereotype of Islam and Muslims to linguistic elements through translation. For instance, *Layla M.* (2016, dir. Mijke de Jong), one of the Netflix original production Arabic films, has a noticeable tendency to link Islamic cultural terms to terrorists and ISIS by subtitling the film into English for the western audience. The phrase ‘*Allah Akbar*’ is transliterated in the scenes where ISIS members appear, talk and chant. However, the same expression is subtitled into ‘God is Great’ in other scenes where ordinary people, non-ISISs, appear and talk. The inclusion of such practices within English subtitles can significantly impact the perceptions of Western audiences by linking Islamic cultural elements with terrorism, specifically in the context of organizations such as ISIS. This can reinforce negative stereotypes associated with Islam and its followers. A similar practice was found in the study data. In *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), the Arabic non-Islamic cultural item هذا حزام ناسف, [This is an explosive/ dynamite belt] is subtitled into “This is a shahid belt”. The subtitlers link the bombing belt to the word *shahid* [martyr]. Since the word *shahid* is a loan word and has an Islamic connotation, this instance clearly indicates the ideological manipulation in the form of islamising the item in the TT. This instance will be further expounded upon in the analysis presented in Chapter 6.

Many people in different fields (e.g., journalists, scholars, and politicians) have long been aware of the impact of the negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims, not only on how Islam as a religion and Muslims are viewed by outsiders but also the impact of the negative portrayal of Muslims in the global media on Muslims living in western countries. Many incidences of attacking Muslims due to their religion have been recorded in many countries, such as The United States of America, Canada, and the United Kingdom. For instance, some people fight Islam as a religion and Muslims as terrorists in public such as

⁴⁷ *Allah Akbar* is an expression uttered by Muslims in various contexts, such as being afraid of something, terrified, witnessing an extraordinary beauty, being in shock, being very angry, and even being very happy.

Terry Jones, who was the minister of a non-denominational church in Florida, published a statement in the summer of 2010 calling for hosting an “International Burn the Quran Day” on the forthcoming anniversary of 11th of September (Ali, 2014). Such radical anti-Islam practices have increased after the appearance of ISIS, contributing to a psychological, physical, and political backlash against Muslims.

On the other hand, some media agencies and organizations have started educating non-Muslims about Islam and disseminating facts about Islam and Muslims, such as the *Islamic Networks Group* (ING)⁴⁸. In addition, some politicians, scholars, and social media influencers are now calling for understanding, respect and study of Islam instead of hating and fearing it. Such efforts are made to illustrate that AlQaeda, ISIS and other radicals who work under the name of Islam do not represent All Muslims. Many articles have been published by Arabs, Muslims, and non-Muslims to condemn these extremists and their relation to Islam. For example, in a recording interview with Reuters published on the Guardian website on 14th of September 2014, David Cameron, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (2010-2016), asserted that ISIS kills under the name of Islam in Syria and Iraq; however, he said: "Islam is the religion of peace; They are not Muslims; they are monsters".

Moreover, in an interview with Fox News on the 13th of April 2015, King Abdullah II, the King of Jordan, called ISIS *Alkhawarij* in Arabic, [Outlaws of Islam]; he said, "We are at war with 'outlaws of Islam'"; "they target Muslims before targeting non-Muslims". Furthermore, well-known Muslim clerics have condemned ISIS and asserted that ISIS never present Islam. According to an article published by the Wilson Centre on the 24th of September 2014, Muslim clerics from different countries assert that ISISs are not Muslims since it is prohibited in Islam to kill and torture people. It is prohibited to declare people non-Muslim unless they officially declare disbelief, and it is prohibited to force them to convert to Islam. In the field of film and series industry, there are instances of productions, such as *Little Mosque on the Prairie*⁴⁹ (2007-2012, dir. Michael Kennedy & Brian

⁴⁸ *Islamic Networks Group* (ING) 's website is <https://ing.org>.

⁴⁹ It is a Canadian television series that depicts the life of a Muslim community in a small prairie town and tackles issues of prejudice and integration in a humorous way.

Roberts), *My Name is Khan*⁵⁰ (2010, dir. Karan Johar), *The Muslims Are Coming*⁵¹ (2013, dir. Negin Farsad & Dean Obeidallah), *The Big Sick*⁵² (2017, dir. Michael Showalter), *Man like Mobeen* (2017, dir. Ollie Parsons)⁵³, present a very positive image of Islam and Muslim-non-Muslim relations in Western contexts. However, it is worth noting that the number of such products with positive representations of Islam and Muslims is less than those productions that propagate negative stereotypes.

To sum up, islamophobia and anti-Islam/Muslims have existed for a long ago. However, they have been accelerated after the events of the 11th of September and the appearance of ISIS under the name of Islam in 2014. Taking islamophobia and anti-Islam/Muslims into consideration in my study is due to two reasons. First, my research investigates the subtitling process of Islamic cultural items into English. Second, the investigated documentary films address the entire world, particularly the western audience. The questions that have arisen after investigating this broader context (Islam and the West) are:

- Are the staff who are responsible for the subtitling process (i.e., subtitlers, editors) aware of the impact of both islamophobia and anti-Islam/Muslims on acceptance of the investigated documentaries by the western audience? Thus, they may intentionally deislamise the TT to be more acceptable to the Western audience, considering that such films aim to raise awareness in the West about the recent Syrian war and its consequences on the Syrians in all aspects of their life.
- Do the broadcasting platforms purposely influence the process of subtitling such items by issuing their own subtitling guidelines?

⁵⁰ It is a Bollywood film that tells the story of a Muslim man with Asperger's Syndrome who travels to the United States to meet the President, it has been praised for its portrayal of the Muslim community in the United States and the importance of family and community ties.

⁵¹ It is a documentary film that showcases the lives of Muslim-American comedians as they perform stand-up comedy shows in small towns across the United States.

⁵² It portrays the life of a Muslim-American couple in a comedic way and show the importance of family and cultural traditions in the Muslim community.

⁵³ It is a British comedy-drama television series set in Small Heath, Birmingham. It represents a very good relation between Muslim and non-Muslim in a British context.

- Is there any correlation between deislaming the subtitles of the documentaries and the number of western and international prizes they gain? Of course, answering this question involves investigating other factors in the field of media studies, but it is still an important question. This study may cover one aspect, the linguistic one, in answering this question. Therefore, it would be one of the study's significant contributions to other studies in the field of media studies, for example, to build on this particular finding.

Such questions will be investigated in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents a comprehensive examination of the social practices that reflect the motivations behind ideological manipulation in subtitling Islamic cultural items in documentaries related to the Syrian war. It is essential to understand the specific context in which social practices occur as they maintain or alter existing social relations and promote various agendas (Janks, 1997). In order to gain a thorough understanding of these practices, it is necessary to consider the interconnected contexts in which they occur. This chapter examines social practices by taking this contextualization into account.

Accordingly, this chapter overviews three interrelated contexts presented in three sections. The first section, titled *The Syrian War (2011- April 2023): Context of the Documentaries Subject to Analysis*, focuses on the context of the Syrian war, as the documentaries under analysis all pertain to the impact of the war on people's lives. It gives an overview of the spark of the war, which started as a revolution against the ruling regime and then turned into a civil war in which various parties involved in the war. The Syrian war has affected Syria and the world, as the Syrians have sought refuge all over the world, including in Western countries.

The second section, titled *Syria as a State and Islam as a Religion*, provides a succinct overview of the recent Syrian war and delves into the relevant sociocultural and political background with regard to religion. This section examines the religious demography of Syria, the relationship between religion and Syrian politics, and the role of religion in

Syrian discourse. It is essential to note that Syria's religious landscape is complex and multifaceted, consisting of various religious sects, such as Sunni Muslims, Alawites, Christians, and Druze. Each of these sects holds unique beliefs and practices that can influence their social, political, and cultural attitudes, which can be noticeable in their discourse. Understanding the religious diversity and the beliefs that shape it can provide a deeper understanding of the social practices in Syria and discourse.

The third section, titled *(Mis)representation of Islam in the Western Media Discourse* covers the broader context of Islam as a religion in the West and its relationship to ISIS, Islamophobia, and anti-Islam and anti-Muslim sentiments. It overviews the extent to which media propagate negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims in western countries.

This stage of analysis serves as the foundation for understanding the discursive practices involved in subtitling ICIs in documentaries. It poses several questions to be explored in later stages of *interpretation* and *description*, such as whether there are traces indicating that the subtitlers are aware of the religious context of Syria and they have a nationalist perspective, traces indicating subtitlers' religious beliefs influence their work, and traces indicating that the subtitlers are aware of the impact of Islamophobia on the acceptance of the documentaries by western audiences. This chapter raises a question of whether there is a correlation between the deislamisation of subtitles and the number of awards the documentaries receive from western and international organizations as an indication of the acceptance of the documentaries by western audiences.

The subsequent chapter features the *interpretation* Stage, which is the second phase of data analysis in accordance with Fairclough's (1989/1995) framework. The stage of *interpretation* delves into the discursive practices involved in the process of subtitling Islamic cultural items in the selected documentaries. Specifically, it examines the production, consumption, and distribution of the subtitles and the extent to which video-on-demand platforms influence the process of subtitling ICIs and shape the final outcome in relation to the degree of (de)islamisation in the target text. Furthermore, it explores the various strategies employed for subtitling Islamic cultural items to develop a comprehensive taxonomy of subtitling strategies for ICIs.

Chapter Five: Target Text Production and Interpretation

5.0 Introduction

Following the previous chapter that discusses the social practices (i.e., the explanation stage) relevant to the study data based on Fairclough's CDA model (1989/1995), this chapter mainly deals with the interpretation stage. The interpretation stage concerns participants' processes in text production and interpretation (Fairclough, 1999). In this stage, the discursive practices involved in text production, consumption and distribution are also investigated. It is worth mentioning that Fairclough's model is designed to investigate discourse in general. In applying his model to subtitling, the analysis should be held on the target text itself with reference to the source text as a source of metadata. By following this approach, it is possible to identify any discursive practices that may have been employed in the subtitling process.

The present chapter is divided into two sections. The first one addresses the prescriptive subtitling guidelines issued based on research either conducted by individual scholars or by specialised committees and organisations (e.g., the code issued by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST), which is called the Code of Good Subtitling Practice), and the in-house subtitling guidelines issued by the video-on-demand broadcasting platforms of the films investigated: namely, Netflix, Amazon Prime and Channel 4 (All 4). The second section descriptively investigates the subtitling strategy utilised to render each one of the ICIs into English in each film. A statistical analysis is also held. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the subtitling strategies in two groups: strategies that contribute to deislamisising the ICIs and strategies that contribute to islamising the ICIs. Finally, the chapter ends with concluding remarks.

5.1 Prescriptive Subtitling Guidelines

Subtitling is a process controlled mainly by technical constraints. Therefore, scholars in the field of translation studies investigate theoretically and practically the subtitling process to help subtitlers face technical constraints and thus facilitate the subtitling process. By doing so, the subtitlers have many references to the general subtitling guideline. In

addition to research findings in subtitling studies, some other guidelines are issued by specialised committees and organisations in audiovisual translation and screen translation. For example, the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST) issued general standard guidelines applicable to most languages. In addition, patronages involved in the process of film subtitling have their subtitling guidelines that may cover not only the technical constraints but also the content of films. Such guidelines are considered perspective norms that the subtitlers should follow.

However, the subtitlers do not necessarily exactly follow the prescriptive guidelines for many reasons. Reasons can vary from the technicality of the subtitling process itself to reasons related to the content of the film discourse and other issues such as the ideological agendas of the patronages and consumers of films (e.g., producers, broadcasters, editors, and films' target audience.). Therefore, this section investigates the prescriptive subtitling guidelines based on research (e.g., *The Code of Good Subtitling Practice* by the ESIST), and the in-house subtitling guidelines issued by the video-on-demand broadcasting platforms of the investigated films. More particularly, the prescriptive norms about the content, especially those guidelines about the cultural items in general and religious Islamic cultural items in particular.

5.1.1 General Subtitling Guidelines Based on Research

The development of subtitling as a mode of screen translation, and subsequently as a mode of audiovisual translation, has prompted the production of both practical and theoretical research on subtitling norms that can be utilised by subtitlers or even as instructional material for students of audiovisual translation. Technical constraints (i.e., the time and space allocated for the text) are the key factor that influences the main subtitling process, as argued by Georgakopoulou (2009), Batoll (2011), and Díaz Cintas (2013). For the time, it is very significant to make sure that the “in” and “out” timing of the subtitles on the screen is in line with the proper reading time setting, which generally varies according to the audience of the audiovisual products (Díaz Cintas, 2013). Generally, the recommended speeding time is six seconds. For the space, it is normal to have two lines of

subtitles on the screen, although the number of characters on each line varies depending on factors related to the target language alphabet (Díaz Cintas, 2013). For English, the maximum number of lines is Two, and the maximum number of characters in each line should be 42 (Karakanta et al., 2020), and in other studies, such as Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014), should be ranging between 35-43.

In addition, the specialised organisations and committees in the field of audiovisual translation have issued a list of subtitling guidelines as perspective norms. For example, The European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST) issued the Code of Good Subtitling Practice, consisting of 26 guidelines, on its official website, [www.ESIST.org](http://www.esist.org)⁵⁴; the code was originally developed by Ivarsson and Carroll (1998). The code is more general to be more universal and applicable to most languages. It covers the technical aspects of the subtitling process with a very slight focus on the content, with no mention of the religious-cultural items at all. The code contains the prescriptive guidelines (norms) that subtitlers should follow. These prescriptive norms are originally based on descriptive norms investigated from a wide range of practical research (Pedersen, 2011). However, ESIST also publishes on its official website guidelines for interlingual subtitling, guidelines for SDH/closed captioning, guidelines for dubbing and voice-over, guidelines for audio description, and other guidelines such as those designed for specific languages. However, there are no specific and clear guidelines for subtitling religious-cultural items. The topic of subtitling cultural items in the literature is more about listing the most common strategies utilised based on practical research, such as the studies conducted by Gottlieb (1992), Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Pedersen (2005), and Díaz- Cintas & Remael (2014), as mentioned in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, no one has addressed subtitling religious-cultural items and Islamic cultural items in particular. Therefore, this study contributes to providing the literature with descriptive norms of subtitling Islamic cultural items (more particularly in documentaries) that can inspire subtitlers to take them as prescriptive ones.

⁵⁴ see <https://www.esist.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Code-of-Good-Subtitling-Practice.PDF.pdf> and <https://www.esist.org/resources/avt-guidelines-and-policies/>

5.1.2 In-house Subtitling Guidelines of Video on Demand (VOD) Broadcasting Platforms

It is significant to investigate the in-house guidelines issued by the broadcasting platforms to explore the extent to which such platforms control the subtitling process, especially the content such as the ICIs. Generally, video-on-demand (VOD) Broadcasting platforms allow users to access videos of their choice at the time of their choice (Hu, 2001). Nowadays, such platforms have become exceedingly popular among users for their services for online video distribution. Platforms such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, Hulu and Disney+ use a subscription model that requires users to pay a monthly fee for video access (i.e., films, series etc.). Some platforms provide additional services, such as allowing users to purchase or temporarily rent video entertainment content, such as Amazon Prime. Some platforms, such as For All, broadcast some of their content for free.

Moreover, video-on-demand (VOD) broadcasting platforms provide most of their content with subtitles. Usually, to get subtitles on such platforms, viewers need to click on the “S” or “CC”⁵⁵ button in the video player, choose the language available for subtitles, and then the subtitles for the video played will load. In case the “S” button is unavailable, there are no subtitles for the video. Like television and cinema, video-on-demand broadcasting platforms provide subtitles to their content to increase the number of viewers who want to watch foreign language productions. Subtitles are also provided increasingly by various broadcasting platforms to meet the needs of deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers. Broadcasting platforms buy their content with subtitles already available in a particular language, subtitle their content by themselves, or buy subtitles from subtitling companies. However, subtitles are not provided for all languages or all content. For the purposes of the study, it is necessary to investigate the subtitling guidelines of the three broadcasting platforms: Netflix, Amazon Prime and All4, the source of the data of the current study. By

⁵⁵ -Platforms use the letters “CC” or “S” as buttons which viewers click on to show subtitles or closed captions.

-Close Captions refers to Intralingual subtitling, which “consists of a written rendition of spoken dialogues in the same language, for instance, the English subtitles of an English language programme” (Szarkowska et al., 2021, p. 661).

doing so, one might determine the extent to which subtitlers working for a certain VOD broadcasting platform follow the subtitling instructions of the platform.

5.1.2.1 Netflix

Netflix is one of the main prominent Video-on-demand (VOD) broadcasting platforms nowadays in the world. Netflix is available for streaming in over 190 countries except North Korea, Crimea, China, and Syria⁵⁶. It is a big company not only for distributing content (i.e., films, series, etc.) but also for producing its original content. On Netflix, there is a variety of content in many languages, and the service of subtitling is also available. Netflix provides in-house guidelines for subtitling. “Netflix also uses a recruiting process for freelancers via the Hermes test system⁵⁷ (test.hermes.nflex.io), who then work directly for the company” (Pedersen, 2018, p.87). In addition, “it commissions a great share of its subtitles from independent subtitling companies, such as BTI Studios and SDIMedia” (Pedersen, 2018, p.87). It also purchases used subtitled files from other distributors (Pedersen, 2018). However, all subtitlers, whether they work for Netflix directly or for an intermediary, compulsorily use Netflix’s guidelines, which they call Timed Text Style Guides (TTSGs), since “any timed text created specifically for Netflix – Originals or non-Originals – should follow the Netflix Timed Text Style Guide, unless otherwise advised” (Netflix, 2022). It can therefore be argued that the Netflix guidelines exert a great deal of pressure on the subtitlers’ behaviour and are thus expressions of strong norms” (Pedersen, 2018, p.87).

Netflix provides subtitlers with subtitling guidelines for each target language called Timed Text Style Guide, available on its official website, such characters as, Arabic Timed Text Style Guide, English Timed Text Style Guide, Turkish Timed Text Style Guide. In addition, there is also a general subtitling guideline called Timed Text Style Guide: General

⁵⁶ <https://help.netflix.com/en/node/14164>.

⁵⁷ The purpose of this system is to evaluate the proficiency of candidates in comprehending the English language, translating idiomatic expressions into the target language, recognizing both linguistic and technical inaccuracies, and proficiently creating subtitles (Netflix, 2022)

Requirements. These guides set the subtitling norms of Netflix, which may differ from other platforms' subtitling guides.

Nonetheless, Netflix's guidelines are more technical rather than advising on content. Most of Netflix's current guidelines concern the style of the subtitles (e.g., punctuation, capitalization, and brand names), and do not govern swear words or specific cultural terms. For example, the instructions for making the template file of the English subtitle, which come in a document called English Template Timed Text Style Guide⁵⁸, mostly include instructions about technical constraints, such as line length (42 characters per line), reading speed and duration (13 characters per second for children's programs and 17 for adult programs), file format, line treatment, timing, frame gaps, titles, and credits. Netflix itself declares that there is no censorship of the broadcast content because "censorship edits impact the content quality of the asset. Any obvious edits may be disruptive to a seamless member viewing experience. In some cases, they may also interfere with/alter the creative intent of the content producer" (Netflix, 2022b). This absence of content censorship distinguishes Netflix from other streaming platforms run by governmental authorities or on traditional linear televisual media (Alsharhan, 2020). Investigating Netflix's guidelines, Timed Text Style Guides (TTSGs), provides an overview of the subtitling norms that are most relevant to technical constraints.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that there are no specific guidelines for subtitling pairs of certain languages, such as from Arabic into English and from Turkish to Arabic, only the guidelines for the target language. In addition, Netflix asserts that it is important to mention the name of subtitlers /translators as declared in Netflix Licensed Content Delivery Specification and Operators Manual (Version 9.1) (Netflix, 2022c, p.16)⁵⁹:

- All subtitles must contain individual credit for the author of the text asset; company credits are not allowed. If more than one translator has worked

⁵⁸ See <https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/217350977-English-Timed-Text-Style-Guide>

⁵⁹ see <https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/215148917-Full-Licensed-Technical-Specification-v9-1>

on an asset, e.g., when translating from multiple source languages or when more than one translator has collaborated on a special project, more than one translator can be mentioned in the same credit.

- Translator credits must be contained to the last event of the file, must not appear before the end of the main program and must be formatted exactly as they are meant to appear on-screen as required by law in the territory of exhibition.
- Translator credits are not required for marketing assets such as trailers, promos, clips, etc.

Netflix also provides subtitlers with a Subtitle Template Timed Text Style Guide which is the basis for subtitling in other languages. It is “an edited, positioned, researched, annotated and checked subtitle file, timed to shot and audio, matching the source language of the associated content (unless it is a pivot file), which is intended to serve as a basis for downstream interlingual subtitling” (Netflix, 2022d)⁶⁰. However, Netflix also declares that it does not expect subtitle templates to be verbatim (Netflix, 2022d).

According to Pedersen (2018), the content of the Timed Text Style Guide overlaps with the Subtitle Template. Nonetheless, all the TTSGs are available on the official website of Netflix and provided with a contact link under the title *Provide feedback on this style guide*⁶¹ that enables the subtitlers or other users to comment on the content. This feature enables the Netflix website to update the content of the TTSGs. To date, there are no specific guidelines for subtitling religious or cultural materials. Only general considerations are outlined in Subtitle Template Timed Text Style Guide: section 33. Pivot language template guidelines⁶² (Netflix, 2022e). For example, this guideline gives

⁶⁰ see <https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/219375728-Timed-Text-Style-Guide-Subtitle-Templates>

⁶¹ As a researcher, I contacted Netflix via this link on 14/01/2022 asking whether there are any specific instructions on subtitling religious-cultural items (especially Islamic cultural items into English) or not. I have not received any reply or even found any update on their general instructions yet.

⁶² “A pivot template is a timed and edited subtitle template which is in a language other than the source language, intended to act as a bridge between the source language and target languages when unusual language pairs are in play” (Netflix, 2022c). For instance, to translate a Polish show into Arabic, an English

instructions on how to provide translations for audio content. The instructions state that cultural references, names, locations, nationalities, and titles should be kept as they appear in the source audio, with annotations explaining their relevance. If jokes, puns, or other wordplay are lost during the translation process, explanations and literal translations should be provided in the annotations. The instructions also mention adding extensive annotations for information that may be lost in translation when working with a pivot file, including: formality, gender, negation and affirmation, switches between definite and indefinite articles, mood, grammatical case, terminology and legal terms, quotations and song lyrics, cultural references, names and nicknames, slang, idioms, jokes, complex grammar, puns, sarcasm and irony, register, tone, intent, relationships between characters, age, spatial location, cultural nuance, and levels of offensiveness. The instructions also recommend highlighting any pronouns that may be ambiguous. Finally, the instructions emphasise the importance of providing any other necessary context to ensure that translators are successful in their work.

As illustrated above, there are no special subtitling guidelines on the content of the subtitled text or any specific instructions for subtitling religious items. Even what is mentioned in the Pivot language template guidelines regarding cultural items does not illustrate that they should also be applied in the target text. Since the study data consist of English subtitles of Islamic cultural items in documentaries, it is necessary to investigate Netflix's instructions for English subtitles created for non-English content⁶³. It is found that most of the subsections are related to technical constraints (42 characters allowed per line with two lines maximum) or style of writing (e.g., acronyms, names, font colour, and font size). However, some other subsections include instructions on content, such as the subsections of Songs, Forced Narratives, Quotes, Repetitions, and Special Instructions.

pivot file is created in the middle to bridge the gap. Netflix requires the pivot file to work in the same way that a direct source → target workflow works (Netflix, 2022c).

⁶³ See <https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/217350977-English-Timed-Text-Style-Guide>

The subsection of Songs, for example, tells subtitlers to subtitle only plot-pertinent songs in case the rights have been granted. Songs of opening and ending themes are subtitled only if they are clearly plot-pertinent or if Netflix instructs them. If a song continues in the background, subtitlers should use an ellipsis to give precedence to dialogue. Forced narratives for on-screen text and quotes should also be subtitled only if they are plot pertinent. Being plot-pertinent" may be the loophole that allows subtitlers to work freely and subtitle what they think is plot-pertinent.

The subsection of Repetitions, for example, tells subtitlers not to subtitle repeated utterances. This justifies the omission of any repeated Islamic cultural item in films. Interestingly, the only genre which has its own subsection of subtitling instructions is the genre of documentary⁶⁴. This subsection includes instructions on the way that the subtitlers should present speakers (e.g., the titles of speakers). In addition, subtitlers are not required to subtitle any dialogue in films/ TV clips, news tickers, or banners appearing in documentaries unless they are plot-pertinent and when the rights are granted. However, no special instruction is found to subtitle religious items in documentaries.

Furthermore, there is another subsection related to the content called *special instructions*. All the instructions in this subsection are about localisation and source language oriented. For example, taboo language should not be censored, any plot-pertinent dialogue should be subtitled rather than background dialogue, and any error in the original text should not be replicated in the subtitled text.

Upon reviewing Netflix's subtitling guidelines as published on their official website, the following questions have arisen:

- To what extent do subtitlers working for Netflix follow the prescribed guidelines and instructions given to them?

⁶⁴ see <https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/219375728-Timed-Text-Style-Guide-Subtitle-Templates>

- To what extent do the subtitles of non-Netflix produced content, including those related to religious/Islamic cultural items, adhere to Netflix's subtitling guidelines when subtitled by intermediaries for Netflix?

Therefore, one can assume that Netflix ostensibly is not responsible for any ideological manipulation that can be found in subtitling Arabic Islamic cultural items into English in the investigated films. It is the translators/subtitlers who are responsible for any manipulation, unless there are undisclosed guidelines provided by Netflix.

Netflix requires to include translators' credit for all subtitled content (either paid by Netflix directly or paid by a third party or what Netflix calls the content partner). In addition, subtitlers working for Netflix are required to contact the localization team at Netflix for any issue or inquiry about subtitling via Zendesk (Netflix, 2022f)⁶⁵. Both documentary films, broadcast on Netflix, mention the names of the film subtitlers in the closing credits of the films.

5.1.2.2 Amazon Prime

Amazon Prime Video is another popular subscription video-on-demand broadcasting platform. It provides subscribers with Amazon Original content and content produced by other providers to watch. It also broadcasts live events and provides video purchasing and rental services. In addition, Amazon Prime provides a content add-on service in the form of channels that allow its users to subscribe to other content providers within Amazon Prime, such as BBC Select, Cinemax and Discovery + (Lad et al., 2020).

⁶⁵ See: - <https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000303072-What-is-my-responsibility-when-it-comes-to-supplying-Netflix-with-translator-credits->
-<https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000303132-I-am-working-with-a-pre-existing-subtitle-file-and-I-am-unable-to-obtain-a-translator-credit-How-do-I-communicate-this->
-<https://partnerhelp.netflixstudios.com/hc/en-us/articles/115000303112-What-happens-when-a-translator-credit-is-omitted-How-do-I-communicate-if-a-translator-does-not-wish-to-be-credited-and-a-waiver-has-been-obtained->

No information has been found on Amazon Prime video's official website about the subtitling process of the content broadcast on Amazon Prime video⁶⁶. The official website of Amazon Prime contains only information about the reasons why subtitles may not be working with some Amazon Prime video accounts. The reasons include that not all Amazon prime videos support subtitles for specific languages. In addition, some older models of devices (e.g., old models of Apple TV) do not support subtitles since they cannot receive updates from Amazon prime application (Amazon, 2022a). However, Amazon Prime enables its subscribers to manage the settings of the subtitles based on their preferences. From the *Account and Settings* link, Subscribers can click on the *Subtitles Preferences* button and customise their favourite settings, such as the subtitles' colour, size, font, and background.

5.1.2.3 Channel 4 (All4)

All 4 is a video-on-demand broadcasting platform available in the United Kingdom and Ireland. It belongs to the Channel 4 Television Corporation. All 4 provides most of its content free of charge, and it is funded by advertising. However, All 4 + provides content without advertising (except for its live content) on a monthly payment subscription. In addition, most of its content has subtitles available. Channel 4 subtitling guidelines for foreign-language programmes are available on its official website in a 2-page PDF file⁶⁷. The file includes instructions on the style and content of the subtitles in general. Unlike Netflix, there are no specific language guidelines. The file starts with an emphasis on the importance of subtitling foreign language commissioned programmes in advance of

⁶⁶ As a researcher, I asked the Amazon Staff on 15/12/2021 whether there are any subtitling guidelines for their content or not on their Digital and Device Forum, where anyone can sign up for an account and then ask questions or write posts; the forum is censored by Amazon's staff. Although my question was edited by one of Amazon Staff (as appeared on my post page), there was no answer. My question has been viewed by 26 viewers and answered by only two people who are not from Amazon Staff. The two answers are:

By CBRetriever: "Subtitles usually come from the producers of the videos - Amazon will provide them for their own videos (like The Wheel of Time)"

By J. Penrose: "This info is often found in the end credits. If not, you will have to do some looking on the 'net or contact the production company for any given film. Try this as a Google search: "who subtitles movies" for some background".

See <https://www.amazonforum.com/s/question/0D56Q00008LnYbvSAF/i-would-like-to-know-about-the-subtitling-guidelines-for-amazon-prime>

⁶⁷ See https://www.channel4.com/media/documents/corporate/foi-docs/SG_FLP.pdf

delivery to Channel 4. Instructions on the style of the subtitles include the font size and colour, line limitation and characters limitation per line. For example, the maximum number of characters per line for text in animations, drama, and arts programmes should be 38 and 34 characters in case there are wide letters such as W, while the maximum number of characters per line for text in factual programmes as well as programmes for the deaf should be 42 characters per line.

Instructions on content include the five crucial points. First, some foreign language content is provided to All 4 with English subtitles. However, All 4 requires their subtitlers to take the existing English subtitles as a guideline only; they are not required to adhere to it since such content is mostly created by non-native speakers in the film's country of origin (Channel 4, 2022a). Secondly, subtitlers are not required to subtitle all repeated utterances in a short space. Thirdly, subtitlers should make Slang and colloquialisms appropriate to the style of the film. For example, 'Mom' is acceptable in modern America, but it is barely so in the 16th-century France context, where 'Mama' or 'Mummy' would be better (Channel 4, 2022a). Fourthly, any text on the screen that needs to be subtitled should be in the normal style of other subtitles (no capitals or italics). Additionally, subtitlers are required to subtitle expletives as such. Rows of dashes or asterisks should only be used to draw attention to the "dirty" word and the fact that it has been censored. Subtitlers should leave it out altogether if the programmes are likely to be transmitted before the watershed. Finally, only the main credits of a feature film should be subtitled, such as scriptwriters and directors; however, credits of subtitlers should not be added.

In addition, some other information about subtitles can be found on its official website in section *A frequently asked questions (FAQ)* list such as:

Why do not all programs have subtitles?

We take accessibility seriously and whilst we aim to subtitle as much content as possible, unfortunately, not everything on All 4 will carry subtitles. In particular, this could be some of our older content that was subtitled live on our linear services or where the version of a programme on All 4 differs to the one originally broadcast. Subtitles are supported on most

of our platforms, and we are committed to continuing to extend accessibility on All 4 where possible. (channel4, 2022b)

Like Netflix, there is no specific instruction on subtitling religious cultural items in general and Islamic cultural items in particular. In addition, it is worth mentioning that films are broadcasted on more than one platform, such as *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts). Interestingly, the subtitles of the films are the same, with no difference. This illustrates that film production companies distribute films with English subtitles. Thus, if any ideological manipulation is found in the subtitlers, the subtitles of the films are in question.

To sum up, the influence of video-on-demand platforms on subtitling varies greatly. While Amazon Prime provides no subtitling guidelines, Netflix and Channel 4 (All 4) have published guidelines mainly focused on technical constraints, like the limited number of characters allowed per line of subtitles. Guidelines on the content of subtitles are limited, with only instructions on which repetition items should be omitted for the second time mentioned by Netflix and Channel 4 (All 4). The platforms have not issued any subtitling guidelines for Islamic cultural items, which means subtitlers may have the possibility to carry out ideological manipulation. In cases of technical manipulation, subtitlers may alter the text to conform to space and time constraints. Since Islamic cultural items can be included among other elements in the source text (ST) utterance, manipulation to (de)islamise the target text (TT) by, for instance, omitting ICIs or using alternative strategies to reduce or increase the number of characters, considering technical limitations, could still be subject to scrutiny as it may be motivated by ideology rather than technical considerations. In summary, examining the subtitling guidelines of the platforms illustrates the responsibilities and authority of film subtitlers regarding the ICIs. Therefore, this section answers the second research question which is to what extent do video-on-demand broadcasting platforms influence the subtitling process of ICIs in documentary films?

5.2 Empirical Analysis of the Strategies Utilised to Subtitle ICIs in Documentaries

This section provides an empirical analysis of the subtitling strategies utilised to render Arabic Islamic cultural items in the documentaries into English. It starts with an overview

of the proposed taxonomy of subtitling ICIs. Then, each film is investigated separately to identify the total number of ICIs in each film, the total number of the strategies utilised to render the ICIs into English, and the total number of strategies that contribute to islamising the TT in order to calculate the (de)islamisation rate of each film, as discussed in detail in section 5.3. Relevant information about each film is also introduced, such as the film plot, film duration, film directors, and film producers.

5.2.1 The Proposed Taxonomy of Subtitling ICIs

Since there has been no specific theory or taxonomy that lists the subtitling strategies for Islamic cultural items (or even religious-cultural items in general), I have used the abductive approach to develop a unique taxonomy of subtitling ICIs based on existing theories of subtitling culturally specific items, such as Gottlieb (1992), Pedersen (2005/2011) and Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014). Based on the investigation of the process of subtitling ICIs into English, it is found that the subtitlers utilise the following strategies:

Loan:

By the strategy of loan, the subtitlers transfer the ST word into the TT by using the TL alphabet to keep the SL vocal form of the word. This strategy includes the Transference strategy proposed by Newmark (1988), where a word is transferred into the TL in its original vocal form (transcription/transliteration). For example, Islamic words in Arabic, such as *الله*, *زكاة*, and *جهاد*, are rendered into English as Allah, Zakat, and Jihad. It also includes the naturalization strategy proposed by Newmark (1988), where the SL word is adapted first to the TL pronunciation and then to TL morphology. For instance, Arabic words such as *علوي*, *جهادي*, and *إسلامي* are rendered into English as Alawite, jihadist, and Islamist, respectively. This strategy is adopted when there is no equivalent in the target language or when the subtitlers intentionally adopt the foreignisation strategy (source-oriented strategy). This strategy is more commonly used in subtitling Islamic cultural items due to the lack of semantically identical English equivalents for most ICIs and the limited space available to provide adequate context for the semantic meaning of the ICIs. In

addition, this strategy is most commonly used to render the proper names, such as names of personage (e.g., Muhammad) and cities (e.g., Makkah).

1. Literal translation:

By the strategy of literal translation, the subtitlers literally translate ICIs (word by word). This strategy is adopted to render those Arabic ICIs that have a semantically identical equivalent in English, such as the Arabic words الجنة, جهنم, and شهيد, which mean in English *paradise*, *hell*, and *martyr*, respectively. The literal translation strategy is very common in the field of translation studies. It is proposed by many scholars, such as Newmark (1988) and Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014).

2. Substitution:

Adopting the substitution strategy proposed by Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014), the substitution strategy is utilised to replace the closest English equivalent of an ICI with another English lexical item. “It is resorted to when spatial constraints do not allow for the insertion of a rather long term, even if it exists in the target culture and a hypernym or hyponym would therefore not really be required” (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.204). Subtitling the Arabic word استشهد [martyred] into *died* instead of *martyred* in English is an example of such a case, where the number of letters in the word *died* is less than the number of letters in the word *martyred*. However, the technical constraints are not necessarily the main reason to adopt this strategy. Sometimes subtitlers may adopt this strategy for certain ideological purposes (as discussed in Chapter 6).

3. Transposition:

Adopting the same transposition strategy proposed by Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014), this strategy refers to the process of rendering the ST cultural concept expressed in the form of culturally specific items into its cultural accepted equivalence of the concept in TT. This is the case where there is no exact lexical equivalent in the TT. Therefore, the subtitlers render the ST cultural item's meaning through expressions expressing a culturally accepted meaning /concept in the TT. In addition to prioritising the target text (i.e., being target text-

oriented), subtitlers may also use this strategy when the target audience may not be familiar with the cultural item in the source text, such as the Arabic word الله, which is sometimes translated into *God* in English. This strategy may also be used to avoid confusion or incomprehensibility in the target text, such as by translating the Islamic Arabic greeting السلام عليكم as *hello* or *hi* instead of using the literal translation strategy as *peace be upon you*. In addition, subtitlers resort to this strategy when utilising other strategies is not possible due to the technical constraints of the mode of subtitling.

4. Addition:

The strategy of addition in this taxonomy differs from the strategy of addition by other scholars. For example, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014) explains that the subtitling strategy of addition "involves adding extra information to the subtitles in order to compensate for cultural or linguistic differences between the source and target languages" (p. 28). This strategy can be used to provide context or background information for the target audience, clarify meaning, or bridge cultural gaps. It is often employed in the subtitling of culturally specific content to facilitate understanding for the target audience. However, this strategy is also used to serve ideological purposes. In this taxonomy, addition refers to the process of adding an ICI in the TT, elements that have Islamic connotations, that are not mentioned in the ST at all. For example, the subtitlers of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) add the word *shahid* into TT although this word is not mentioned at all in the ST.

5. Compensation:

Adopting the same strategy proposed by Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014), the compensation strategy refers to the strategy of "making up for a translational loss in one exchange by over translating or adding something in another" (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.206). Sometimes, using this strategy can be impracticable because of the oral-visual cohabitation of the SL and TL. Thus, Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014) advise the subtitlers not to deviate excessively from the soundtrack if the target audience can be expected to recognise at least part of what they hear. This strategy can be used only when

there is no lexical equivalent in the TT, and other subtitling strategies are not applicable. It can be best used in humorous films (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2014). For example, rendering the Arabic word الشهادة into English is a challenging task. This word has two meanings: *martyrdom* and *a testimony that there is no God but Allah*. For the second meaning in Arabic, no English word has the same denotative and connotative meaning. Therefore, the subtitlers of *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger), for instance, subtitle it by utilising the compensation strategy into *shahadeh [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah]*.

6. Dummy Compensation:

This strategy is used to provide pseudo translation on screen. The subtitlers make up of the loss of translation by providing irrelevant information to what is uttered in the film or providing a general description, such as PEOPLE TALKING, MUSIC, VOICES, MAN CRYING, and MEN CHANTING IN ARABIC. They just fill the gap in the subtitles on the screen. In the study corpus, such examples are found in the case of capital letters. Subtitlers use this strategy either because what is uttered is not very important to the film plot (e.g., songs) or because there is not enough space allocated to provide complete translation and using other strategies is not applicable. In addition, other reasons, such as ideological purposes, may also be the motivation for using such a strategy.

In the collected data, some target text utterances did not match the meaning and function of their source text counterparts. This may be due to the complexity of the religious terms or the subtitler's lack of knowledge of these terms, particularly in regard to Islamic cultural terms. As the aim of this study is not to assess the quality of the subtitles, such cases have been categorised as *dummy compensation*, as they appear to be used only to fill gaps in the subtitles and are often irrelevant or incorrect. For example, the subtitlers of *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin) render the Arabic Islamic phrase والله العظيم into *For God's sake* instead of using the correct equivalent, *I swear by God/ Allah, Almighty*. In this example, the subtitlers utilise the dummy compensation strategy.

7. Omission:

Omission is a subtitling strategy that involves leaving out information from the source text in the target text. This strategy is often used to condense the source text, as subtitles have limited space and must be concise in order to be effective. Omission can be used to remove non-essential information, cultural references that may not be familiar to the target audience, or repetitive or redundant language. Pedersen (2005) notes that omission can be used to remove cultural references that may not be understood by the target audience, stating that "it is not always necessary or possible to translate cultural references or to provide a footnote explaining them" (Pedersen, 2005, p. 76). However, the use of omission can also have negative effects on the target text. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014) caution that omitting information from the source text can result in a loss of meaning or a distorted representation of the original content. They suggest that subtitlers should be careful in their use of omission and consider the potential impact on the target audience's understanding of the source text.

In this taxonomy, omission means that the subtitlers entirely omit the ICI. No translation or even dummy compensation is provided. In some cases, the whole utterance, including the ICI, is omitted; in such a case, one cannot identify the reason for omitting the utterance. The cases of utilising this strategy are a lot in the study corpus. One of the instances is found in *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), where the film subtitlers omit the word Allah, the subject of the ST utterance *الله بده ما يخلينا نطلع* [Allah does not want us to leave] from the TT subtitle, *we were not meant to leave*.

8. Condensation:

Condensation is a subtitling strategy that involves reducing the length of the source text in the target text. This can be achieved through various techniques, such as omitting non-essential information, combining multiple source text utterances into a single target text utterance, or using shorter synonyms or phrases. Condensation is often used in subtitling to fit the source text within the limited space available for subtitles, as well as to maintain the pacing and flow of the film or program. Gottlieb (1992) notes that condensation is a

prevalent technique utilised in subtitling as a means of condensing the content within the confines of the limited screen space. This strategy enables the subtitlers to effectively compress the message, thereby ensuring that it can be displayed in a legible and coherent manner.

However, the use of condensation can also have negative effects on the target text. Pedersen (2005/2011) warns that condensing the source text too much can result in a loss of meaning or a distorted representation of the original content. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014) similarly caution that "excessive condensation can lead to a lack of clarity and even to misunderstandings" (p. 28). They suggest that subtitlers should carefully consider the potential impact of condensation on the target audience's understanding of the source text.

In this taxonomy, condensation means that subtitlers partially translate the ICI. This strategy is utilised in the case of the long ICI such as verses or parts of Quranic verses. In addition, it is utilised in the case of having more than one ICI which are in a row, either as repeated ICIs, such as الله أكبر, الله أكبر [Allah/God is the greatest] coming in row rendered into *CROWD SCREAMS ALLAHU AKBAR* or as a group of relevant ICIs such as تكبير [Say Allah/God is the greatest] and الله أكبر [Allah/God is the greatest] rendered into *GROUP: Allahu Akbar*, as found in the subtitles of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski). It is worth mentioning here that this strategy results in keeping the same TT of the items on the screen until the last item is uttered. This strategy involves, in fact, two strategies. It involves omitting parts of the text (i.e., condensation) in the sense that not every single ICI has a TT subtitle. It also involves applying any other strategy from taxonomy to render the other part of the text that is not omitted /chosen to be rendered (e.g., the loan strategy in the instance mentioned earlier).

At first glance, it looks as though there is an overlapping between the omission of any ICI, which is repeated in origin and the condensation of a group of ICIs, which are a repetition of an ICI or relevant to each other. To clarify this, it is worth mentioning the difference between the condensation of a group of ICIs in the ST into only one ICI in the TT and the omission of ICIs that are in origin repetition of the first mentioned ICI. In the

case of condensation, subtitlers condense two or more ICIs in a row in the ST and render them all into only one TT subtitle that provides a general description for all of the ST ICIs, as shown in the example below.

Example:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Subtitling Strategy: Condensation (omission + compensation by providing a general description of the two ICIs)

Arabic ST:		
ICI 1: السلام عليكم		
ICI 2: وعلیکم السلام		
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
ICI 1 starts at 0.21:17.0	CALLING GREETINGS	ICI 1: Peace be upon you.
ICI 2 starts at 0.21:20.0		ICI 2: Peace be upon you too.

As shown, the subtitlers of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) render the two ICIs, which are in origin two different religious greeting expressions in Arabic, into one TT subtitle, CALLING GREETINGS, which is a general description of the two ICIs combined. The TT subtitle appears on the screen for around 6 seconds, synchronising the two ICIs in the ST. However, when omitting the repeated ICI/ICIs, the subtitlers render the first mentioned ICI and omit the repeated one(s). The TT subtitle appears only for the first ICI. It stays on the screen as long as the first mentioned ICI is uttered in the ST (i.e., once the ST speaker stops talking, the TT subtitle disappears), as shown in the following example.

Example:

Film: *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)

Subtitling Strategies: (ICI 1) Transposition. (ICI 2): Omission

ICI (1)	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.07:42.0	Thank God	Praise be to Allah/God

ICI (2)	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.07:46.0	-	Praise be to Allah/God

As shown, the first ICI is rendered into English utilising the compensation strategy, and the TT subtitle appears on the screen only for around three seconds till the ST speakers of the first ICI stops talking. When the second ICI, which is in origin a repeated form of the first ICI, is uttered in the ST, there is no TT subtitle provided. Therefore, in the appendix that lists all the ICIs in the data corpus, the condensation of more than one ICI is categorised in one box, and the omission of repeated ICIs is categorised in two separate boxes. It is worth mentioning here that there is another case where the subtitlers render one ICI into TT by utilising two subtitling strategies. This case is called *Subtitling Couplet*. It is more prominent in subtitling verses of the Quran, as discussed in Chapter 6 (see section 6.2).

To sum up, the abovementioned exhaustive list of strategies covers all the strategies found in the data collected. The choice of one strategy over another can be due to the personal attitude of the patronage involved in the process of subtitling, such as the subtitlers

or the editors, the technical constraints, or even to the nature of the ICI itself (e.g., the length of an ICI)⁶⁸.

5.2.2 Films & the Proposed Taxonomy

This section investigates the subtitling strategies utilised to render ICIs in the documentary films into English based on the proposed taxonomy. In addition, it indicates the (de)islamisation rate for each film, which is calculated based on the following equation (as discussed in chapter three, see section 3.3.3):

Islamisation Rate = *The number of TT subtitles that have Islamic connotations / the total number of the ICIs in the ST * 100%*

Deislamisation Rate = *100% - Islamisation Rate*

5.2.2.1 *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin) Broadcast on Netflix

Born in Syria (2016, dir. Hernán Zin) is a documentary that was first released on 6 November 2016. Its duration is 1 hour 26 minutes. Its production companies are Contramedia Films and La Claqueta PC. Netflix provides a brief description of the film; “This intimate documentary follows a group of Syrian children refugees who narrowly escape a life of torment and integrate into a foreign land” (Netflix, 2022g). In the film’s closing credits, Deirdre Mac Closkey, Guney Tanriverdi, and Jose` Antonio Rebolledo (Smartlingua⁶⁹) are mentioned as the translators. However, one cannot confirm whether the English subtitles are done by Netflix's staff or by those mentioned translators in the film’s closing credits. The total of instances of ICIs in the film is 27. The table below illustrates that all the ICIs in the film were rendered into English using six subtitling strategies: literal translation, explicitation, transposition, compensation, dummy compensation, omission, and condensation, with a total of 31 frequencies. In three cases, the Subtitling Couplet strategy is employed, involving the use of two subtitling strategies for a single ICI. As

⁶⁸ It is worth mentioning that this proposed taxonomy is also found to be applicable to ICIs mentioned in other genres, such as drama and comedy films (AL-Shloul, forthcoming).

⁶⁹ SMART LINGUA is a translation company that employs certified legal and technical translators. However, on its official website, there is a declaration that the company only translate from and into the following languages: Spanish, English, French and Portuguese. There is no mention of Arabic, the audio language of *Born in Syria* (2016). see <https://smartlingua.com.ar/en/inicio-english/>

shown in the table below, more than half of the film's ICIs are omitted, constituting 54.80%. Therefore, omission is the most frequent strategy. The second most frequently used strategy is transposition at 25.81%, followed by literal translation at 9.70%. The least frequently used strategies are compensation, dummy compensation, and condensation, each with a 3.23% prevalence. In the TT, there is no word with an Islamic connotation. Thus, all employed strategies contribute to deislaming the TT of the film. In other words, the deislaming rate of the film discourse is 100%.

Table 12

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in Born in Syria (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islaming Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislaming
Loan	0	0%		0%	100%
Literal Translation	3	9.70%			
Substitution	0	0%			
Transposition	8	25.81%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	1	3.23%			
Dummy Compensation	1	3.23%			
Omission	17	54.80%			
Condensation	1	3.23%			
Total	31	100%	0		

5.2.2.2 *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), Broadcast on Netflix

The White Helmets (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) is a documentary film that was first released on 16 September 2016. Its duration is 40 minutes. The film's producer is Joanna Natasegara. In the film's closing credits, Shiyar Sayed Mohamad and Farous

Bahbouh are mentioned as the translators. The English subtitles of the film only appear once the CC button is turned on. One cannot confirm whether the English subtitles of the film are the same ones done by the translators whose names appear in the film’s closing credits (i.e., whether the English subtitles provided by the translators were modified later by the Netflix subtitlers or not).

The film’s summary, as introduced by Netflix at the beginning of the film, is “As daily airstrikes pound civilian targets in Syria, a group of indomitable first responders risk their lives to rescue victims from the rubble” (Netflix, 2022h). It is also available on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fQM6t1oSQkE>, with Netflix production credits and with the same subtitles appearing on Netflix.

The total of instances of the ICIs in the film is 75 instances. The table below illustrates that six subtitling strategies were utilised: literal translation, Substitution, transposition, Compensation, omission, and Condensation. As shown in the table, more than half of the ICIs in the film are omitted, with a percentage of 63.1%. The second most frequently used strategy is transposition, with a percentage of 18.4%, followed by the substitution strategy, with a percentage of 13.3%. The least frequently used strategies are literal translation, compensation, dummy compensation, and condensation, with a percentage of 1.3% for each. As shown in the table, only one word in the TT has an Islamic connotation due to utilising the compensation strategy. Therefore, the islamisation rate of the TT is 1.3%. while the deislamisation rate is 98.7%.

Table 13

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in The White Helmets (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation

Loan	0	0%		1.3%	98.7%
Literal Translation	1	1.3%			
Substitution	10	13.3%			
Transposition	14	18.4%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	1	1.3%	1 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT		
Dummy Compensation	1	1.3%			
Omission	48	63.1%			
Condensation	1	1.3%			
Total	76	100%	1		

5.2.2.3 *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), Broadcast on Amazon Prime

Cries From Syria (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)⁷⁰ is a documentary film that has a runtime of 1 hour and 51 minutes. It was produced by Evgeny Afineevsky, Den Tolmor, Aaron I. Butler, and Journeyman Pictures. According to the closing credits, the film was translated into English by Eva Abu Aataya, Petr Felcer, Yara Abu Aataya, and Jakub Kolacek. However, it should be noted that the English subtitles are only accessible when the closed captions (CC) button is activated, suggesting that the English translation was provided by the film producers and may potentially have been modified by Amazon Prime. It is not possible to confirm whether this is the case.

Amazon prime provides the following summary of the film:

Cries from Syria is a searing, comprehensive account of the Syrian war from the inside out. The film draws on hundreds of hours of war footage from Syrian activists and citizen journalists, as well as testimony from child protestors, revolution leaders, human rights defenders, ordinary citizens and high-ranking army generals who have defected from the government. (Amazon, 2022b)

⁷⁰ See the film reviews by Amazon Prime's customers on https://www.amazon.co.uk/product-reviews/B0795DTJQH/ref=atv_dp_cr_see_all?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews

In this film, the total of ICIs in the film is 105 instances. Seven subtitling strategies were utilised: namely, loan, literal translation, substitution, transposition, compensation, omission, and condensation, with a total frequency of 108. The subtitlers used the subtitling couplet (i.e., using two strategies to subtitle one ICI) once. As shown in the table below, the omission strategy is the most frequently used strategy with a percentage of 43.5%. Then, it is followed by transposition and literal translation at 25.0% and 13.0%, respectively. Substitution ranked fourth at 7.4%, followed by loan and compensation at 4.6% each. The least frequently used strategy is condensation at 1.9%. Interestingly, only 5 TT subtitles have Islamic connotations, resulting in an islamisation rate of 4.8% for the TT and a deislamisation rate of 95.2%.

Table 14

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in Cries from Syria (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	5	4.6%	5 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT	4.8%	95.2%
Literal Translation	14	13.0%			
Substitution	8	7.4%			
Transposition	27	25.0%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	5	4.6%			
Dummy Compensation	0	0%			
Omission	47	43.5%			
Condensation	2	1.9%			
Total	108	100%	5		

5.2.2.4 *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), Broadcast on Amazon Prime

Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)⁷¹ has a runtime of 1 hour and 27 minutes. The closing credits list Alaa Aldeen and Abdullah Shatila as the translators. When the video is played, the original English subtitles are displayed on the screen. Amazon Prime only provides English subtitles for spoken dialogue that is in English. In addition, Amazon Prime includes descriptions of certain non-speech audio elements, such as music, in the form of labels such as "RELAXED MUSIC", "CAUTIOUS MUSIC", "MELANCHOLY MUSIC", and "DRUMMING MUSIC". These labels disappear when the closed captions (CC) button is turned off. This suggests that Amazon Prime broadcasts the film with its original English subtitles and only adds labels for certain non-speech audio elements. It is reasonable to conclude that Amazon Prime does not censor the English subtitles of the film. The summary⁷² of the film as introduced by Amazon prime at the beginning of the film is as follows:

Aleppo, a city that never sleeps for fear of the horrors that now rage within its walls. Sons fight alongside fathers in a place where everyone is a soldier and becoming a martyr is considered easier than living through the daily nightmares. (Amazon, 2022c)

In this film, there were 275 instances of ICIs. Nine subtitling strategies were utilised, amounting to a total frequency of 309. Subtitling couple was utilised six times. As shown in the table below Omission is the most frequently used technique, accounting for 45.3% of instances, followed by loan and compensation, constituting 9.4% and 9.1% respectively. Transposition and condensation have a comparable frequency of 8.7% and 8.4%, respectively. Literal translation is the strategy of choice in 7.4% of cases, while substitution and dummy compensation are employed in 5.5% of instances each. The least frequently used strategy is addition, at a rate of 0.7%. The statistical analysis also indicates that 52 of

⁷¹ See the film reviews by Amazon Prime's customers on https://www.amazon.co.uk/product-reviews/B078SJZN2Q/ref=atv_dp_cr_see_all?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews

⁷² Compared to *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), the film summary introduced by Amazon Prime has not been changed since 2019.

the TT subtitles contain Islamic connotations, resulting in an islamisation rate of 18.9%, while the deislamisation rate was 81.1%.

Table 15

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	29	9.4%	29 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT.	18.9%	81.1%
Literal Translation	23	7.4%			
Substitution	17	5.5%	8 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT.		
Transposition	27	8.7%			
Addition	2	0.7%	2 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT.		
Compensation	28	9.1%	13 TT subtitles contain of Islamic connotation in the TT.		
Dummy Compensation	17	5.5%			
Omission	140	45.3%			
Condensation ⁷³	26	8.4%			
Total	309	100%	52		

⁷³ As expounded upon in Section 3.3.1, the condensation strategy entails implementing two distinct techniques. Firstly, the omission strategy is employed to partially translate ICIs by condensing it into a shorter segment. Secondly, any other strategy is utilised to translate the remaining portions of the ICIs (ST), which become the shorter text in the TT. It is noteworthy that in subtitling this film, the application of the condensation strategy results in Islamic connotations being present in the TT on six occasions when utilised in conjunction with the loan strategy and once when employed with the compensation strategy.

5.2.2.5 *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger), Broadcast on Amazon Prime

7 Days in Syria (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)⁷⁴ has a runtime of 1 hour and 14 minutes. The closing credits list S. Elsalfiti and Reem Aboukhter as the translators and Robert Rippberger, Scott Rosenfelt, Janine di Giovanni, and Matthew Vandyke as the producers. According to the summary provided by Amazon Prime at the beginning of the film, it is about a journalist who "risks it all to show what so many are fleeing from to get out of Syria" in a country that is "the most dangerous in the world for journalists" (Amazon, 2022d). The film is broadcast with its original English subtitles, although not all spoken dialogue is translated. Amazon Prime adds English subtitles for untranslated Arabic dialogue, primarily in the form of descriptions such as (SPEAKING IN ARABIC), (Reciting on the radio), (MEN CHANTING IN ARABIC), (CROWD CLAMORING), and (GROUP: Allahu Akbar). These added subtitles do not appear simultaneously with the original subtitles. This is investigated by turning on the CC and subtitles button and recording what is provided by Amazon prime and what is already provided in the film. Amazon Prime appears to supplement the original subtitles by providing translations for untranslated dialogue.

The total of instances of the ICIs in the film is 100 instances. As shown in the table below, eight subtitling strategies were utilised, namely, loan, literal translation, substitution, transposition, addition, compensation, dummy compensation, omission, and condensation, with a total frequency of 115. The most frequently used strategy is omission, with a percentage of 53.9%, followed by condensation, with a percentage of 11.3%. Dummy compensation comes after with a percentage of 10.4%. Then, compensation and transposition come after with a percentage of 6.0% for each. The other strategies utilised are loan, substitution, and literal translation with a percentage of 4.3%, 4.3%, and 3.8%, respectively. Since there are only 7 TT subtitles with Islamic connotations, the islamisation rate is 7.0%, and the deislamisation rate is 93.0%.

⁷⁴ See the film reviews by Amazon Prime's customers on https://www.amazon.co.uk/product-reviews/B07KLB6HDG/ref=atv_dp_cr_see_all?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews

Table 16*Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in 7 Days in Syria (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)*

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	% ⁷⁵		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	5	4.3%	5 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT.	7.0%	93.0%
Literal Translation	4	3.8%			
Substitution	5	4.3%			
Transposition	7	6.0%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	7	6.0%	2 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT.		
Dummy Compensation	12	10.4%			
Omission	62	53.9%			
Condensation ⁷⁶	13	11.3%			
Total	115	100%	7		

⁷⁵ rounded to 1 decimal.

⁷⁶ As expounded upon in Section 3.3.1, the condensation strategy entails implementing two distinct techniques. Firstly, the omission strategy is employed to partially translate ICIs by condensing it into a shorter segment. Secondly, any other strategy is utilised to translate the remaining portions of the ICIs (ST), which become the shorter text in the TT. It is noteworthy that in subtitling this film, the application of the condensation strategy results in Islamic connotations being present in the TT on two occasions when utilised in conjunction with the compensation strategy and once when employed with the loan strategy.

5.2.2.6 *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett), Broadcast on Amazon Prime

Sky and Ground (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett)⁷⁷ has a runtime of 1 hour and 24 minutes. The film translators are Zakia Aqra and Naline Malla Mahmoud, as mentioned in the film's closing credits. Amazon prime provides the following summary of the film. "A journey of 2000 miles to seek refuge in Berlin, equipped only with bags & mobile GPS. Meet the Syrian-Kurdish family that dared to hope" (Amazon, 2022e). Like most of the films on Amazon prime, *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett) is broadcast with its original English subtitles. Even Amazon prime mentions on its official website that this film is provided with English subtitles; once the CC button is turned off, the subtitles still appear on the screen. This implies that Amazon Prime does not censor English subtitles.

In this film, there are 41 ICIs. As shown in the table below, six subtitling strategies were utilised, namely, loan, literal translation, transposition, compensation, omission, and condensation, with a total frequency of 44. Unlike previous films, the most frequently utilised strategy in *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett) is transposition at 54.5%, followed by omission at 29.5%. Loan comes in the third position at 4.6%, followed by condensation with a percentage of 6.8%. Literal translation and compensation are the least frequently used strategies, with a percentage of 2.3% for each. Three TT subtitles contain Islamic connotations, meaning that the islamisation rate is 7.3% while the deislamisation rate is 92.7%.

⁷⁷ No film reviews by Amazon Prime's customers have been provided.

Table 17

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in Sky and Ground (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	2	4.6%	2 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT	7.3%	92.7%
Literal Translation	1	2.3%			
Substitution	0	0%			
Transposition	24	54.5%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	1	2.3%	1 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT		
Dummy Compensation	0	0%			
Omission	13	29.5%			
Condensation	3	6.8%			
Total	44	100%	3		

5.2.2.7 *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown), Broadcast on Amazon Prime

The Ruins of Raqqa (2018, dir. Matt Brown)⁷⁸ has a runtime of 43 minutes. The producer of the film is Lesley Robinson. Amazon Prime provides the following summary. “Children raised on videos of violence; daily beheadings; mines buried in homes - witness the havoc wreaked by the Islamic State on Syria” (Amazon, 2022g). Like most other films broadcast on Amazon Prime, *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown) is broadcast with

⁷⁸ No film reviews by Amazon Prime’s customers have been provided.

its original English subtitles. Amazon prime mentions on its official website that this film is provided with English subtitles. Once the CC button is turned off, the English subtitles still appear on the screen. This means that Amazon Prime does not censor or alter English subtitles in any way.

In this film, the total of instances of ICIs is 17 instances. As shown in the table below, six subtitling strategies were utilised: loan, literal translation, substitution, transposition, compensation, and omission. The most frequently used strategies are transposition and literal translation, with a percentage of 33.3% and 27.8%, respectively. Then, omission comes after with a percentage of 16.6%, followed by loan with a percentage of 11.1%. The least frequently used strategies are compensation and substitution, with a percentage of 5.6% for each. Interestingly, only two TT subtitles contain Islamic connotations, meaning that the islamisation rate is 11.8% while the deislamisation rate is 88.2%.

Table 18

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in The Ruins of Raqqa (2018, dir. Matt Brown)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	2	11.1%	2 TT subtitles contain Islamic connotation in the TT.	11.8%	88.2%
Literal Translation	5	27.8%			
Substitution	1	5.6%			
Transposition	6	33.3%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	1	5.6%			
Dummy Compensation	0	0%			

Omission	3	16.6%		
Condensation	0	0%		
Total	18	100%	2	

5.2.2.8 *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts) Broadcast on All4

For Sama (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)⁷⁹ has a runtime of 1 hour and 40 minutes. It was first released on 26 July 2019 in The United States. *For Sama* (2019) is the first feature documentary by Emmy award-winning filmmakers, Waad al-Kateab and Edward Watts (Forsamafilm, 2022). It was produced by *Channel 4 News/ITN Productions for Channel 4 And Frontline PBS*. The film executive producers are Siobhan Sinnerton, Ben De Pear, Nevine Mabro, George Waldrum, and Raney Aronson-Rath. It is distributed by PBS Distribution (US) and Republic Film Distribution (UK). The film Translators are Mowaffaq Safadi, Wafa ST, Najat Abdul-Hamid, Hussein Maamo, Mona Hamad, Houda Dansa, and Shadi Asaad, as mentioned in the closing credits of the film. *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts) is also available to watch on Amazon Prime by buying it as CD or renting it to watch. However, Amazon Prime confirms on its webpage that this film is provided without any English subtitles by Amazon prime, only the original subtitles of the film. All 4 and Amazon Prime provide the same following summary of the film:

An epic and intimate journey filmed through five years of the uprising in Aleppo, Syria. Waad al-Kateab tells the story of how she fell in love, married and gave birth to her daughter Sama. Scenes of violent conflict which some viewers may find distressing. (Amazon, 2022h; Channel4, 2022c)

For Sama (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts) has received more awards than any other documentary film. Its own website, *Forsamafilm*, offers comprehensive information about the film, including the names of the directors and producers, contact

⁷⁹ See the film reviews by Amazon Prime's customers on https://www.amazon.co.uk/product-reviews/B084DBSPWF/ref=atv_dp_cr_see_all?ie=UTF8&reviewerType=all_reviews

details, and more. It also features a trailer with original English subtitles. A summary of the film is also provided on the website as follows:

FOR SAMA is both an intimate and epic journey into the female experience of war. A love letter from a young mother to her daughter, the film tells the story of Waad al-Kateab’s life through five years of the uprising in Aleppo, Syria as she falls in love, gets married and gives birth to Sama, all while cataclysmic conflict rises around her. Her camera captures incredible stories of loss, laughter and survival as Waad wrestles with an impossible choice—whether or not to flee the city to protect her daughter’s life, when leaving means abandoning the struggle for freedom for which she has already sacrificed so much. (Forsamafilm, 2022)

The total of ICIs in the film is 112 instances subtitled into English using seven subtitling strategies, namely, loan, literal translation, substitution, transposition, compensation, omission, and condensation, with a total frequency of 119. As shown in the table below, the most frequently used subtitling strategy is omission at 50.4%, followed by transposition at 22.7%. literal translation comes in the third position with a percentage of 10.9%, followed by substitution at 7.6% and condensation at 5.9%. With a slight difference, compensation and loan follow at 1.7% and 0.8%, respectively. As shown in the table, only two TT subtitles contain Islamic connotations, which means that the islamisation rate is 1.8% while the deislamisation rate is 98.2%.

Table 19

Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in For Sama (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	1	0.8%	1 TT subtitle contains Islamic		

			connotation in the TT.		
Literal Translation	13	10.9%		1.8%	98.2%
Substitution	9	7.6%	1 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT.		
Transposition	27	22.7%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	2	1.7%			
Dummy Compensation	0	0%			
Omission	60	50.4%			
Condensation	7	5.9%			
Total	119	100%	2		

5.2.2.9 *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon), Broadcast on All 4

Syria's Torture Machine (2011, dir. Julie Noon) is produced and broadcast by Channel 4 (UK). The duration of the film is 51 minutes. All 4 provides the following summary of the film: "Victims, refugees and activists who have experienced or witnessed brutality at the hands of Syrian President al-Assad's forces speak out" (All4, 2022). The film is mainly based on the narrator in English. However, the interviewees in the film speak Arabic.

In this film, the total of instances of the ICIs is 38. As shown in the table below, five subtitling strategies were utilised with a total frequency of 43. The most frequently used strategy is omission, with a percentage of 62.8%, followed by transposition and condensation, with a percentage of 11.6% for each. Then, compensation comes at the third position with a percentage of 9.3. The least frequently used strategy is literal translation, with a percentage of 4.7%. All the ICIs in this film are deislamised; no TT subtitle contains any word with Islamic connotation. Therefore, the deislamisation rate is 100% while the islamisation rate is 0%.

Table 20*Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in Syria's Torture Machine (2011, dir. Julie Noon)*

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy	(De)islamisation Rate %	
	N.	%		Islamisation	Deislamisation
Loan	0	0%		0%	100%
Literal Translation	2	4.7%			
Substitution	0	0%			
Transposition	5	11.6%			
Addition	0	0%			
Compensation	4	9.3%			
Dummy Compensation	0	0%			
Omission	27	62.8%			
Condensation	5	11.6%			
Total	43	100%	0		

5.3 Statistical Analysis

This section provides a statistical analysis of the subtitling strategies utilised in all documentary films based on the proposed taxonomy. Then, it classifies the strategies utilised to render the ICIs into two groups: strategies contributing to deislamise the TT and those strategies contributing to islamise the TT.

5.3.1 General Distribution of the Subtitling Strategies in the Collected Data

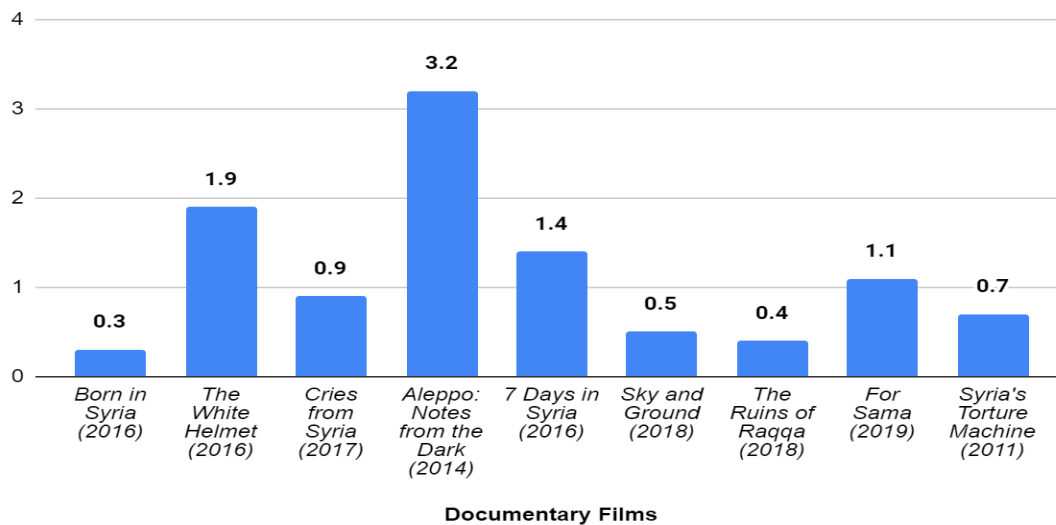
Generally, the documentary films differ in terms of the number of the ICIs present in their ST. Several factors, such as the film's duration, can affect the density⁸⁰ of the ICIs in

⁸⁰ Density of the ICIs in the ST can be calculated by the following equation:

the ST. As shown in Figure 16 below, the density of the ICIs in the ST for each film ranges from 0.3 per minute for *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin) to 3.2 for *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski). This means that there was a higher volume of ICIs in *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) compared to the other films. *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) and *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger) also had relatively high densities of ICIs in ST, at 1.9 and 1.4, respectively. In contrast, *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett), *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown), and *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon) had lower densities of ICIs in ST, with values ranging from 0.4 to 0.9. Yet, the density of the ICIs in the films demonstrates that these elements are present in the source text and, consequently, in everyday language/discourse. This highlights the importance of this study.

Figure 16

The Density of the ICIs in the ST (DST) per Minute



The number of the ICIs in X film / the duration of film in minutes. This equation is adopted from Pedersen (2011).

However, this study aims to investigate how the ICIs are rendered into English regardless of their density in the films. As shown in Table 21 below, the study corpus comprises 790 ICIs collected from 9 documentary films, as illustrated in the table below. The frequency of the subtitling strategies employed to render those ICIs from Arabic into English is 863.

Table 21

The Total of the ICIs & the Subtitling Strategies Employed in the Entire Study Corpus

Documentary Films	No. Of the ICIs in the ST	No. Of the Subtitling Strategies utilised	Duration of the film (in minutes)	Density of the ICIs in the ST (DST)
<i>Born in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)	27	31	86	0.3
<i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)	75	76	40	1.9
<i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)	105	108	111	0.9
<i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)	275	309	87	3.2
<i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)	100	115	74	1.4
<i>Sky and Ground</i> (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett)	41	44	84	0.5
<i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i> (2018, dir. Matt Brown)	17	18	43	0.4
<i>For Sama</i> (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)	112	119	100	1.1
<i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon)	38	43	51	0.7
Total	790	863	676	1.2

Table 22 below illustrates the frequency of the subtitling strategies employed in the films broadcasted on each video-on-demand platform separately. The results indicate that

the most widely used subtitling strategy in the films broadcast on Netflix is omission, followed by transposition, substitution, literal translation, compensation, dummy compensation, and condensation. Of note, loan and addition subtitling strategies were not utilised in the films broadcast on Netflix. Similarly, the most frequently used subtitling strategy in the films broadcast on Amazon Prime is omission, followed by transposition, literal translation, condensation, compensation, loan, substitution, and dummy compensation. The least frequently used subtitling strategy is addition, which is only employed in films broadcast on Amazon Prime. In contrast to the films broadcast on Netflix and Amazon Prime, none of the films broadcasted on Channel 4 (All 4) utilised the dummy compensation subtitling strategy. Omission is the most frequently employed subtitling strategy in the films broadcast on Channel 4 (All 4), followed by transposition, literal translation, condensation, substitution, and compensation. Loan is the least frequently used subtitling strategy in the films broadcast on Channel 4 (All 4). In short, the analysis reveals that the subtitling strategies vary across different video-on-demand platforms, with omission being the most frequently used strategy across all platforms. Furthermore, loan and addition subtitling strategies were not utilised in the films broadcast on Netflix, while addition was only employed in the films on Amazon Prime.

Table 22

Distribution of the Subtitling Strategies Utilised in the Films Broadcast on Netflix, Amazon Prim, and Channel 4 (All 4)

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of the Subtitling Strategies Utilised in the Films Broadcast on Netflix	Frequency of the Subtitling Strategies Utilised in the Films Broadcast on Amazon Prime	Frequency of the Subtitling Strategies Utilised in the Films Broadcast on Channel 4 (All 4)
Loan	0	40	4
Literal Translation	4	47	15
Substitution	10	31	9
Transposition	22	91	32
Addition	0	2	0
Compensation	2	42	6

Dummy Compensation	2	29	0
Omission	65	265	87
Condensation	2	44	12
Total (863)	107	591	165

Table 23 below presents the distribution of the subtitling strategies employed to translate the ICIs in the entire study corpus. It shows the relative frequencies of each subtitling strategy as a percentage of the total. The table also indicates the extent to which each strategy contributes to the islamisation or deislamisation of the target text (TT). As shown in the table, the frequency of subtitling strategies used to translate ICIs into English varies, with some strategies being utilised more frequently than others.

Table 23

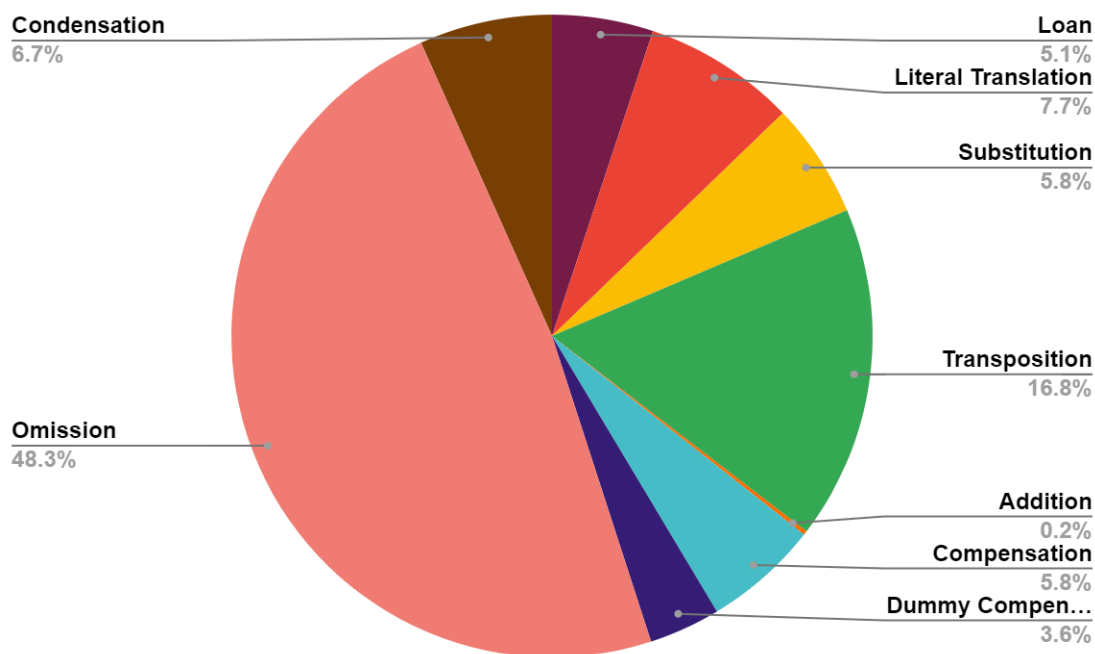
Distribution of the Subtitling Strategies Employed in the Entire Study Corpus

Subtitling Strategy	Frequency of Subtitling Strategy		No. of the TT Subtitles with Islamic Connotations Resulting from Utilising X Strategy
	N.	%	
Loan	44	5.1%	44 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT.
Literal Translation	66	7.7%	
Substitution	50	5.8%	9 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT.
Transposition	145	16.8%	
Addition	2	0.2%	2 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT.
Compensation	50	5.8%	17 TT subtitle contains Islamic connotation in the TT.
Dummy Compensation	31	3.6%	
Omission	417	48.3%	
Condensation	58	6.7%	
Total	863	100%	72

To illustrate graphically this variation, the distribution of the subtitling strategies across all the films investigated is presented in percentage in the figure below.

Figure 17

Frequency of the Subtitling Strategies of the ICIs in Percentage%



As shown in Figure 17 above, the most frequently used strategy is omission with a percentage of 48.3%. This is followed by transposition with a percentage of 16.8% and literal translation with a percentage of 7.7%. Condensation, substitution, compensation, and loan follow with a slight difference in percentage: 6.7%, 5.8%, 5.8%, and 5.1%, respectively. Dummy compensation follows with a percentage of 3.6%. The least frequently used strategy is addition with a percentage of 0.2%. Overall, the data suggests that omission strategy is the most common utilised strategies, while addition is relatively rare. Transposition, loan, compensation, dummy compensation, substitution, and condensation strategies also appear to be relatively common. In addition, both omission with a frequency of 48.3% and dummy compensation with a frequency of 3.6% contribute to not rendering 51.9% of the ICIs in the TT, which means that more than half of the ICIs

found in the ST corpus was not subtitled in the TT. However, omission involves completely omitting the ICIs from the TT while dummy compensation involves omitting the ICIs but replacing it with pseudo strings of words on the screen in a way to filling the space.

5.3.2 Islamisation vs. Deislamisation of the TT

Given the subject matter of Islamic cultural items, it is important to examine the degree to which the target text (TT) maintains the same Islamic connotations as the source text (ST). While subtitlers have various strategies available for subtitling ICIs into English, they must ultimately choose whether to preserve the Islamic connotations of the words in the TT or to alter them. It is worth noting that the process of (de)islamisation of the TT in translation may not necessarily be motivated by ideological manipulation. It may instead be a technically justified or an inevitable outcome of transferring the ST to the TT. The following chapter will further explore this issue.

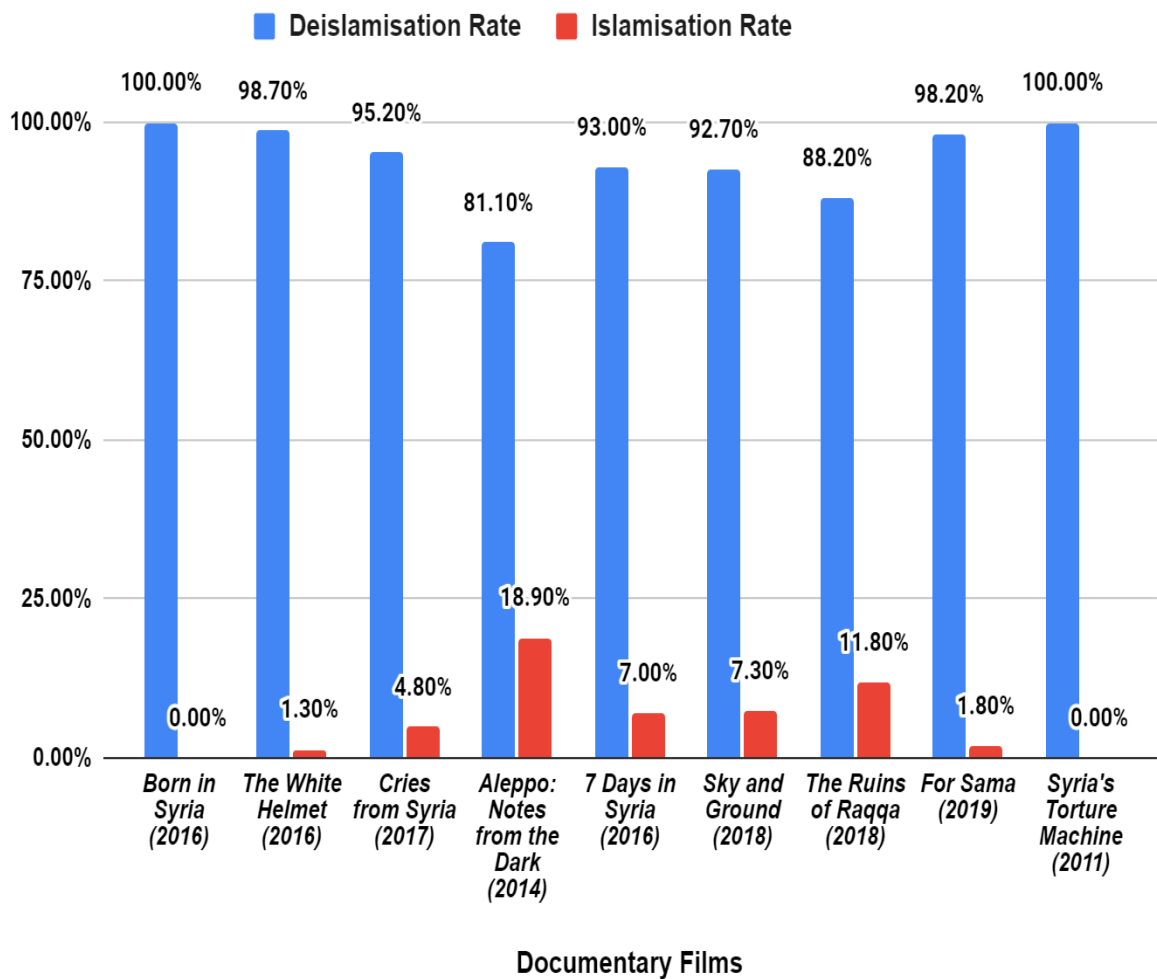
Figure 18 below illustrates the islamisation and deislamisation scales of the TT in each film. It indicates that the lowest percentage of deislamisation is 81.10% found in *Aleppo: notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), while the highest percentage is 100% found in two films: *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), broadcast on Netflix and *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon) broadcast on Channel 4 (All4). On the contrary, *Aleppo: notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) has the highest percentage of islamisation, which is 18.90%, while *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin) and *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon) have the lowest percentage of islamisation which is zero%.

Generally, all films still have a high percentage of de-islamisation. *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) broadcast on Netflix and *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts) broadcast on All4 still have a very peak percentage of deislamisation with a very slight difference. *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) has 98.70%, while *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts) has 98.20%. They are followed by *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky) broadcast on Amazon Prime with a percentage of 95.20%. The deislamisation rate of the other three

films broadcast on Amazon Prime, *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger), *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon and Joshua Bennett), and *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown), are 93.0%, 92.70% and 88.20%, respectively.

Figure 18

The (De)islamisation Rate of the English Subtitles of the ICIs in the Films in Percentage%

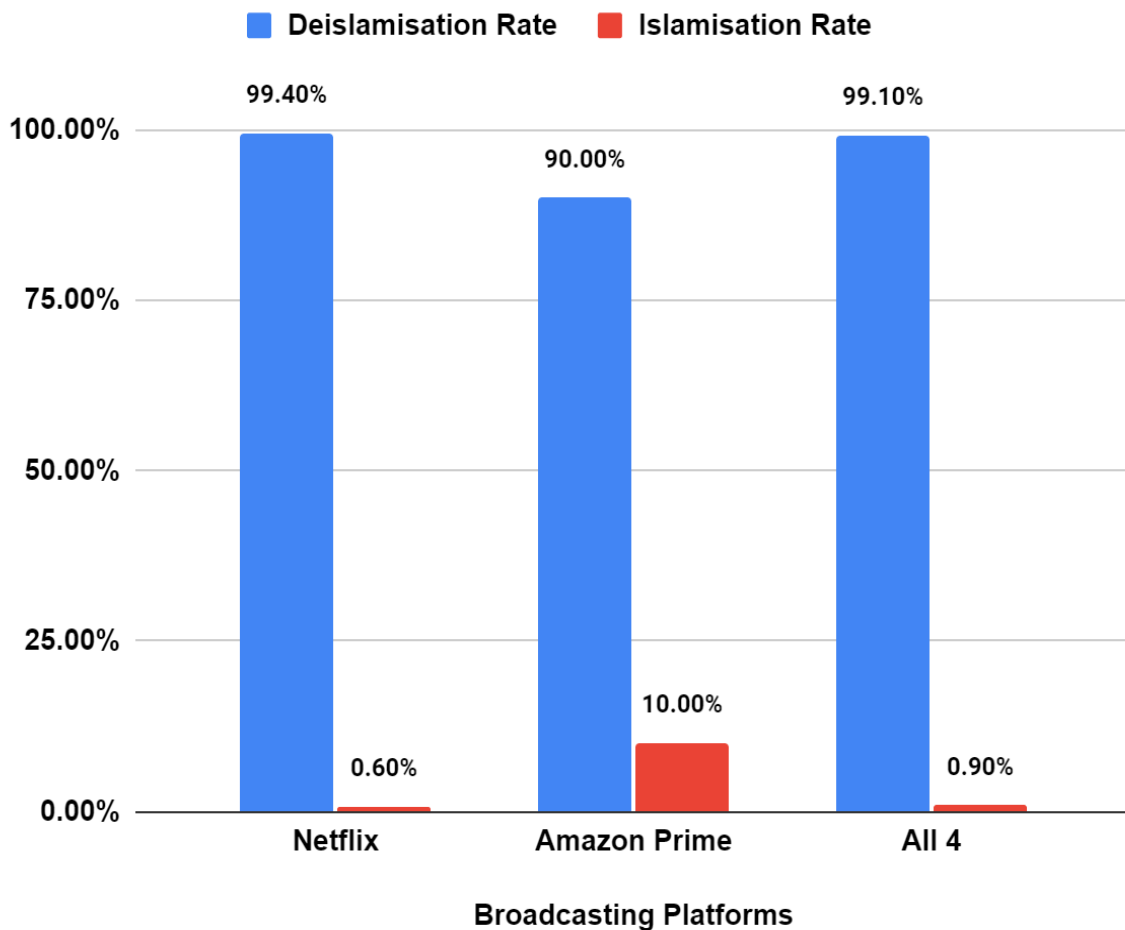


Investigating the (de)islamisation rate for each broadcasting platform, it is found that the Mean for the deislamisation rate of the ICIs in the TT varies among the three broadcasting platforms. As illustrated in Figure 19 below, the Mean for the deislamisation rate of those films broadcast on Netflix is 99.40%, the Mean for the deislamisation rate of

those films broadcast on Amazon Prime is 90.00%, and the Mean for the deislamisation rate of those films broadcast on Channel 4 (All4) is 99.10%. Interestingly, both Netflix and All 4 has the highest deislamisation rate while Amazon prime has the lowest rate.

Figure 19

The (De)islamisation Rate of the English Subtitles of the ICIs in Each Broadcasting Platform in Percentage%



All films available on Amazon Prime include English subtitles as a default option. When the closed captioning (CC) button is turned off, the English subtitles for most films remain visible on the screen. However, this is not the case for *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky). While the names of the translators for this film are listed in the closing credits, it is not possible to confirm whether the English subtitles provided by

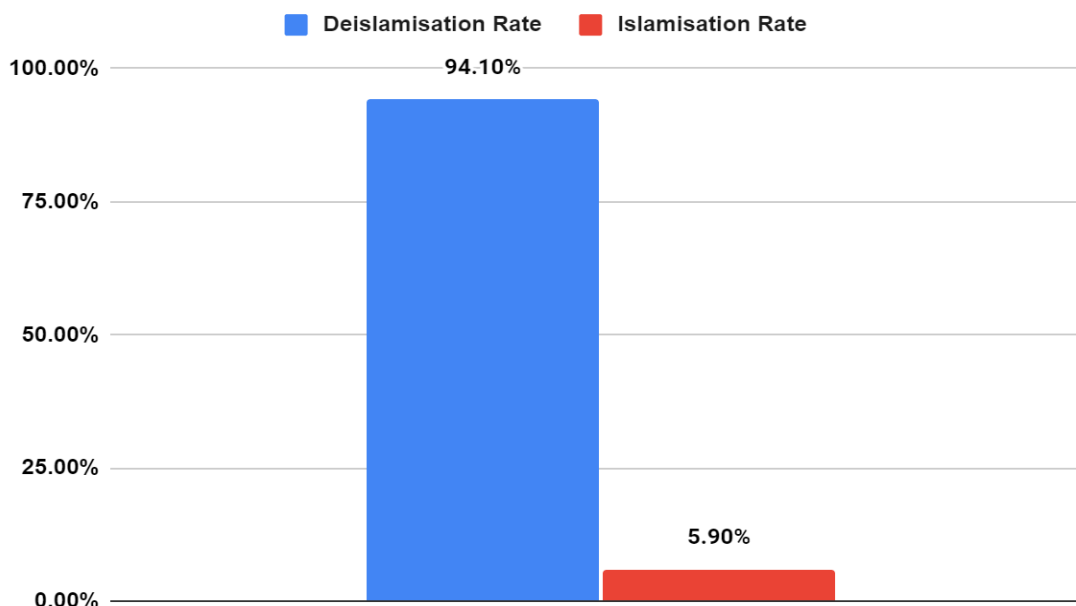
Amazon Prime, when the CC button is turned on, are the same as those created by the credited translators.

In contrast to Netflix and All 4, Amazon Prime has not published any subtitling guidelines on its website. The lack of published guidelines suggests that there may not be some level of censorship of film subtitles on this platform. As can be seen in Figure 19 above, the deislamisation rate of films broadcast on Amazon Prime is the lowest among the three platforms. Despite the absence of specific guidelines for Islamic cultural items, both Netflix and All 4 have the highest rates of deislamisation. Overall, it appears that the three platforms do not have an explicit intentional tendency to deislamise the TT.

Despite this, the deislamisation of the English subtitles for ICIs remains the dominant trend. The deislamisation rate of the collected data is 94.10%, while the islamisation rate is only 5.90%, as shown in Figure 20 below. It is important to note that deislamisation in translation is not necessarily motivated by ideological manipulation. It may be the result of technical manipulation or a natural outcome of the process of transferring a text from one language to another and from one culture to another. The following chapter examines cases where (de)islamisation appears to be motivated by ideology, technical considerations, or the inherent nature of the translation process.

Figure 20

The (De)islamisation Rate of the English Subtitles of the ICIs in the Entire Study Corpus in Percentage%



While the proposed taxonomy in this study covers all the subtitling strategies employed in subtitling ICIs, the following two sections investigate the strategies and classify them into two groups: those strategies that contribute to deislamising the English subtitles of the ICIs, and those that contribute to islamising the TT subtitles of the ICIs.

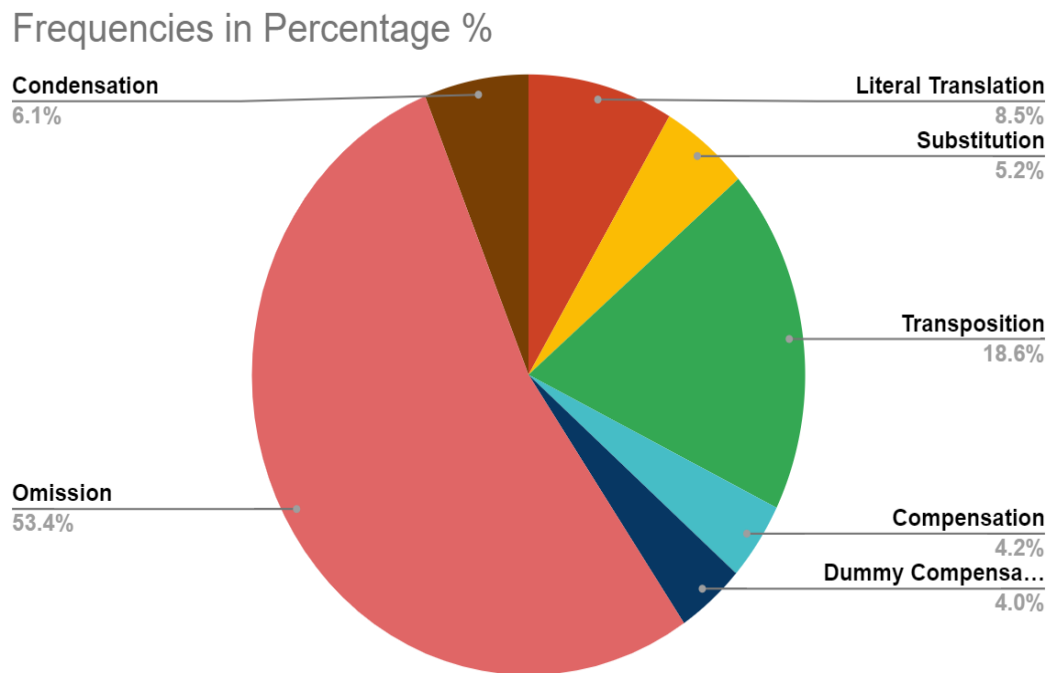
5.3.2.1 Subtitling Strategies Contributing to Deislamising the TT

This section investigates the utilised subtitling strategies that contribute to deislamising the English subtitles of the ICIs. By examining every incident of deislamisation in the subtitles, it is found that omission, transposition, literal translation, substitution, and compensation contribute to deislamising the TT. Generally, the total number of the frequencies of the subtitling strategies utilised to render the ICIs into English in the data collected is 863. 781 out of the frequencies contribute to deislamising the TT (i.e., removing Islamic connotations from the TT). The distribution is as follows: literal translation (66), substitution (41), transposition (145), compensation (33), dummy

compensation (31), omission (417), and condensation (48). Figure 21 below illustrates this distribution in percentage.

Figure 21

The Subtitling Strategies Contributing to Deislamising the English Subtitles of ICIs in Percentage%



As shown in the figure above, omission is the most frequent strategy used to deislamise the TT, with a percentage of 53.4%. Transposition comes in the second rank with a percentage of 18.6%, followed by literal translation with a percentage of 8.5%. Condensation comes in the fourth rank with a percentage of 6.1%, followed by substitution, with a percentage of 5.2%. With a very slight difference, the least frequently used strategies are compensation and dummy compensation, with a percentage of 4.2% and 4.0%, respectively.

Logically, utilising omission, condensation, transposition, and dummy compensation automatically removes the Islamic connotations from the TT and, thus, deislamise the TT.

By omission, the subtitlers do not subtitle ICIs at all. By utilising condensation, on the other hand, the subtitlers subtitle one part of the ICI and omit the other in the case of long ICI, and subtitle one ICI and delete the other repeated or relevant one(s) coming in a row. Although utilising dummy compensation ostensibly seems that ICIs are subtitled into TT, the subtitles provided can be called pseudo. It is just a way to fill the space. By utilising dummy compensation, the subtitlers do not actually render ICIs into their TT equivalents. By utilising transposition, on the other hand, the subtitlers render the cultural concept expressed in the form of ICIs into its culturally accepted equivalence of the concept in the TT. As known, Islam first appeared in Arabic regions; the language of the Quran, the holy book of Islam, is Arabic. The English culture is not an Islamic culture. Therefore, any transposition strategy involves rendering the Islamic cultural concept into an English cultural concept equivalence, which is, in fact, non-Islamic and, in many cases, not necessarily religious. For example, subtitling the Arabic religious greeting, which has an Islamic connotation السلام عليكم [peace be upon you] into 'hello' by utilising the transposition strategy does not only involve removing any religious connotation, but also the Islamic connotation.

On the other hand, the literal translation strategy involves rendering an Arabic ICI into a TT with a semantically exact equivalent in English. For examples, some Arabic ICIs have a religious connotation shared by other religions, not only exclusive to Islam. This is applied to the cases where the Arabic ICI itself has an Islamic connotation and at the same time used in other religions, such as the word الجنة [paradise], جهنم [hell], يوم القيامة, [the Day of Judgment], etc. Such ICIs share the same denotative meaning as well as the religious connotation. The three mentioned examples are all the same in three religions: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. Therefore, in English, paradise, hell, and the Day of Judgment have a religious connotation but not an Islamic one exclusively.

Substitution, condensation, and compensation do not always contribute to deislaming the TT; it depends on the TT equivalent for each ICI chosen by utilising these strategies. The following section shows that these strategies contribute to islamising the TT too. By

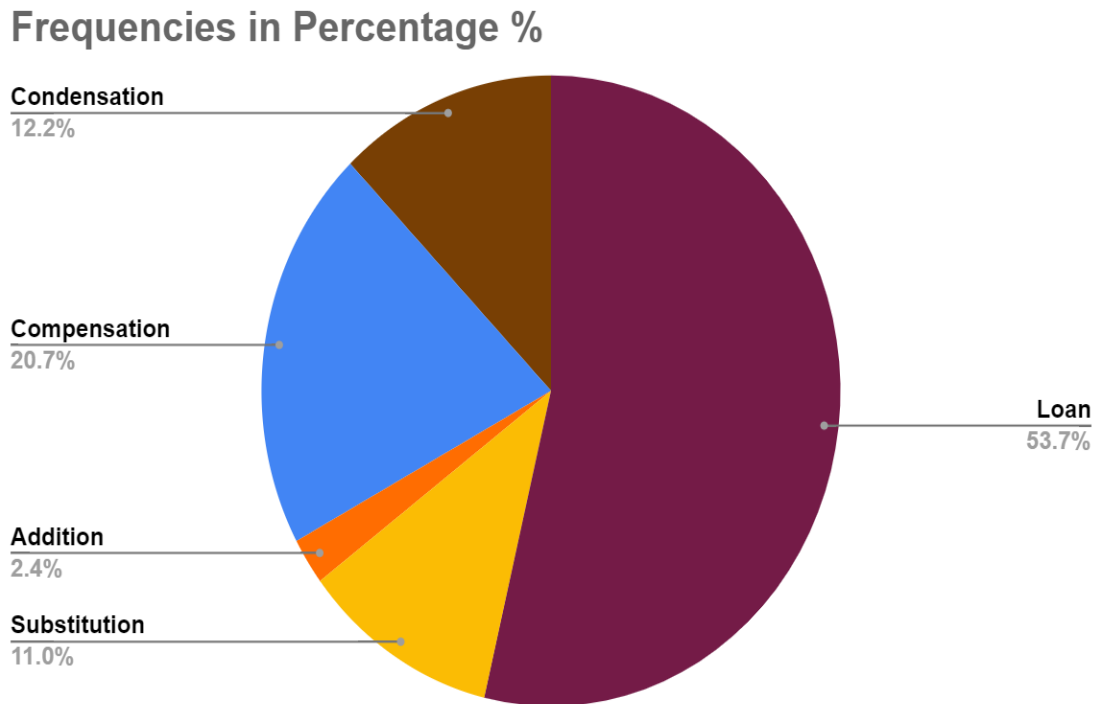
utilising substitution and compensation, the subtitlers intentionally look for a TT equivalent that has a close meaning to the ST element. The chosen equivalent unnecessarily has an Islamic connotation. For example, rendering the Arabic word شهيد [martyr] utilising substitution strategy into a *man killed* involves deislamisation while rendering the same word into a *Muslim killed* involves islamisation. Similarly, utilising the compensation strategy to make up any translation loss can contribute to islamising and deislamising the TT based on the TT equivalent chosen. For example, utilising the compensation strategy to render a verse of the Quran into *reciting the Quran* contributes to islamising the TT as the TT has an Islamic connotation using the word *the Quran*, while rendering a verse of the Quran into *man reciting* contributes to deislamising the TT as there would be no Islamic connotation in the TT. In the context of employing the strategy of condensation, subtitlers utilise this strategy in partial translation of the ST containing Islamic connotations. This approach necessitates the omission of certain parts of the ST, while only translating some parts. Additionally, subtitlers utilise other strategies, such as loan translation, literal translation, or compensation, to translate the remaining portions. It is noteworthy that the condensation strategy invariably entails the omission of a segment of the source material, while another strategy is employed for the retained portion to complete the subtitling process. As a result, the other strategy used to translate the remaining parts of the ST can contribute to deislamising the TT (e.g., using the strategy of transposition) or to islamising the TT (e.g., using the strategy of loan).

5.3.2.2 Subtitling Strategies Contributing to Islamising the TT

By examining every incident of islamisation in the subtitles, it is found that five subtitling strategies contribute to islamising the TT subtitles of the ICIs: namely, loan, compensation, condensation, substitution, and addition. The total number of frequencies of the strategies is 82 out of 863, the total number of the frequencies of all subtitling strategies utilised to render the whole corpus of ICIs. They are distributed as follows: loan (44, including 7 instances utilised with condensation), compensation (17, including 3 instances utilised with condensation), substitution (9), and addition (2). The distribution of the strategies in percentage is illustrated in the following figure:

Figure 22

The Subtitling Strategies Contributing to Islamising the English Subtitles of ICIs in Percentage%



As shown in the figure above, loan is the most frequent strategy used to islamise the TT with a percentage of 53.7%. Compensation comes in the second rank with a percentage of 20.7%. With a very slight difference, condensation and substitution follow with a percentage of 12.2% and 11%, respectively. The least frequently used strategy is addition with a percentage of 2.4%.

Generally, utilising the two strategies: loan and addition, automatically contribute to islamising the TT. By utilising the loan strategy, it is reasonable to have TT subtitles with Islamic connotations in the sense that the subtitlers transfer the ICIs by using the TT alphabet, such as rendering الله أكبر [Allah/God is the greatest] into *Allah Akbar*. On the other hand, utilising the strategy of addition always contribute to islamising the TT in the sense that the subtitlers add an item to the TT that has an Islamic connotation, although it

is not mentioned in the ST at all. However, substitution, condensation, and compensation do not always contribute to islamising the TT. It depends on the TT equivalent for each ICI chosen by utilising these strategies, as illustrated in the previous section.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter empirically investigates the subtitling strategies utilised to render ICIs into English in 9 documentary films. In this chapter, the proposed taxonomy is presented and applied to the empirical data in the form of Arabic ICIs and their English subtitles. Applying the taxonomy to a wide range of data collected from different documentaries broadcast on three different platforms, produced by different companies, and subtitled/translated into English by different subtitlers/ translators proves that this taxonomy reflects the subtitling norms of ICIs in the big picture. Furthermore, this chapter presents the data statistically on which the investigation was carried out. It analyses each film separately. By doing so, not only the subtitling strategies utilised have been investigated, but also the strategies that contribute to (de)islamising the TT have also been investigated. This process involves a comparative account of analysis in three stages: films separately, platforms separately, and a general account of the data as a whole.

The results of the study indicate that the frequency of ICIs in the ST varies among films. The subtitlers also employ a range of strategies in handling these ICIs. Additionally, the censorship policies for subtitles on different broadcasting platforms differ. Netflix and Channel 4 (All4) publish their own subtitling guidelines, but Amazon Prime does not make any such guidelines available. None of the platforms publish specific guidelines for addressing Islamic or religious content in subtitles.

Based on the data analysis, it is found that omission (48.3%) and dummy compensation (3.6%) both contribute to the removal of Islamic cultural connotations in the TT. These two strategies result in a total of 51.9% of ICIs not being included in the TT. Omission involves the complete removal of ICIs, while dummy compensation involves the replacement of ICIs with non-equivalents to fill the space on the screen. In addition to these strategies, transposition and literal translation also contribute to the deislamisation of the

TT, while loan and addition strategies maintain the Islamic connotation in the TT. Substitution, condensation, and compensation could potentially lead to either the deislamisation or islamisation of the TT, depending on the final result of the translation.

Generally, rendering ICIs from the Arabic language into English involves deislamising the TT with a percentage of 94.10% and islamising the TT with 5.90%, as shown in Figure 20 above. However, one cannot say that deislamisation is necessarily a form of ideological manipulation. It can be a reasonable result of transferring items from one language into another and from one culture into another. It can also be a result of technical manipulation. Similarly, islamisation, keeping Islamic connotation in the TT, can be necessary and the film plot pertinent. Nevertheless, the plot-pertinent condition itself may be the legal gap that allows subtitlers to involve any ideological perspective. Therefore, (de)islamisation as an ideological manipulation still has room for investigation, as shown in the next chapter.

To sum up, the analysis presented in this chapter is the basis for the textual analysis of the data, the description stage based on Fairclough's CDA Model. The next chapter investigates in-depth traces of any manipulation (either technical or ideological in the form of (de)islamisation) in subtitling ICIs that contributes to removing or keeping the Islamic connotation of the ICIs in the TT, and the way by which they are achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels. It investigates whether technical manipulation can also be ideologically driven under the excuse of technical constraints.

Chapter Six: Description (Textual Analysis)

6.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the description stage of the subtitling process for Islamic cultural items based on Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model (1989/1995). It follows the previous two chapters, which examined the social practices (i.e., explanation stage) and the discursive practices (i.e., interpretation stage) involved in subtitling ICIs. This chapter investigates the subtitling process through a close textual analysis of linguistic features at the grammatical and lexical levels. It also identifies any traces of ideological and technical manipulation in subtitling ICIs in the target text. Specifically, it aims to determine whether the (de)islamisation process in the TT can be attributed by ideological or technical purposes or is simply a reasonable result of translating from one language to another.

It is important to note that the (de)islamisation of a TT may not necessarily be the result of ideological manipulation. It may be due to technical constraints (i.e., time and space limitations). In addition, deislamisation can occur when translating a text from one language to another and the target language does not have a word or phrase with the same connotations as the original. For example, the English word *martyr* does not carry the same Islamic connotations as the original word in another language, even though it has religious connotations. On the other hand, the Islamisation of a TT can occur when the target language does not have an equivalent for a specific word or phrase, and the translator uses a word or phrase with Islamic connotations. For example, using the word *Allah* instead of *God* may result from the translator's belief that Allah refers specifically to the Islam's specific notion of God. In contrast, *God* in English could refer to the Christian notion of Trinity⁸¹. Translators/subtitlers can be source-oriented or target-oriented in their translations, not just for terms with Islamic connotations (i.e., ICIs) but for other types of language as well.

⁸¹ It is important to note that some may find that God equal to the Allah in expression of the Islamic notion of God, and do not see a necessary link between it and the Christian notion of Trinity.

However, it is important to note that while (de)islamisation of a TT may not necessarily be the result of ideological manipulation, this does not mean that ideological manipulation does not exist at all. It is still possible to find traces of ideological manipulation in the form of Islamisation or deislamisation of a TT. This may occur when translators/ subtitlers intentionally or unintentionally introduce biases or preconceptions into their translation in order to promote a particular ideology. Translators/subtitlers need to be aware of their own biases and try to be as objective as possible in their translations to avoid introducing ideological manipulation into the TT.

This chapter, therefore, introduces some potential traces of ideological manipulation in the form of Islamisation and the deislamisation of a TT. It also highlights how ideological manipulation can be achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels.

Given the religious sensitivity surrounding the Quran, its highly rhetorical language, and the longstanding debate about the complexity of translating the Quran (with some scholars describing it as an untranslatable text and translations being seen as interpretations and commentaries rather than actual translations, as discussed in (El Tayeb, 1985; Abdul-Raof, 2005; Siddiek, 2012), this chapter divides the data into two groups: non-Quranic material and Quranic material. Both groups are, however, investigated at both the lexical and grammatical levels.

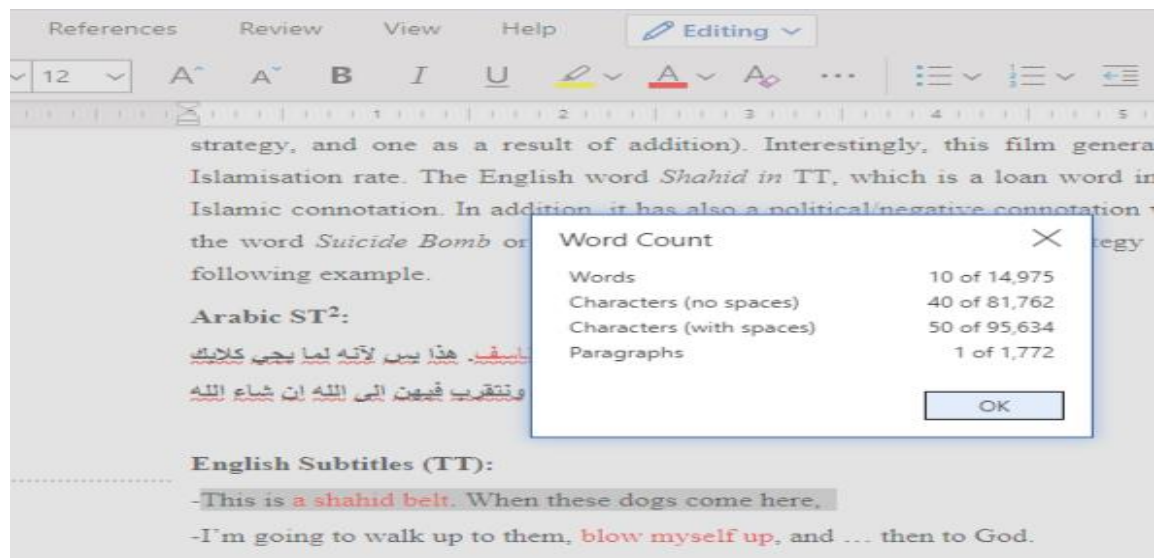
6.1 Textual Analysis: Illustrative Examples of Ideological and Technical Manipulation Traces (Subtitling ICIs/ Non- Quranic Material)

To reveal any ideological traces, the textual analysis of the ICIs in ST and TT involves internal stages of analysis which can be described as the filtering process. Firstly, instances of ICIs are analysed in terms of the technical constraints of the nature of the subtitling process, particularly the space allocated to the TT on the screen. To do this, the total number of the ICI's characters, as well as the total number of the whole TT utterance that contains the ICI, are checked against the in-house subtitling guidelines issued by the broadcasting platforms and those subtitling guidelines issued by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST), as discussed previously in chapter 5.

For English subtitles, the Code of Good Subtitling Practice by ESIST and Netflix subtitling guidelines advise that the limit number of English characters in a line of subtitles should be up to 42, and the maximum number of lines of subtitles should be two. Similarly, Channel 4 subtitling guidelines advise having a maximum of two lines of subtitles on the screen in each slot. However, the limit the number of English characters in a line should be up to 38 (and in the case of wide letters such as W, up to 34) for text in animations, drama, and arts programmes. For factual programmes (i.e., documentaries) and programmes for the deaf, it should be up to 42 characters per line. To investigate the technical constraints of the space allocated, I use the word count function on the Microsoft Word file, as illustrated in the following screenshot.

Figure 23

A Screenshot from a Word File



After eliminating subtitles that have been manipulated for technical reasons (e.g., to fit within a specific time frame or space allocated on the screen), the rendered form of each Islamic cultural item is analysed to determine whether it retains an Islamic connotation. Some rendered forms of ICIs in the English TT cannot be exclusively classified as Islamic items. For example, items such as *paradise*, *hell*, *the day of judgment*, and *the angel of*

death have a religious connotation but are not specific to Islam; they also appear in Christianity. Such words are also excluded from the potential traces of ideological manipulation.

The decisions made by the subtitlers to retain or remove the Islamic connotation in the target text (TT) are then critically examined. Specifically, the choice to Islamise or deislamise the TT is analysed to determine whether there are any potential signs of ideological manipulation at play. In other words, the investigation aims to determine whether the subtitlers had any specific ideological motives for their choices to retain or remove the Islamic connotation in the TT.

The examples provided in this section illustrate cases that show traces of ideological influence and therefore appear to have been ideologically manipulated. However, there is no confirmation from the subtitlers that they were actually motivated by ideology in their choices. This is because the analysis is based solely on textual data analysis. The subtitlers for some of the investigated films, as well as their contact information, are unknown. As a result, no interviews were conducted with the subtitlers to investigate their ideological motivations (assuming they were willing to disclose them or detecting them from their interviews' discourse).

It is worth mentioning that while excluding the cases that can be justified based on technical manipulation constraints is a valid step in the data analysis, it might not be sufficient to confirm ideological manipulation without further evidence. Interviewing translators can be a valuable source of data for understanding their decision-making processes and identify potential instances of ideological manipulation. However, as discussed in chapter 3 (see section 3.1.4), as a result of not having interviewed the film subtitlers, which constitutes the primary limitation of the study, it is not possible to fully confirm the presence of ideological manipulation in the identified cases. However, the study was able to rule out confirmed instances of technical manipulation as these were able to be easily justified through investigation of the technical constraints. The remaining potential cases of ideological manipulation were thoroughly investigated, and the study findings were presented in an objective manner to the readers.

The examples will be divided into two categories: those analysed at the lexical level and those analysed at the grammatical level. It is important to mention that this thesis utilises a thematic qualitative approach of the analysis of the way that (de)islamisation at the lexical and grammatical levels is achieved. Accordingly, only the most significant examples are discussed in this section.

6.1.1 Lexical level

Hypothetically, the technical constraints should not affect the choice of the ‘rendered’ expression of the short Islamic cultural words. In case of the need for condensing the subtitles due to the allocated space, for example, the subtitlers are not restricted to dealing with certain words; they have other options other than the Islamic cultural words to technically manipulate the TT utterance to fit within the allocated space. However, in the case of long Islamic cultural? items, the technical constraints could be a prime factor contributing to some technical manipulation in subtitling. This section lists some of the Arabic lexical items and indicates how they are rendered into English in the covered films. It also analyses any cases that are likely to be ideologically manipulated.

1. شهيد [Shahid/ Martyr]

Firstly, it is essential to investigate the denotative and Islamic connotative meanings that might contribute to revealing any ideological manipulation. The denotative meaning of the word شهيد [martyr] in Arabic is a martyr, one killed in action (Wehr, 1979, p.489). Like many other Islamic Arabic words, there is no exact English equivalent for the word شهيد in the English language. *Martyr* refers to someone who has been killed because of their beliefs. However, the term شهيد in Islamic literature can be classified into two categories: those who die on the battlefield and those who do not (Kohlberg, as cited in Colas, 2019). The latter category can be further divided into three subcategories: those who die prematurely or violently, those who die naturally while engaging in virtuous actions or after leading a virtuous life and living martyrs in the Sufi tradition. It is important to note that the English word *martyr* does not necessarily convey the same connotation as شهيد /*Shahid*, which can refer to particularly unpleasant deaths in some hadith literature (Colas,

2019). As mentioned in the book *Riyad al-Salihin* by al-Nawawi (2000, p.457), in Sunni Islam, *shahid* refers not only to those who have been killed in battle for the sake of Allah, but also to those specified by the Prophet in the following authentic reported Hadiths:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ: الشُّهَدَاءُ خَمْسَةٌ: الْمَطْعُونُ، وَالْمَبْطُونُ، وَالغَرِيقُ، وَصَاحِبُ الْهَدْمِ وَالشَّهِيدُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ "متفقٌ عليه". [Abu Hurairah reported that the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said, "The martyrs are five: those who die of plague, stomach illness, drowning, being crushed, and the martyr in the cause of Allah." This is agreed upon⁸²].

وعنه قال: قال رسول الله: ما تعدون الشهداء فيكم؟ قالوا: يا رسول الله من قُتل في سبيل الله فهو شهيدٌ. قال: إنَّ شهداءَ أمتي إذاً قليلٌ، "قالوا: فَمَنْ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؟ قَالَ: مَنْ قُتِلَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ فِي الطَّاعُونَ فَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ فِي الْبَطْنِ فَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ، وَالغَرِيقُ شَهِيدٌ رواه مسلمٌ. وعن عبدالله بن عمرو بن العاص، رضي الله عنهما، قال: قال رسول الله: مَنْ قُتِلَ دُونَ مَالِهِ، فَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ متفقٌ عَلَيْهِ. [He also said, "What do you consider the martyrs among you?" They said, "O Messenger of Allah, those who are killed in the cause of Allah are martyrs." He said, "Then the martyrs of my nation are few." They said, "Who are they, O Messenger of Allah?" He said, "Those who are killed in the cause of Allah are martyrs, and those who die in the cause of Allah are martyrs, and those who die of plague are martyrs, and those who die of stomach illness are martyrs, and those who drown are martyrs." This hadith is narrated by Muslim. Abdullah ibn Amr ibn Al-'As reported that the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said, "Whoever is killed while protecting his wealth is a martyr." This is agreed upon.]

Thus, translating شهيد as *martyr* can lead to cross-cultural confusion by expanding the meaning of the word *martyr* in English. Additionally, the word *martyr* in English has a religious connotation but not an exclusive Islamic connotation.

⁸² "متفقٌ عليه" [This is agreed upon] in prophetic narrations means that the hadith has been narrated with the same wording or with a matching meaning in both Sahih Al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim, or in a number of other authoritative Sunni books of Hadith. This type of hadith is considered the strongest evidence among scholars and carries a high degree of authenticity and reliability because it has been narrated by a number of different companions and subsequent transmitters who were known for their accuracy and precision in narrating hadith.

From the Arabic morphological⁸³ perspective, the word استشهد [martyred] is originally derived from the Arabic root ش ه د (sha-ha-da), which means "to bear witness" or "to testify". The verbal prefix است [ista] is added to the root ش ه د (sha-ha-da), to form the six-letter root استشهد [martyred], which is called in Arabic استفعال [Form 10]⁸⁴. The word استشهد means "to martyr" or "to have sacrificed oneself". Words derived from the same root in the ST, such as شهيد [shahid / martyr or witness], يستشهد [to martyr or sacrifice oneself], and other words are listed in the following table.

Table 24

The List of All Words in the ST Corpus Derived from The Word استشهد [martyred]

The ST word	The Closest English Meaning
يستشهد	He martyrs
استشهد	He martyred
استشهدوا	They martyred
بيستشهد	He is martyring
شهيد	Martyr
الشهيد	The martyr
شهيدان	Two martyrs
شهداء	Martyrs
الشهداء	The martyrs

⁸³ For more information about Arabic morphology, see the following publications:
Dickins, J., Herve, S., & Higgins, I. (2016). *Thinking Arabic translation: A course in translation method: Arabic to English*. Routledge.

Dickins, J., & Watson, J. C. (1999). *Standard Arabic Teacher's Handbook: An Advanced Course* (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press.

⁸⁴ See https://arabic.desert-sky.net/g_vforms.html
<https://istizada.com/arabic-ten-verb-forms-interactive-chart/>

شهيدينا	Our martyr
مستشهد	A martyred person
مستشهدين	Two martyred people
استشهادي	A martyred person
الشهادة	Martyrdom

These words were subtitled using various strategies: loan, literal translation, substitution, compensation, addition, and omission, as illustrated in Table 25 below.

Table 25

Subtitling Strategies Employed to Render All Words in ST Corpus Derived from the Word استشهاد [martyred].

S	Subtitling Strategy	Frequency (Total: 63)	Documentary Films
1	Addition	1	- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
2	compensation	3	- <i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)
			- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
3	Literal translation	10	- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
			- <i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon)
			- <i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)
			- <i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i> (2018, dir. Matt Brown)
			- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
4	Loan	2	- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
5	Omission	11	- <i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)

			- <i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon)
			- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
			- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
6	Substitution	36	- <i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)
			- <i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)
			- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
			- <i>For Sama</i> (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)
			- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
			- <i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i> (2018, dir. Matt Brown)

As shown in Table 25, the lexical items are mentioned in the ST 63 times. The word *Shahid* is found in the TT corpus six times as a result of utilising the loan strategy, compensation, and addition (four times alone without adding any illustrative information and twice where the literal meaning of the word followed the word, *Shahid*). This word has an Islamic connotation in the TT, which means that the subtitlers chose to islamise the TT. However, 57 times, the subtitlers chose to deislamise the TT by employing strategies such as omission, substitution (using words such as people, dead, victims, and killed), and literal translation (using the word martyr (n/v)). It is worth mentioning here that the word *martyr* in English has a religious connotation, but it is not exclusive to Islam. This word, among other words (e.g., *paradise* and *hell*), have religious connotations shared by many religions such as Islam and Christianity.

It is noted that two films, *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin) and *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett), do not have any words derived from the word استشهد [martyred]. The other films vary in terms of the subtitling strategies used that contribute to deislamise or islamise the TT of the words derived from the word استشهد [martyred]. *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), broadcast on Netflix, contains ten instances in the ST, and all of them are deislamised by utilising

substitution. *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky) contains 11 instances in the ST. They are deislamised by utilising omission, substitution, compensation and literal translation. *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) contains 18 instances in the ST, and one is added to the TT. The subtitlers of this film are inconsistent in rendering such words. They utilise the strategy of addition and loan to keep the Islamic connotation of the word (i.e., to islamise the TT). In addition, they utilise other strategies such as substitution, literal translation, and omission, which contribute to deislamise the TT since the Islamic connotations are removed. *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown) has two instances, one subtitled by substitution and one by the literal translation strategy. Both strategies contribute to removing the Islamic connotation from the TT (i.e., deislamising the TT).

The Subtitlers of *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger) has 11 instances which are all subtitled by utilising five subtitling strategies: namely, omission, substitution, substitution, literal translation, and condensation. All these strategies utilised in *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger) contribute to removing the Islamic connotations from the TT (i.e., deislamising the TT). *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts) has eight instances, all of which are subtitled using the substitution strategy. Finally, *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon) has only two instances, one is omitted, and the other is literally translated. As mentioned before, the process of (de)islamisation is not necessarily a result of ideological manipulation. However, this does not mean that there is no element of ideological manipulation in the subtitling process of ICIs.

The following three examples show some potential traces of ideological manipulation in the form of deislamisation and islamisation of ICIs in the TT.

Example (1):

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:09:31)

Subtitling strategy: Addition

ST ⁸⁵	TT	Back Translation
- هذا حزام ناسف. هذا بس - لأنه لما يجي كلابك - الا ما ادخل على وكر من - وكر كلابك ونتقرب فيهن الى الله ان شاء الله	-This is a shahid belt . When these dogs come here, -I'm going to walk up to them, blow myself up , and ... then to God.	-this is an explosive belt . This is for your dogs when they come - I will enter one of your dogs' kennels, to please Allah by what I do to them, Allah willing .

Figure 24

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:09:31)



⁸⁵ - is used before each separate utterance (either in ST or TT).

Figure 25

A Screenshot from *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:09:34)



The phrase حزام ناسف, which literally means a *blowing belt*, an *explosive belt* or a *dynamite belt*, is subtitled into *Shahid belt*. The word *Shahid* is added to the subtitles, although it does not exist in the ST.

Adding the word, *Shahid* seems to be ideological manipulation in the form of islamisation here. The subtitlers have other options to subtitle the Arabic word حزام ناسف, such as using the literal translation [Bombing/dynamite belt] which is supposed to be more comprehensible by the viewers or, more particularly, by the readers of the English subtitles. Technically, the word *Shahid* constitutes of 6 letters, and the total number of the whole characters on the subtitle line is 40. Thus, the subtitlers can use the word *blowing*, which consists of 7 characters, and it would also fit within the space without exceeding the allowed number of characters (38-42). Although there are no published special subtitling guidelines by Amazon prime, a total of 42 characters in one subtitle line is traditionally accepted as issued by ESIST. Therefore, adding the word *Shahid* in the TT is questioned. The word has an Islamic connotation. In addition, it has a negative connotation, particularly for viewers since it is linked to the word *Suicide Bomb* or *Bombing Belt*, the original equivalent of the ST. However, there is no Quranic verse or hadiths in the Islamic teachings

about this meaning as explained in the aforementioned discussion of the meanings of the words *Shahid* in Islam (see page 234).

In the second utterance, which completes the first utterance, the subtitlers use the phrases *blow myself up, and ... then to God*. Here the phrase *to God* is not explicitly clarified; what is to God? The subtitlers avoid subtitling *ونتقرب فيهن الى الله ان شاء الله* because this expression is ambiguous. It has two literal meanings. The first one is *to please Allah* on the assumption that blowing oneself is one of the ways to worship and please Allah, which is avoided here in the subtitle. The second one is that *the soul of the man goes to God after blowing himself up*, which seems to be the intended meaning in this subtitle, as expressed by using the adverb *Then* which means *next in order of time*⁸⁶, implying the succession of actions, as illustrated below:

**Wearing a Shahid belt ⇒ Blowing up oneself ⇒ one (one's soul) goes to
God/Allah.**

However, both possible meanings associate the suicide bombing with Islam, especially in the mind of the uninformed viewer. This is a continuous and highly debated area in Islamic jurisprudence and politics, with which the English-speaking layman would not be familiar, but would rather be under the influence of the dominant political discourses received through the media. However, generally, some attribute the act of suicide bombing to Islam as a religion (Borum, 2019), although many scholars have argued that such a connection is misguided and not supported by evidence (Jones, 2020).

It is worth mentioning that the first occurrence of the word *Shahid* in the film subtitles is here in this example at the timestamp 0.09:31. However, the subtitlers wait for around one hour (precisely at the timestamp 1.10:28.0) to clarify the meaning of the word *Shahid* as illustrated in the following example:

⁸⁶ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/then>

Example (2)

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

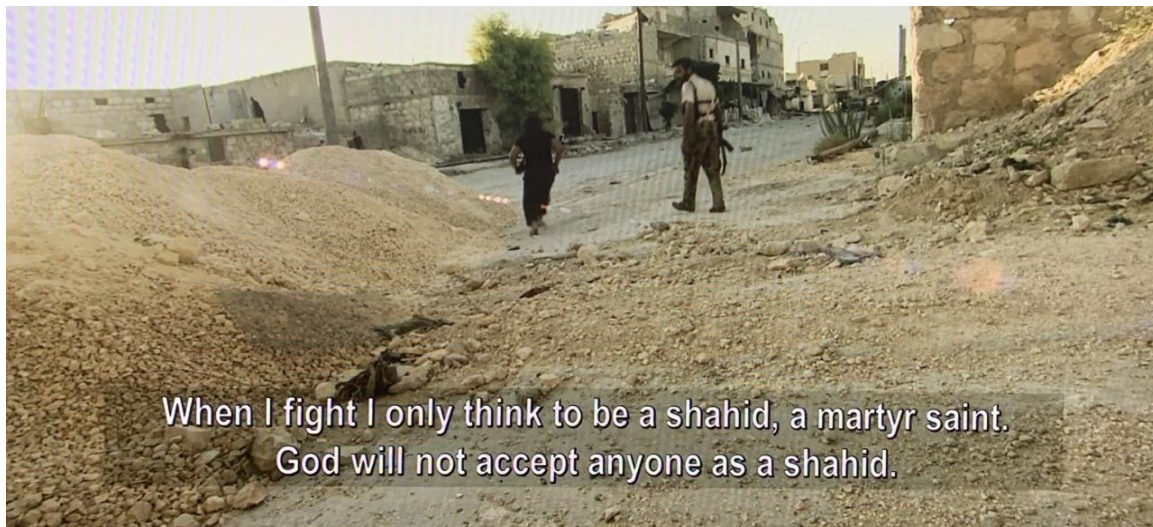
Timestamp: (01:10:28)

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation + compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
وقت يلي بكون عم بقاتل ما يفكر غير بالشهادة انه انول الشهادة هاد هو الشيء الوحيد يلي يفكر فيه	-When I fight I only think to be a shahid , a martyr saint. God will not accept anyone as shahid.	The time when I fight, I don't think of anything but martyrdom , that I will be martyred . This is the only thing that I think of.

Figure 26

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:10:28)



In this example, the subtitlers compensate for the loss of translation of the word الشهادة, which literally means *martyrdom* with *to be a shahid, a martyr saint*, using the grammatical

shift⁸⁷. The subtitlers follow the word *Shahid* with a definition phrase to make it comprehensible. *I only think*⁸⁸ *to be a shahid* (TT) implies the same meaning as *I am thinking of gaining martyrdom* (the literal translation of the ST utterance). However, in this example, the word *Shahid* is followed by the phrase *a martyr saint*, which functions as an explanation of the word *Shahid*. The use of the word *saint* has a positive connotation. As mentioned in *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*, edited by Allen et al., (1991), the word *Saint* has the following two meanings which are both applicable to the word *Saint* in TT:

1. “A holy or (in some Churches) a canonised person regarded as having a place in heaven” (Allen et al., 1991, pp. 1062-3).
2. A very virtuous person: a person of great real or affected holiness (would try the patience of a saint)” (Allen et al., 1991, p. 1063).

As illustrated in the above definitions of the word *saint*, this word has a positive connotation of the holiness of the person to whom it refers, which is, in this example, a *shahid*/ martyr. Comparing this example to the above-mentioned one, one might say that there is a case of double standards and selectivity in using the word *Shahid* in the TT of the film *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), even though both examples contribute to islamising the TT utterance. This selectivity can be justified by the fact that two people translated this film: Alaa Aldeen and Abdullah Shatila, as mentioned in the film's closing credits. However, this justification is still feeble because no one knows exactly how the translation process was done. Did they work as a team and translate every utterance together, so both made the decision to choose *Shahid* with *a belt* and *shahid* with *a martyr saint*? Did they work separately? For example, one translated the film's first part, and the other

⁸⁷ Grammatical shifts in translation are often called transpositions and refer to changing tense, number, person, part-of-speech or phrasal category of the ST to be in line with the grammatical rules of the target language (Hansen & Hansen-Schirra, 2012)

⁸⁸ Again, the aim of this study is not a qualitative assessment of the Film subtitles. Therefore, any grammatical mistakes are mentioned as they are in the original subtitles of the film. For example, here the verb *Think* should be in the present progressive form, *I am thinking of*.

translated the second part. Was the film translated by one of them, and the other edited the translation? Did they translate the film scripts, and did other subtitlers code the subtitles onto the film video file? All these questions can be answered only by the translators themselves.

As illustrated in this example (Example 2), the word *Shahid* is used in the TT with a positive connotation. In contrast, the word *shahid* is used in the TT in Example 1 with a negative connotation, although both examples are islamising the TT by keeping the Islamic connotation in the TT. Interestingly, Example 1 and Example 2 are collected from the same film *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski).

Unlike the subtitlers of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), the subtitlers of *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown), broadcast on Amazon Prime, seem to have deislamised the word استشهادي [a martyred person]⁸⁹ in the TT, as illustrated in Example 3 below.

Example (3)

Film: *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown)

Timestamp: (00:31:17)

Subtitling strategy: Substitution

ST	TT ⁹⁰	Back Translation
هون عندك راسمين سيارة على انه استشهادي عندهن واحد هيك يركب السيارة ويفجر حاله	Here you have a drawing of a car, it's a suicide bomber . He wants to drive a car and explode himself.	Here you have a drawing of a car, as a martyred person /istishadi . For them, a person who rides a car and explodes himself.

⁸⁹ The closest English meaning.

⁹⁰ As shown on the screenshot, there are two scripts of subtitles: an original subtitle included in the original film and another one added by Amazon prime. However, it seems that Amazon prime uses the same original subtitled script and adds its own subtitles whenever there are no subtitles provided at all in the original script.

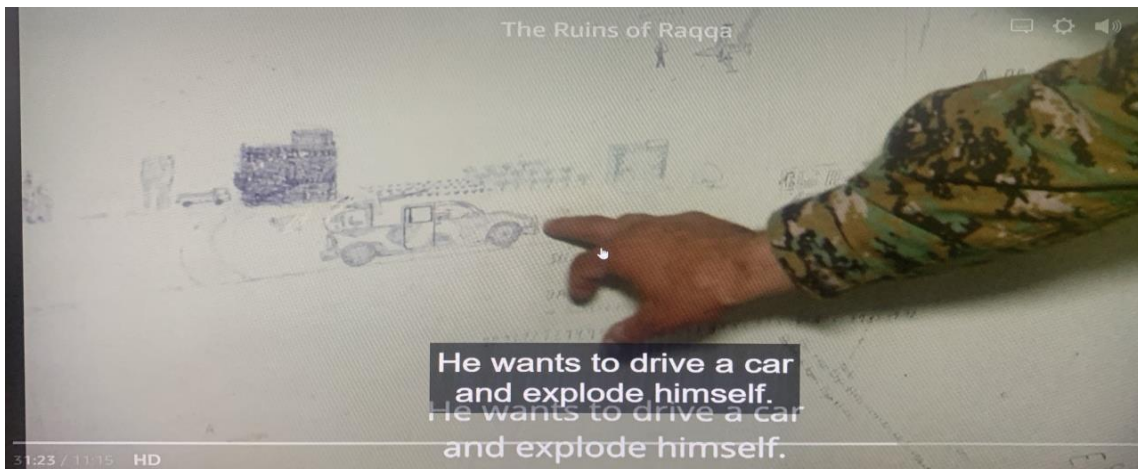
Figure 27

A Screenshot from The Ruins of Raqqa (2018, dir. Matt Brown), TS (00:31:17)



Figure 28

A Screenshot from The Ruins of Raqqa (2018, dir. Matt Brown), TS (00:31:23)



The Arabic word *استشهادي* [a martyred person] is derived from the word *استشهد* [martyred]. It refers to the person who intentionally embraces death for the cause of his/her religious belief; This word implies that the person intentionally wants to sacrifice his/her life; s/he works to be martyred. This word has been recently used in media to refer

to suicide bombers who intentionally kill themselves and other people for the cause of religion. However, suicide is strictly prohibited in Islam and is considered a major sin. The Quran states: “Do not kill yourselves, for verily Allah is Most Merciful to you” (Q4:29). Suicide bombings, which involve intentionally killing oneself in order to kill others, are even more severely condemned in Islam because they involve both suicide and the taking of innocent lives. In Islamic law, taking innocent lives is considered a grave sin (Stacey, 2013).

In this example, the ST contains the word *استشهادي* [a martyred person] that is followed by a relative clause *واحد هيك يركب السيارة ويفجر حاله* [a person who rides a car and explodes himself/herself] to define the word *استشهادي* [a martyred person]. The Arabic word has an Islamic connotation in the sense that it is derived from the word *استشهد* [martyred]. By doing so, the ST speaker links the Islamic connotation of the word *استشهادي* with a person who explodes himself/herself⁹¹. However, the subtitlers render it into English as a *suicide bomber* utilising the substitution strategy rather than the loan strategy (i.e., transliterating the Arabic word into *Istishhadi* as the case in using the word *Shahid* in example (1), for instance). By using the word *suicide bomber* instead, the Islamic connotation is linguistically removed from the TT utterance. Therefore, one might say that the subtitlers deislamise this utterance. There is no Islamic connotation in the TT utterance, especially by utilising grammatical shift to change the relative clause in the ST *واحد هيك يركب السيارة ويفجر حاله* [a person who rides a car and explodes himself/herself] into a simple sentence in the TT as “He wants to drive a car and explode himself”. The simple sentence adds additional narrative information to the utterance but does not function exclusively as a relative clause that defines the person who is a suicide bomber. In addition, by omitting the phrasal verb “عندهن” [they have] in the TT, where the pronoun *هن* [they] refers to “Muslims” or “Muslim groups” in the area the ST speakers are talking about. By doing so, another level of deislamisation has been achieved.

⁹¹ This example indicates that the phenomenon of (de)islamisation can be seen in the TT and the ST.

2. الشهادة [A Testimony that There is no God except Allah]

The word الشهادة is a polysemous word in Arabic. It has two different meanings. The first is *Testimony*, while the second is *Martyrdom* (as discussed in the previous section). The word الشهادة with the meaning of *Testimony*, is mentioned in the ST 27 times. The following Table illustrates the denotative and connotative meanings of this word.

Table 26

The Denotative and the Connotative Meaning of the Word الشهادة [testimony]

The ST Word	Denotative meaning	Islamic connotative meaning
الشهادة	A testimony: Law, an oral or written statement under oath or affirmation. Declaration or statement of fact. (Allen et al., 1991, p.1262)	Muslim creed (doctrinal formula) (Wehr, 1979, p.489). A testimony that there is no god except Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah (Ali is the vicegerent of Allah) ⁹² . It is also uttered in Aladhan (the call for prayer issued in public five times a day) and recited within the five daily prayers. It is the statement that makes a person a Muslim. It is also recited by Muslims on the death bed or just before death (in the case of someone being shot or dangerously wounded, for example). If a dying person cannot say it, the people surrounding this at this instant keep repeating it on their behalf or to encourage them to say it. It is also uttered in expression of grief or shock when someone dies suddenly or is killed.

⁹² If it is uttered by Shiite Muslims.

It is worth mentioning that in Sunni Islam, there are two testimonies, الشهادة,

أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ [the testimony that there is no God except Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah]. These two testimonies constitute one of the Five Pillars of Islam. However, Shiite Muslims add another testimony based on their beliefs أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ [and Ali is the vicegerent of Allah]. In addition, the Arabic generic noun توحيد, which literally means in English *the oneness of Allah/God* or *Testifying to the oneness of Allah/God*, also has the same Islamic connotation as the word الشهادة. More closely to the context of films about war, الشهادة [Testimony] is also recited by Muslims on the death bed or just before death (in the case of someone being shot or dangerously wounded, for example). If a dying person does not say it, the people surrounding them keep repeating it on their behalf to encourage them to say it. Popular religious usage, some of which feature in the films subject to analysis, includes also uttering it in expression of grief or shock when someone dies suddenly or is killed, for relief and soothing when someone is upset and to calm people down when they engage in a heated argument.

The following table illustrates the different derivatives of the word الشهادة [Testimony], as mentioned in ST and their English meanings.

Table 27:

The Different Derivatives of the Arabic Word الشهادة [Testimony] in the ST Corpus

The ST word	The Closest English Meaning
اتشهد	Say: “there is no god except Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah (Ali is the vicegerent of Allah) ⁹³ ”
الشهادة	The actual statement: there is no god except Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and (Ali is the vicegerent of Allah) ⁹⁴

⁹³ If it is uttered by Shiite Muslims.

⁹⁴ If it is uttered by Shiite Muslims.

As shown in the table above, the Arabic word الشهادة [Testimony] with its Islamic connotative meaning, does not have a one-word equivalent in English. In order to clarify the meaning in English, subtitlers may need to include an explanatory sentence, which can present a challenge in terms of the technical limitations of the subtitling process. Technically, the total number of English characters in *There is no god except Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah* is 53. It depends on the other accompanying words in the same utterance. Traditionally, the subtitles should be fitted in no more than two lines in the same slot and 42 characters as a maximum in each line. Therefore, any manipulation in the subtitling of this word or any of its derivatives is not necessarily an ideological manipulation. This is a good example where both ideological and technical manipulation may overlap. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether omissions, for example, are the result of technical limitations or the ideological beliefs of the subtitlers or other individuals involved in the production of the TT. For instance, if the subtitler is Alawi⁹⁵ and does not believe that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah (as previously mentioned in Chapter Four), they may intentionally choose to omit the entire testimony. However, we cannot know if this is because of their ideology or because the omission produces a shorter text and allows them to stay within the 42-characters limit.

Table 28 below illustrates the frequency of all ICIs in the ST, with the same Islamic connotation as expressed in الشهادة [Testimony], the word and the statement, the subtitling strategies utilised to render them into English, and the films where they are mentioned.

⁹⁵ See section 4.2.1.4 in Chapter 4.

Table 28*Frequency of الشهادة [Testimony] in Various Forms in the ST Corpus*

ST	Frequency (Total:27)	TT	Subtitling Strategy	Documentary Films
اتشهد [say there is no god except Allah and Mohammad is the messenger of Allah]	2	-	Omission	- <i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)
	1	Say “there is no one but Allah”	Compensation	- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
الشهادة [there is no god except Allah and Mohammad is the messenger of Allah]	1	⁹⁶ shahadeh [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah]	Compensation	- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
	3	-	Omission	- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
لا إله إلا الله والشهاد حبيب الله (a song) [there is no god except Allah and Mohammad is the messenger of Allah]	2	MOURNERS SINGING AND CHANTING	Dummy compensation	- <i>Aleppo from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
اشهد ان لا إله إلا الله [I testify that there is no god except Allah]	4	-	Omission	- <i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)

⁹⁶ The main ST utterance is repeated twice.

				-7 Days in Syria (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger) -For Sama (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)
	4	VOICES OF PREACHER MUEZZEN CALLING	Compensation	- Aleppo from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) -7 Days in Syria (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
	1	Say “there is no one but Allah”	Subtitling Couplet (Literal translation + Loan) ⁹⁷	-7 Days in Syria (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
لا إله إلا الله [there is no god except Allah]	4	-	Omission	- The White Helmets (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) - Aleppo from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

⁹⁷ By *Subtitling Couplet*, I mean that two subtitling strategies are utilised to render one Islamic cultural item into English; in this example, two strategies are utilised: Literal translation and Loan.

				- <i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon)
	1	No God but Allah	<i>Subtitling Couplet</i> (literal translation + Loan)	- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger)
أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ [I testify that Mohammad is the messenger of Allah]	2	-	Omission	- <i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)
لا إله إلا الله مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ [there is no god except Allah and Mohammad is the messenger of Allah]	1	“there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet”	<i>Subtitling Couplet</i> (literal translation + Loan)	- <i>Aleppo from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
وحدوا الله ⁹⁸ [say that there is no God except Allah,]	1	-	Omission	- <i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)

As seen in the above table, الشهادة, as a testimony, is mentioned in the ST 27 times in different ST forms and structures; the subtitlers utilised various strategies to render them into English, namely, omission, compensation, dummy compensation, and *Subtitling Couplet* (literal translation + Loan). 59.25 %⁹⁹ of the instances of الشهادة [testimony] and its derivatives were omitted. The omitted instances include the repetition and those that are

⁹⁸ This Arabic sentence means in English Say, “there is no one but Allah”. Grammatically, it is an imperative sentence used with a masculine plural subject. It has the same meaning of the Arabic verb أتشهد.

⁹⁹ In the sense that 16 out of 27 instances of this ICI were omitted.

uttered in the ST as a part of the Call for Prayer, which the subtitlers may deem as not plot-pertinent, and some of the instances that are mentioned in the main dialogue of the film.

There is variation in the film subtitlers' approaches in terms of which instances to omit. Some may choose to omit all the instances, regardless of whether they are repeated or mentioned in the main dialogue of the film. For example, the subtitlers of *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel) omitted all the instances of الشهادة [testimony] and its derivatives mentioned in the film, even though some of them are mentioned in the main dialogue. From the technical perspective, the film subtitlers can utilise other subtitling strategies rather than omissions because there are no technical constraints found to obstruct subtitling such ICIs. One possibility is to use a literal translation, as the subtitlers of other films do, as shown in the table above when there is sufficient space on the screen to accommodate it.

Like the subtitlers of *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), the subtitlers of *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Channel 4) and *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab and Edward Watts) employed the strategy of omission, even though no technical constraints were found to obstruct the subtitling of this ICI. While it is not possible that the omission of this particular ICI was due to technical constraints, it is possible that there were ideological motives or purposes (e.g., religious beliefs in case the subtitlers are not Muslim, for example) at play.

With a slight similarity to omission, some subtitlers employed *Dummy compensation*, which involves providing only a general description of what is uttered in the ST, such as MOURNERS SINGING AND CHANTING for those instances of الشهادة [testimony] and its derivatives that are mentioned in a song and VOICES OF PREACHER/MUEZZEN CALLING when it is mentioned as a part of the Call of Prayer.

In addition, only five fully English translations of الشهادة [testimony] were found in the study corpus. Four are mentioned in only one film, *7 Days in Syria* (2017, dir. Robert Rippberger). The other English translation is mentioned in *Aleppo from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski). Interestingly, both films have the high

number of occurrences of this ICI. *7 Days in Syria* (2017, dir. Robert Rippberger) contains ten ICIs, while *Aleppo from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) contain seven ICIs.

Overall, it is reasonable that the translation of الشهادة [testimony] and its derivatives may be challenging for film subtitlers. One strategy to accurately convey the meaning is to include additional information (i.e., the definition of the word) by employing the compensation strategy. However, this can be technically difficult if there are other words in the same utterance. In addition, if the subtitlers do not share the same religious beliefs as the target audience or as the speakers of the ST, they may be hesitant to include this ICI, as it may contradict their beliefs. In this case, this attitude may be perceived as ideologically motivated (i.e., deislaming the TT). However, it may be preferable to circumvent any potential conflicts with the religious beliefs of the intended audience, particularly in the context of documentary films that are subtitled into English for a primarily non-Muslim Western audience, to shed light on political and sociocultural conflicts in the Arab world. This can be a difficult task for the subtitlers (i.e., to omit, accurately translate, or alter the meaning of الشهادة [testimony]), as it requires balancing the need for accurate translation with the need to avoid causing offence or appearing to be ideologically motivated. In addition, omitting this ICI may also be preferred by subtitlers due to the technical limitations. In such cases, subtitling of this ICI may be driven by a combination of technical and ideological factors, creating an overlap between the two, a case addressed by Díaz Cintas (2012).

3. الله [the God of Islam]

Usually, the Arabic word الله [the God of Islam] is rendered into English either as *Allah* or as *God*. *Allah* has an Islamic connotation. However, *God* has a religious connotation but is not exclusively Islamic. *God* is used in many other religions to refer to the deity. Therefore, rendering this word into *Allah* in English is described as an act of islamisation because the word still has the same Islamic connotation as the Arabic word. However, rendering it into *God* is described as an act of deislaming because the Islamic

connotation is removed in the TT while only the religious connotation is maintained. Deislamising this ICI in the TT does not involve only rendering it into *God* but also entirely omitting it from the TT. Table 29 below shows the denotative and connotative meaning of the word الله [the God of Islam].

Table 29

The Denotative and Connotative Meaning of the Word الله [the God of Islam]

The ST Word	Denotative meaning	Islamic connotative meaning
الله	The name of God in the religion of Islam.	God as understood by Muslims, is the only God of all the universes. No God but Allah.

Generally, rendering the word الله into *God* or *Allah* is one of the main controversial issues in the theological translation (Nida 1961,1964; Abdul-Raof, 2005). The main challenge in translating this word from Arabic into English and any other language spoken outside the Muslims world, for that matter, is its semantic/connotative meaning; however, there is no translation problem in terms of its denotative meaning (Nida 1961,1964; Abdul-Raof, 2005). *Allah* and *God* have the same denotative meaning, a deity. Nevertheless, Muslims consider Allah to be the only God of All worlds. Oneness and uniqueness are the fundamental belief of Muslims. Scholars such as Nida (1961,1964) and Abdul-Raof (2005) argue that there is no equivalent to the word in English. The English word *God* has a Christian connotative meaning, referring to the Trinity (Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit). Although the concept of the Trinity pairs with the hypostatic nature of the Christian deity, which is three and one at a time, it still contradicts the principles of Islam (i.e., the Oneness and uniqueness of God), as seen by some scholars. Therefore, rendering the word الله into *God* may imply, for those who believe that this contradicts the principles of Islam, that it is triadic. Thus, it cannot be religiously and culturally valid. According to (Abdul-Raof, 2005, p. 166),

The biblical concept of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit reflects Christianity's semantic componential features that fail to accommodate the Qur'anic notion of absolute monotheism. Although a Christian would argue

that the notion of the trinity refers to three aspects or personae of god and most certainly not three gods; for a Muslim, the biblical god is associated with polytheism. Thus, while both the Quran and the Bible use the same expression God, their adherents have distinct theological perceptions of the same word.

Other scholars argue that the word should translate into *God* because there is no exact equivalent in English. However, *God* is the closest one. It is a way to meet the target audience's expectations. "The argument here is that translation is culture-bound, whatever the semantic value ascribed to the target text. The translator needs to heed the target culture to tailor the appropriate meaning for the expected audience" (El Amari & Sabil, 2018, p.25). Even the English translations of the Quran vary in rendering this word into English as *God* or *Allah*. Translators who utilize "Allah" in their English translations are considered to be source-oriented, as they believe in the singularity and oneness of God. Examples of such translators include Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984). On the other hand, those who opt for "God" in their translations may be target-oriented, as they may believe it to be the closest equivalent to "Allah." An example of such a translator is Abdel Haleem (2004).

As demonstrated in Table 30 below, the word الله appears 471 times in the ST corpus. It can appear as a standalone word or as a sentence (i.e., an ICI that is a sentence in its original form), such as الله يوفقك, an optative sentence means [May Allah/ God grant you success] and الله أكبر [Allah/God is the greatest]. However, 303 instances of this word were omitted in the TT corpus. One hundred forty-three instances were subtitled into *God*, and only 25 instances were subtitled into *Allah*. Therefore, three subtitling strategies were adopted: omission, transposition, and loan, with a percentage of 64.3%, 30.4%, and 5.3%, respectively. Therefore, the omission strategy is the most dominant strategy employed for subtitling the word الله, and it is employed in all films. Surprisingly, from the technical perspective, the word الله is not problematic in that it does not burden the subtitle with too many letters; it can be rendered into either *Allah* (with only five letters) or into *God* (with only three letters).

Table 30

The Frequency of the Word الله [the God of Islam] in the ST Corpus

ST	Frequency (Total: 471)	TT	Subtitling Strategy	Documentary Films
الله	25	Allah	Loan	- <i>Aleppo from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski): 18 times.
				- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger): 5 times.
				- <i>Sky and Ground</i> (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett): 2 times.
	143	God	Transposition	- <i>Born in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Hernán Zin): 6 times.
				- <i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel): 10 times.
				- <i>Cries From Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky): 20 times.
				- <i>Aleppo from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski): 36 times.
				- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger): 12 times.
				- <i>Sky and Ground</i> (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett): 16 times.
				- <i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i> (2018, dir. Matt Brown): 7 times.

				- <i>For Sama</i> (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts): 29 times.
				- <i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon): 7 times.
303	-	Omission (Including those ICIs that are omitted through applying the condensation and dummy compensation strategies)		- <i>Born in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Hernán Zin): 16 times.
				- <i>The White Helmets</i> (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel): 42 times.
				- <i>Cries From Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky): 32 times.
				- <i>Aleppo from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski): 118 times.
				- <i>7 Days in Syria</i> (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger): 21 times.
				- <i>Sky and Ground</i> (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett): 11 times.
				- <i>The Ruins of Raqqa</i> (2018, dir. Matt Brown): 3 times.
				- <i>For Sama</i> (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts): 41 times.
				- <i>Syria's Torture Machine</i> (2011, dir. Julie Noon): 19 times.

God, as the subtitling equivalent of the word الله, is mentioned in the TT in all films. However, *Allah*, as the subtitling equivalent of the word الله, is mentioned in the TT of only three films. *Allah* was mentioned 18 times in *Aleppo from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), five times in *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger), and only twice in *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett). Interestingly, those three films have an enormous Islamisation scale too. However, the subtitlers of these films also utilise the strategy of transposition to render the word الله into English as *God*. Therefore, the question arising is why did they use two different strategies to render the same ICI? One cannot argue that the subtitlers choose to be source text-oriented by utilising the strategy of loan or target text-oriented by utilising the strategy of transposition because they use two different strategies to render the same item in the same film. Therefore, certain aspects of ideological or technical manipulation may be possible. Technically, the number of characters of the word *God* is three, while that of *Allah* is five.

Therefore, if manipulation is detected, it is essential to consider whether it results from technical issues or more likely to have stemmed from ideological considerations. This is because subtitlers can adjust other words in the speech if necessary, indicating that technical constraints may not be the primary cause.

To avoid any misjudgement or prejudice in following double standards in subtitling the word الله into *God* or *Allah* in English, the cases where both *God* and *Allah* are mentioned together in the same TT utterance should be investigated. Accordingly, it is found that they are mostly used in rendering الشهادة, [the testimony that there is no God but Allah]. Excluding this testimony, only one example is found where both *Allah* and *God* are used in the same utterance, as illustrated below:

Example (4):

Film: *Aleppo from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:52:22)

Subtitling Strategy: Addition, Transposition, loan, loan.

ST	TT	Back Translation
ولكم عم يقتلنا عالهوة يلي- ما بتخافوا الله يلي مالكين بتركيا يلي - ما بتخافوا الله- تعوا شوفوا لحمنا معه ماي- يا انذال يلي ما بتخافوا الله	-We are being killed by Alawis who do not fear God! You in Turkey, fear Allah! -They pulled them out of water ... You cowardly bastards, who do not fear Allah!	He is killing us based on our identification card , You, who do not fear Allah , who are having properties in Turkey, come and see how he deals with our bodies as he deals with water, you bastards, who do not fear Allah .

Figure 29

A Screenshot from Aleppo from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:52:22)

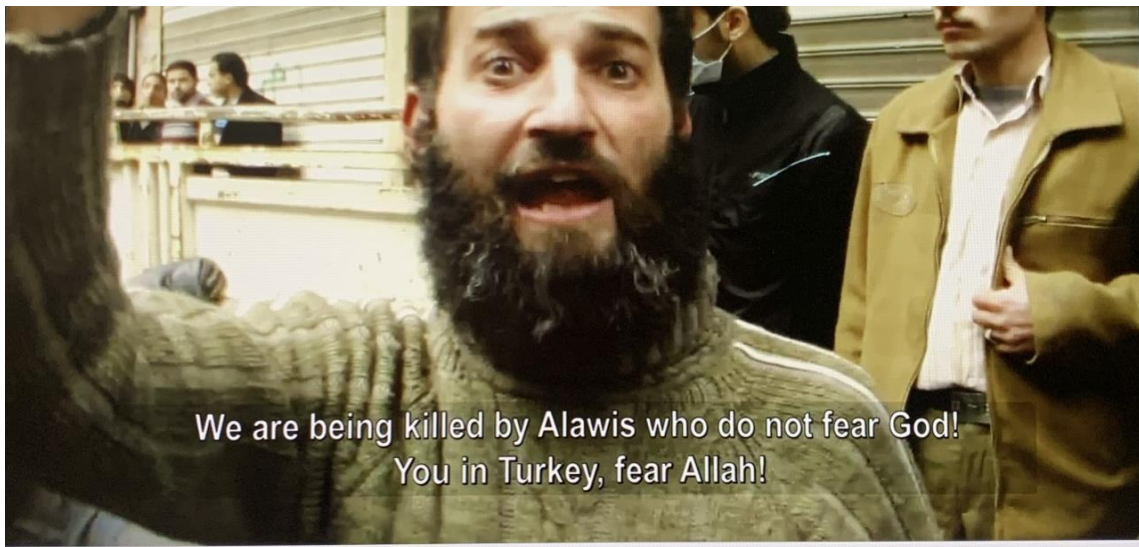


Figure 30

A Screenshot from *Aleppo from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:52:22)



As shown, this example contains 4 ICIs in the TT: *God* (1), *Allah* (2) and *Alawis* (1). Interestingly, the subtitlers add the word *Alawis* which is not mentioned at all in the ST utterance, as the agent of the verb of killing. However, the agent of the verb killing in the ST is a third-person pronoun referring to Bashar Al-Assad. As mentioned in Chapter 4 (see section 4.2.1.5), the religion of Alawis is controversial. Some scholars argue that they are considered Muslims, and others do not. Therefore, by adding the word *Alawis* to the TT, the subtitlers infuse the TT with religious content, implying that Alawis (of whom Bashar Al-Assad is one) are killing Syrian Muslims (if the subtitlers believe that Alawis are non-Muslims), or that Alawis are killing other Muslims (i.e., Sunnis) (if the subtitlers believe that Alawis are Muslims).

Although the analysis here is about the use of the words *Allah* and *God* as the equivalents of the Arabic word الله in the same utterance rather than about the addition of the word *Alawis* itself to the TT, it is important to analyse the whole utterance as one constituent since all the elements of the utterance are interconnected and have a reflection on the whole utterance as one unit.

Originally, the ST speaker implies that Bashar Al-Assad is killing Syrians based on *عالمهوية* [on the identification card]. Upon examining the information presented on a Syrian identification card, it was found that the inclusion of a certain city name can serve as an indicator of the individual's stance towards the ruling regime, either supportive or opposed. Such classification is inferred based solely on the city in which they reside, as indicated on their identification card. Consequently, the speaker may imply that the Syrian President, Bashar Al-Assad, is targeting individuals who come from cities that are known to be opposed to his regime. Notably, it is important to mention that Syrian identification documents, including the identification card and passport, do not disclose information about the individual's religious affiliation or sect. It was determined that Syrian identification cards contain information regarding the individual's place of birth, council, and address, all of which can provide clues to their political affiliation. Additionally, personal information such as the individual's full name, father's first name, mother's full name, date and place of birth, and national identification number are also included on the card, as shown in Figure 31 and Figure 32 below:

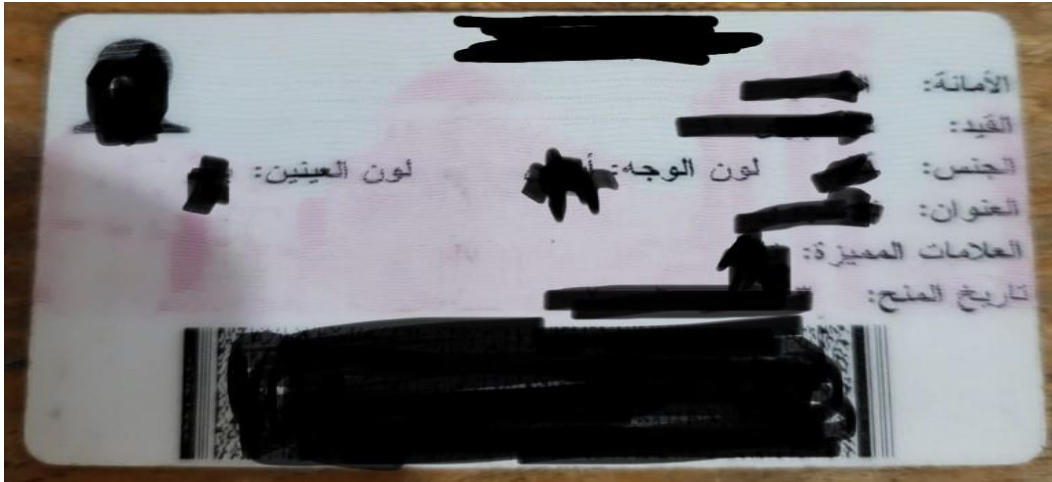
Figure 31

A Sample of a Syrian Identification Card Called in Arabic الهوية (The Front Page)



Figure 32

A Sample of a Syrian Identification Card Called in Arabic الهوية (The Back Page)



Going in terms of the technical constraints, the total number of the TT characters in the first utterance is only 62; therefore, the word *God*, which has only three characters, has not been used in favour of any technical issue. Accordingly, adding to the utterance the word *Alawis*, with its religious and political implications in the Syrian context, which has already *God* and *Allah* might suggest that the manipulation could be ideologically motivated, but it could also be an addition for clarification as the translators might have understood that Alawis were killed and so felt compelled to add the word by way of explaining who is being killed be ideologically motivated.

As shown, the subtitlers use the word *God* with the relative clause *who do not fear God!* that defines Alawis as do not fear God, while they use *Allah* with the clause talking about those people who live in Turkey. Accordingly, this adds to the ambiguity of the subtitlers' position. Do they use the word *God* first as a preceding identifier to the word *Allah* mentioned after? Or do the subtitlers use the word *God* with Alawis because they may believe that Alawis are infidels (atheists), unbelievers in God at all? Based on some studies, such as Talhamy (2012), the deity of Alawis is Ali Ibn Abi Talib. While for

Muslims Ali is only a human being with no divine attributes whatsoever¹⁰⁰. Therefore, using the word *God* with *Alawis* and *Allah* with *people living in Turkey* presupposes that Alawis do not fear God (either Allah in Islam or any God of other religions) and those living in Turkey¹⁰¹ do not fear Allah, their God (in the sense that the subtitlers refer here to Muslims living in Turkey (either Syrian Muslims who have sought refuge in Turkey or Turkish Muslims)).

However, the word *Alawis* itself might be mistakenly added to the utterance as the rendering of the Arabic word *عالموية* [on the identification card], which is phonetically very close to the word *علوية* [Alawis]. Thus, the subtitlers might mistakenly comprehend it as *علوية alawiyah* [Alawis], not *عالموية alhawiyah* [on the identification card]. If this is the case, so there is no ideological manipulation. Unfortunately, I could not interview any of the subtitlers of these films to find adequate answers to these questions (see Chapter 3 section 3.1.4).

On investigating other cases where *Allah* is used in the TT, it is found that *Allah* is mostly used in the TT of the ICI *الله أكبر* [Allah/God is the greatest]. It is a common expression used by Muslims and is often used to express appreciation for God's greatness, exalt God's name, invoke His power, praise Him or as a general Prayer. However, it has been negatively connected to terrorist activities and suicide bombing as cinematically depicted¹⁰² in some Western films, such as the American film, *Sicario: Day of the Soldado* (2018, dir. Stefano Sollima). Therefore, subtitlers may avoid employing the loan strategy [Allah Akbar] in an attempt to distance the content of the film from this connotation.

This ICI, *الله أكبر* [Allah/God is the greatest], is mentioned 137 times in the ST corpus; the ST of all films, except *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown), include this phrase. It is found that the most frequently used strategies to render this ICI into English

¹⁰⁰ See section 4.2.14 in Chapter4.

¹⁰¹ Turkey is a secular country with no official state religion. However, the dominant religion in Turkey is Islam (Içduygu, Toktas & Soner, 2008).

¹⁰² see https://youtu.be/DL_8x-qJdyE

are omission and dummy compensation. Only six occurrences of الله أكبر are rendered into English by utilising the transposition strategy using the word God as *God is the greatest*; those are found in four films: namely, *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), *7 Days in Syria* (2016, dir. Robert Rippberger), *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett), and *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts).

However, الله أكبر is mentioned in the TT corpus as *Allah Akbar* (employing the loan strategy) only seven times, and they are all in one film, *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), which generally has the highest Islamisation rate. Nonetheless, this film contains another 38 instances of the same phrase in its ST that are either omitted, replaced with a compensation (such as *Prayer*, or replaced with a dummy compensation, such as *CHANTING*).

In addition, ten other occurrences of *Allah* are found in the TT corpus in the position of the vocative style¹⁰³ that pragmatically functions as a *prayer* or *calling God / Allah for help*; all of them are found in *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) and *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett). They are subtitled into English as (O'Allah! or Allah!) using the loan strategy. Only two instances of الله as a subject in a sentence are found in the ST of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) and subtitled into *Allah* as a subject in the TT. Finally, some other occurrences of the word Allah in the TT are found in the subtitles of three verses of the Quran found in the study corpus¹⁰⁴.

In sum, the word الله is found in the ST corpus 471 times in various positions, a standalone ICI, and as a part of another ICI, such as الله أكبر [Allah/God is the greatest] and as a vocative style. The film subtitlers use different strategies to render the word الله into

¹⁰³ In Arabic, some vocative phrases include the vocative particle/ interjection يا as in the ST utterance at the timeline reference 1:20:44 in *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), ياالله, subtitled into O' Allah! or without the vocative particle as الله subtitled into Allah! In the ST utterance at the timeline reference 00:11:37 in *Sky and Ground* (2018, dir. Talya Tibbon & Joshua Bennett).

¹⁰⁴ (see Section 6.2, Instances 14, 15, and 21).

English. They render it into *Allah* (using the strategy of loan/islamisation), into *God* (using the strategy of transposition/de-islamisation). Two Other strategies are also used: compensation and dummy compensation, contributing to deislamising the TT. The decision to islamise or deislamise this word in the TT scripts is not necessarily ideologically or technically motivated.

4. الجهاد [the Holy War in Islam]¹⁰⁵

The Arabic word جهاد is generated from Form 1, the three-root verb ج - ه - د [ja-ha-da] in Arabic. This three-root verb means to endeavour, strive, labour, take pains, overwork, fatigue, and exhaust (Wehr,1979, p.142). However, The Arabic word جهاد itself is defined in English as “a holy war undertaken by Muslims against unbelievers (Allen, Fowler & Fowler, 1991, p.637) and as “fight, battle; jihad, holy war (against the infidels, as a religious duty)” (Wehr,1979, p.142). However, the word جهاد is used in the Quran with many different meanings in diverse contexts. In Islam, the Arabic word جهاد is not exclusively about fighting non-Muslims (i.e., physical war). It also refers to a spiritual struggle against one’s own inner demons and base desires (Nurul Hakim, 2016). Muslims strive to spend money (either to give money to those in need or to spend money to support their society in different fields. *Jihad* is also to have the courage to confront a tyrant. *Jihad* is to keep oneself away from what Allah/God forbids. Sometimes it is used to refer even to non-Muslims’ efforts, as in the eighth verse of chapter 29, العنكبوت [The Spider] (Ubaid, 2014). وَوَصَّيْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ بِوَالِدَيْهِ حُسْنًا وَإِنْ جَهَدَاكَ لِتُشْرِكَ بِي مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ فَلَا تُطِعْهُمَا ۗ إِلَىٰ مَرْجِعِكُمْ فَأُنَبِّئُكُم بِمَا كُنتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ which was translated into English by Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984, p.531) as:

And We have enjoined on man to be good and dutiful to his parents, but if they strive to make you join with Me (in worship) anything (as a partner) of which you have no knowledge, then obey them not. Unto Me is your return, and I shall tell you what you used to do.

¹⁰⁵ The closest English meaning.

However, the word جهاد [Jihad/ the holy war] in Arabic in the context of fighting non-Muslims is still debatable. Three different schools in the Islamic jurisprudence provide three different definitions of *Jihad*: namely, dar-al-Harb (abode of war), dar-al-Islam (abode of Islam) and Dar-al-such (Ali & Rehman, 2005). All these schools are different in their definition of *Jihad*, its conditions (when and where), and its obligatory religious status these days. Each school defines *Jihad* based on its interpretation of verses of the Quran, Hadith and the first Muslim ancestors' practice regarding *Jihad*. Accordingly, there is a plethora of research by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars nowadays about *Jihad in Islam* as a concept, especially after the emergence of the jihadist movements in the 1970s then more recently AlQaeda, ISIS, and other political groups fighting under the name of Islam.

As a product of political and media discourses about various jihadist groups, which is out of the scope of this discussion, the word جهاد is now semantically linked to other concepts and words, such as *martyrdom* and *martyr*. The term *Jihad* is frequently associated with destruction and terrorism by politicians, Western scholars and society. This perception is largely influenced by the negative connotations that have been attached to the word due to the actions of Muslims who have committed acts of terror in the name of Jihad (Nurul Hakim, 2016). The word جهاد is also linked to words such as *istishhadi* and a *suicide bomber*, as depicted in some western films, such as *Four Lions* (2010, dir. Christopher Morris). Therefore, the concept, the definition and the connotations of جهاد are controversial in Arabic and English literature. Many scholars shed light on the misinterpretation and mistranslation of the word *Jihad* in English. For example, Asma Afsaruddin, in her book, *Striving in the Path of God: Jihad and Martyrdom in Islamic Thought* (2013) argues that “conceptualizations of jihad as primarily armed combat and of shahada as primarily military martyrdom are relatively late and contested ones and deviate considerably from the Quranic significations of these terms” (Afsaruddin, 2013, p.5). Like many other scholars, she supports her argument with various Quranic exegetical works and Hadith, the prophetic sayings. Other scholars, such as Post (2009), shed light on

the inappropriate linking of the word *Jihad* with *committing suicide* which is itself prohibited in Islam.

In the study corpus, the Arabic word جهاد [Jihad] and its derivatives (e.g. مجاهدين [Mujahideen]) are found in the context of fighting. Like other theological concepts, the interpretation and English translation of this word /concept with its Islamic connotation has been influenced by political events and the ideological agendas of media outlets. Using the term *Jihad* and its derivatives with a negative connotation in English has been increased recently by different media outlets. In addition, some scholars argue that the English translation of the word جهاد as *the holy war* is not valid in terms of semantics. For example, Colas (2019, p.788) argues:

Although a holy war may well be what jihadist groups mean, the lack of emotive correspondence to a Western audience makes “holy war” an invalid translation. Jihad belongs in the semantic domains of “violence, harm, destroy, kill” and “hostility and strife,” and the subdomains encompass opposition and hostility, resistance, and rebellion.

Despite some reservations on Colas’ definition of *Jihad*, his argument illustrates how some Westerners (scholars and audiences) see *Jihad*.

Accordingly, this section explores the way that the Arabic word جهاد and its derivatives are subtitled into English in documentary films and whether it is affected by any ideological agendas. Interestingly, the word جهاد and its derivations are mentioned only in two films: *Aleppo from the Dark* (2014, dir Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) and *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky). Table 31 illustrates the frequency of the word جهاد and its derivatives in the study corpus.

Table 31

The Frequency of the Word جهاد and its Derivatives in the Study Corpus

ST	Frequency (Total:11)	TT	Subtitling Strategy	Documentary Films
المجاهدين	1	fighters	Transposition	

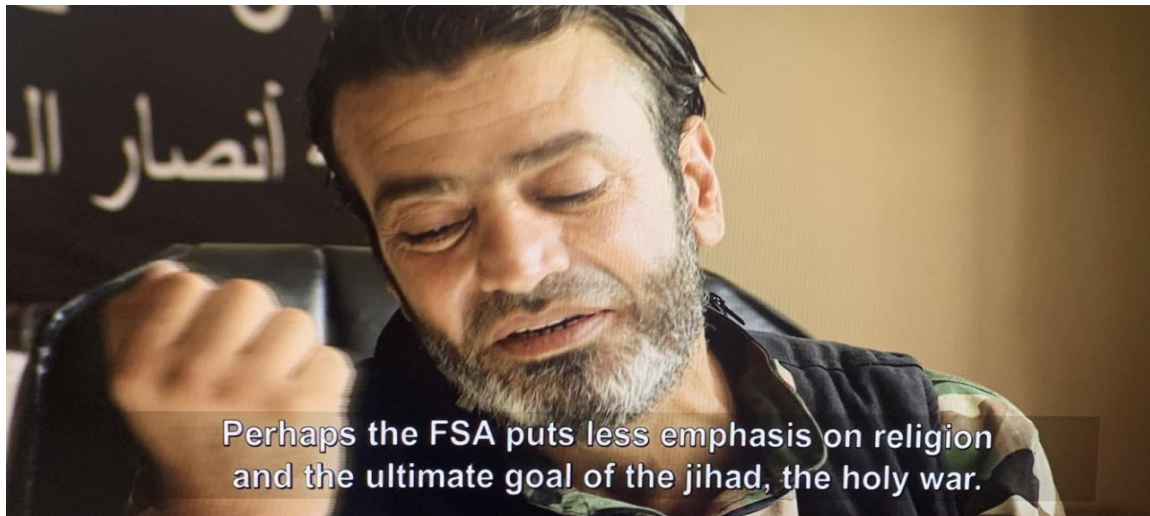
الجهاد	1	the holy war	Transposition	- <i>Cries from Syria</i> (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)
يروح عالجهاد	1	Would fight	Transposition	
الجهاد	1	the jihad, the holy war.	Compensation	- <i>Aleppo: Notes from the Dark</i> (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)
الجهاد	1	-	Omission	
الاخوة المجاهدين	1	The Mujahideen brothers	Loan	
الاخوة المجاهدين	1	The soldiers of the Islamic groups	Compensation	
الاخوة المجاهدين	1	Mujahideen brothers	Loan	
الاخوة المجاهدين	1	-	Omission	
مجاهدة	1	a Mujahideen	Loan	
مجاهدين	1	Mujahideen	Loan	

As shown in the table above, the subtitlers of *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky) utilise only the transposition strategy. The subtitlers of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) employed three subtitling strategies: namely, loan, compensation, and omission. They are inconsistent in subtitling the word جهاد [Jihad] and مجاهدين [Mujahideen]; they utilise the strategy of loan four times and utilise the compensation strategy by providing an explanatory definition of the words only twice.

The word جهاد is mentioned twice in the ST of this film. The subtitlers utilise the Subtitling Couplet strategy: loan [Jihad] and transposition [the holy war] for the first occurrence at the timestamp 01:14:37 to clarify the meaning of the word جهاد in English as shown in the figure below.

Figure 33

A Screenshot from *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:14:37)



However, the subtitlers utilise the omission strategy for the second occurrence at the timestamp 1.14:48. Surprisingly, the Arabic word *مجاهدين*, is first mentioned in the film at the timestamp (00:46:10) and is rendered into English as *Mujahideen* (see Example 5 & Figure 34 below), utilising the loan strategy. However, the word is rendered into English by providing a clear explanatory definition, *the soldiers of the Islamic groups*, at the timeline (01:13:38) when it secondly occurred in the film (see Example 6 & Figure 35 below). Rationally speaking, the first mention of the word should be clearly expressed to be comprehended by the audience, and then transliteration or the loan word can be used. Although this should not always be the case in audiovisual translation where the technical constraints may have room, the subtitling of these words in this film may be ideologically motivated, as in the following example.

Example (5):

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

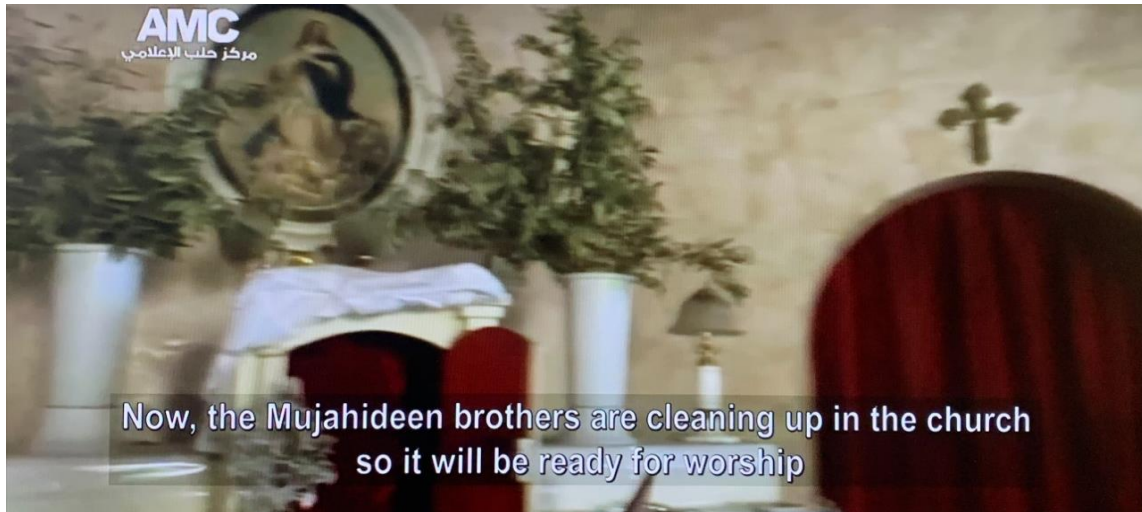
Timestamp: (00:46:10)

Subtitling Strategy: Loan

ST	TT	Back Translation
الآن الاخوة المجاهدين يقومون بترتيب هذه الكنيسة لإعادة تأهيلها	Now, the Mujahideen brothers are cleaning up in the church so it will be ready for worship	Now, the mujahideen brothers are tidying this church to refurbish it (to be ready for worship).

Figure 34

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:46:10)



Technically, the subtitlers seem to utilise the loan strategy since the total number of the TT utterance's characters is 89; as known, the traditional norm allows for 84 characters in two lines as a maximum. Because subtitlers have other words in the utterance that can be manipulated to make the whole TT utterance fit the space allocated on the screen, the question arising here is whether it is a case of technical or ideological manipulation (i.e., a case of overlapping between technical and ideological manipulation as addressed by Díaz Cintas (2012), what can be seen as technical manipulation may be in fact ideological manipulation. Therefore, the use of the word *Mujahideen* as a result of the loan translation strategy in this example may be seen as a way to change the audience's negative perception

of the term *Mujahideen*, which has been associated with terrorism and unjustly fighting non-Muslims in Western media, particularly following the terrorist events of September 11, 2001, and the emergence of ISIS in 2014.

Keeping the Islamic connotation of this word in the TT utterance, which is also accompanied by the word *Church*, may contribute to changing the negative perception of the word *Mujahideen* that may the audience has. This ST utterance implies that Mujahideen, who may be known in the west for their violence toward non-Muslims, are cleaning the Church, a worship place of another religion, to be ready for Christians to worship; the ST utterance aims to show religious tolerance of Mujahideen. Therefore, utilising the loan strategy may contribute to transferring this meaning to English.

While subtitlers are expected to provide a definition or clear explanation of the word *Mujahideen* in the first instance of its use, they may choose to avoid providing a definition such as *Islamic fighters* or *soldiers of Islamic groups* (as used in the second instance of the word, as seen in Example 6 and Figure 35) in order to avoid confusion and ambiguity. For example, it is unclear whether the Islamic fighters are cleaning the Church to prepare it for their worship or if they are helping their Christian neighbours to worship in it as an act of showing harmony and social cohesion or religious tolerance between Muslims and Christians in Syria. These assumptions cannot be fully dismissed without justification provided by the subtitlers themselves.

Example (6):

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

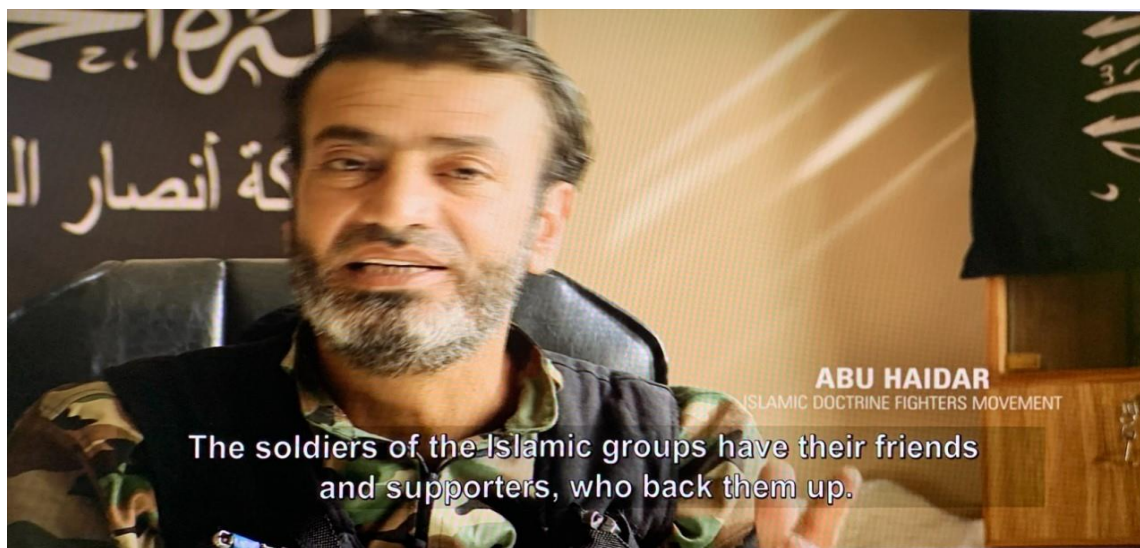
Timestamp: (01:13:38)

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
<p>الاجوة المجاهدين كان عندهم اشخاص معينين، في عندهن جهات معينة فكانت تدعمهن</p>	<p>The soldiers of the Islamic groups have their friends and supporters, who back them up.</p>	<p>The Mujahideen brothers, had certain people, and they had certain parties that used to support them.</p>

Figure 35

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:13:38)



5. Other Lexical Examples

The study corpus includes a number of other lexical items that have undergone either islamisation or deislamisation in the target text. Due to the word limit of this thesis, the following example serves as the final illustrative instance in this section.

Example (7):

Film: *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon)

Timestamp: (00:47:20)

Subtitling Strategy: - Literal translation + - Compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
الانسان الحسن الناس - بتذكره بالشيء الحسن	- A good man will be remembered for his good deeds	- a good person is remembered by people for his/her good deed
الانسان الطاغية بده ينلعن - تا تقوم الساعة	- but a tyrant will be cursed forever	

		- a tyrant will be expelled from the mercy of Allah until the day of judgment .
--	--	---

Figure 36

A Screenshot from Syria's Torture Machine (2011, dir. Julie Noon), TS (00:47:17)

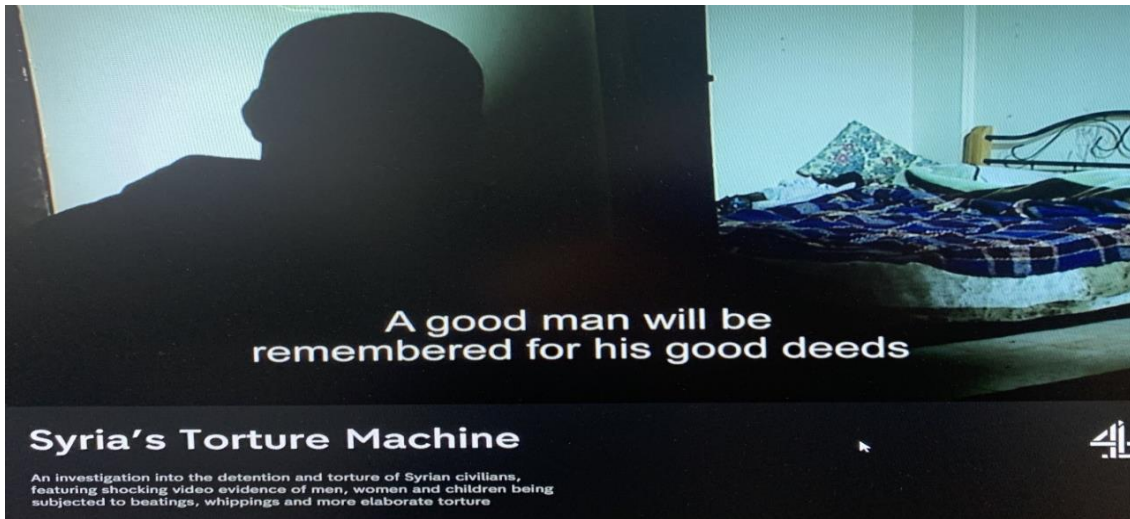
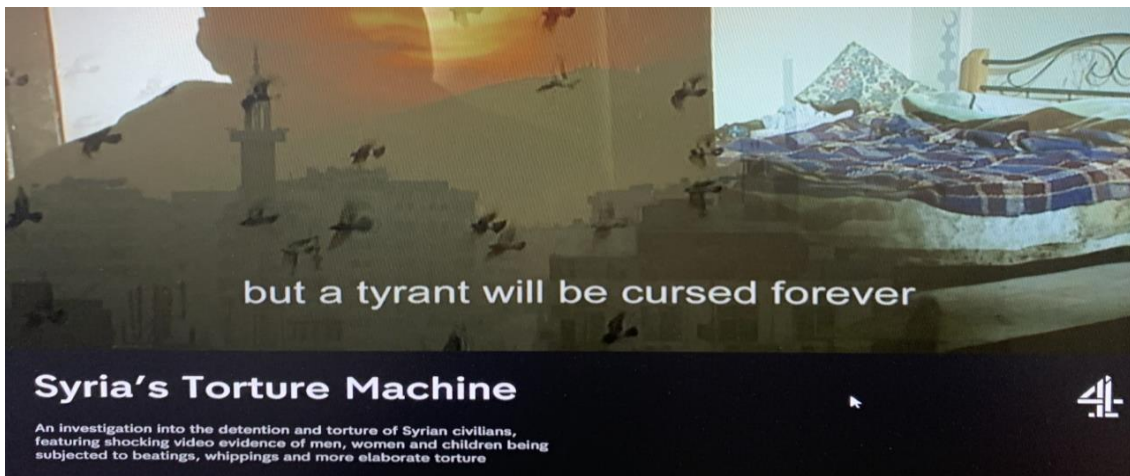


Figure 37

A Screenshot from Syria's Torture Machine (2011, dir. Julie Noon), TS (00:47:20)



As shown in this example, there are two ICIs: the Arabic word يُلَعَن as in the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or يَنْلَعَن as in the Syrian colloquial dialect, which means in English [being cursed; being expelled from Allah’s mercy] and the Arabic dependent clause تا تقوم الساعة which means in English [till the day of the judgment]. Both the Arabic ICIs have an Islamic connotation in the ST. However, the subtitlers of this film choose to deislamise them by utilising two strategies. For the first ICI, the transposition strategies utilised by providing the English word *cursed* as an equivalent to the Arabic word يُلَعَن . As mentioned in “*The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*”, edited by Allen et al., (1991, p. 285), the word *cursed* means:

curse /k3:s/ *n.* & *v.* -*n.* **1** a solemn utterance intended to invoke a supernatural power to inflict destruction or punishment on a person or thing. **2** the evil supposedly resulting from a curse. **3** a violent exclamation of anger; a profane oath. **4** a thing that causes evil or harm. **5** (prec. By *the*) *colloq.* Menstruation. **6** a sentence of excommunication. – *v.* **1 tr.** **a** utter a curse against. **b** (in *imper.*) may God curse. **2 tr.** (usu. in *passive*; foll. By with) afflict with (*cursed with blindness*). **3 intr.** utter expletive curses; swear. **4 tr.** excommunicate. *curser n.* [OE *curse, cursian*, of unkn.orig.].

cursed / ‘k3:sid, k3:st/ *adj.* damnable, abominable.

cursedly *adv.* **cursedness** *n.*

However, the Islamic connotation of the Arabic word is not adequately rendered in English. The subtitlers only use *cursed* without adding *by Allah* or *expelled from Allah’s mercy* to convey the exact meaning the ST implies.

For the second ICI, the subtitlers utilise the substitution strategy to render the Arabic dependent clause تا تقوم الساعة, which means in English [till the day of the judgment] into the word *forever*, which literally means [eternity, unlimited time, or an extremely long time]. Using the word *forever* not only contributes to removing the Islamic and religious connotation but also contributes to removing the time limit of the event of cursing a tyrant. Interestingly, this film has a 100% deislamisation rate; therefore, one might assume that the subtitlers intentionally utilise these strategies, especially since the total number of the TT characters is 49 while the subtitlers have enough space on the screen that can fit another 35 characters.

Section Summary

To sum up, this section illustrates how Arabic ICIs can be deislamised or islamised when rendered into English at the lexical level. (de)islamisation of the ICIs does not automatically entail that subtitles' decisions have been ideologically motivated. Sometimes technical constraints play a key role in choosing certain subtitling strategies rather than another. Sometimes, it is only a reasonable result of rendering items from one language or culture into another language or culture. However, traces of ideological manipulation can still be seen in some examples.

The following section discusses the grammatical process that can contribute to deislamisation or islamisation of the TT utterance and the way that the (de)islamisation serves ideological or the technical manipulation.

6.1. 2 Grammatical Level

The following examples illustrate how an ideological or technical manipulation that contributes to the (de)islamisation of the TT utterances can be achieved at the grammatical level through manipulating the grammatical structures of the TT utterances.

Example (8):

Film: *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)

Timestamp: (00:18:43)

Subtitling Strategy: Omission

ST	TT	Back Translation
بدي أقول لبشار الأسد الله يسوي بأولادك مثل ما ساويت فينا	I wish Al Assad's Children suffer what we are suffering here.	I want to say to Bashar Alassad that may Allah make your children suffer what children are suffering because of you.

Figure 38

A Screenshot from Born in Syria (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), TS (00:18:43)



Figure 39

A screenshot from Born in Syria (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), TS (00:18:43)



The subtitling strategy utilised in this example is omission. The word *Allah* is omitted, although it is a subject in the optative sentence¹⁰⁶ in Arabic الله يسوي [May Allah make...]. By omitting the subject, a word with an Islamic connotation, the utterance is deislamised. At first glance, this example is probably manipulated in favour of space constraints since the total number of characters in the subtitle line is 50, while traditionally and institutionally (as required by Netflix), it should be a maximum of 42 characters per line. However, considering that this film has a 100% deislamisation rate, and that reducing the number of characters can be achieved by omitting or substituting other words rather than the word Allah, ideological manipulation is also possible in this case. Was the word Allah omitted because it is part of a formulaic expression and therefore adds little “real” meaning to the sentence? Or is it omitted to deislamise the TT?

Example (9):

Film: *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)

Timestamp: (00:14:24)

Subtitling strategy: Omission

ST	TT	Back translation
الله بده ما يخلينا نطلع نغادر المكان الا انه نطالع او نسمع صوت	We were not meant to leave the area without hearing a sound.	Allah does not want us to leave the place until we hear a sound.

¹⁰⁶ In English, the Optative sentence is a sentence that expresses a prayer, wish, curse etc. This kind of sentence generally starts with ‘may’ and ‘wish’.

Figure 40

A Screenshot from The White Helmets (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), TS (00:14:24)



The subtitlers use passive constructions to avoid explicit reference to *Allah* as the doer of the action in the ST utterance. By using passivation, the doer of the action, which is in the grammatical position of the Subject of the ST utterance, is eliminated. The subtitlers focus on the event rather than the doer/Subject. According to Puurtinen (2000), passivation can be utilised to neutralise or mystify the way of representing actions, processes, and participants in a speech where the causal relations and the responsibility for actions can be veiled. By doing so, the Islamic connotation of the word *Allah* is removed from the TT. In this case, using passivation may be ideologically charged. Taking the technical constraints also into account, this example is not technically manipulated because the total number of characters in the TT utterance is 49 in two lines (28 characters in the first line and 21 in the second line), as shown in Figure 40 above, while the maximum number of characters as issued in Netflix' subtitling guidelines is 42 characters per line.

Example (10):

Film: *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)

Timestamp: (00:47:19)

Subtitling Strategy: Transposition

ST	TT	Back Translation
الله يرحمهم أصدقائي كلهم ماتوا جوات المدرسة	But all of my friends, may their souls rest in peace , died in it.	May Allah have mercy on them. All my friends died inside the school.

Figure 41

A Screenshot from Cries from Syria (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), TS (00:47:19)



In Arabic, الله يرحمهم , literally means [may Allah have mercy on them] is a prayer in the form of an optative sentence used to express grief or sympathy after others' death and ask for Allah's mercy on them. In English, a similar cultural concept is expressed in the idiom *Rest in peace* which is used "to say one hopes a person who has died will have peace in death or May she rest in peace" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). This idiomatic expression is shortened into *RIP* as an acronym in the written language. It also can be in the form of an optative sentence such as *May they Rest in peace* and *May God rest them in peace*. The subtitlers of this film utilise the transposition strategy to render the meaning of the ST cultural item into English by using the idiomatic expression in TT that express a

similar cultural concept. However, they choose the expression that does not include the word *Allah* in the TT to avoid explicit reference to Allah as the doer of the action in the ST utterance. By doing so, the doer of the action, which is in the position of the subject of the ST utterance, is removed. In the TT utterance, the subject is *they* which refers to the people who died, which is, in origin, the object in the ST utterance الله يرحمهم [May Allah have mercy on Them]. This grammatical shift is similar to passivation in the sense that the object is moved to be the subject of the sentence in both cases. By doing so, the Islamic connotation of the word *Allah* is removed from the TT. One might not say that it is a matter of technical manipulation because the total number of the TT characters is 52 fitted in the two lines (26 characters in each line, as shown in the figure above), which does not violate the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* issued by ESIST¹⁰⁷. Although utilising transposition may ostensibly be a target text-oriented strategy, other considerations behind utilising this strategy cannot be excluded.

Example (11):

Film: *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts)

Timestamp: (0:33:35)

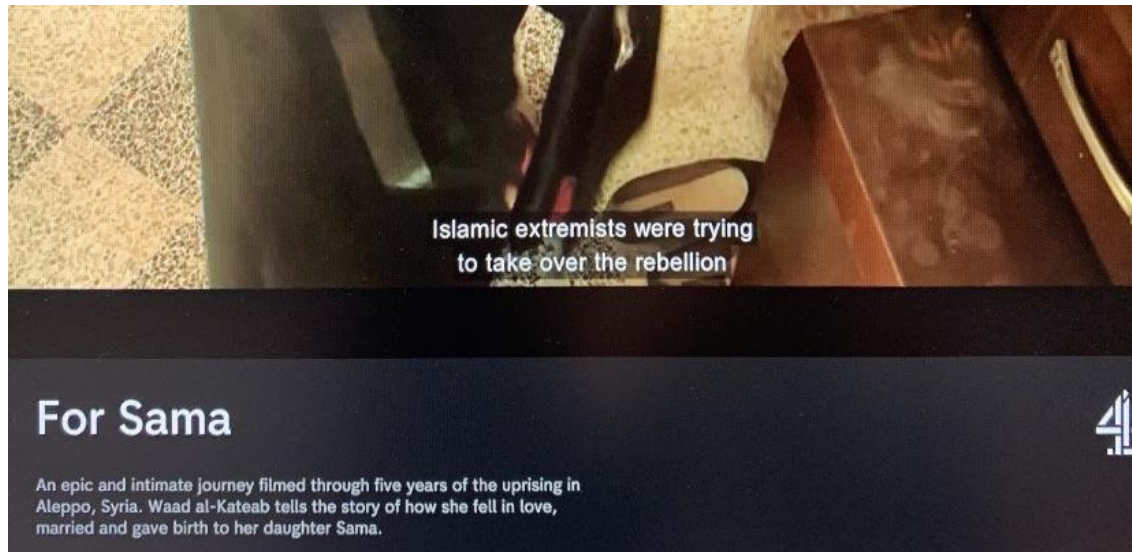
Subtitling Strategy: Literal Translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
اسلاميين متشدديين يحاولون يسيطروا على المناطق المحررة	Islamic extremists were trying to take over the rebellion.	Islamic Extremists are trying to control the free regions.

¹⁰⁷ because Amazon prime does not publish any subtitling guidelines.

Figure 42

A Screenshot from *For Sama* (2019, dir. Waad al-Kateab & Edward Watts), TS (00:33:35)



In this example, the past tense in TT means that the action is already done and ended. However, the tense in ST is present, which means that the action is still happening. The transitivity in this example from present tense into past tense contributes to changing the meaning of the whole utterance. The TT implies that the Islamic extremists failed to control the free regions; therefore, it can be said that they now do not exist. This case can be described as a *metaphorical deislamisation*. By metaphorical deislamisation, I mean manipulating the grammar structures to deislamise the presupposition¹⁰⁸ of the utterance while keeping the lexical items with Islamic connotations. In this example, even though there are lexical items with Islamic connotations in this utterance, the grammatical structure presupposes that there is no existence of Islamic extremists now in the free regions. Accordingly, the TT utterance is metaphorically deislamised. However, the ST implies that

¹⁰⁸ In linguistics, the term "presupposition" refers to certain background assumptions made in interpreting an utterance or statement (Gauker, 1998). For example, if someone says, "I'm going to put the book on the shelf," it is assumed that there is a book and a shelf. These assumptions are made to interpret the statement's meaning and are not explicitly stated in an utterance itself.

the Islamic extremists are still trying to control the free regions and may succeed in controlling free regions in the end. Clearly, it is not a matter of technical constraints because the number of the helping verb characters of *were* is four while those of *are* is three, which is best to serve the subtitlers in terms of space constraints.

In addition, the phrase المناطق المحررة [the free regions] in the ST refers to the rebelling Syrian regions that succeeded in getting their freedom from the Syrian regime led by Bashar Al-Assad. However, using the phrase *Rebellion* in the TT by the subtitlers is ambiguous because it implies two different meanings. The first meaning is the rebellion against the Islamic extremists, which is not the intended meaning by the speaker of ST, although it is more likely prominent in the TT. The second meaning is the rebellion against the Syrian regime led by Bashar Al-Assad, which is the intended meaning of ST, but it is not explicit in the TT. Although this is a lexical analysis, it is essential for shedding light on this point because it is relevant to the whole TT utterance, including its grammatical structure, which seems to be manipulated to imply that the Islamic extremists are no longer controlling the rebellion against them.

Example (12):

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

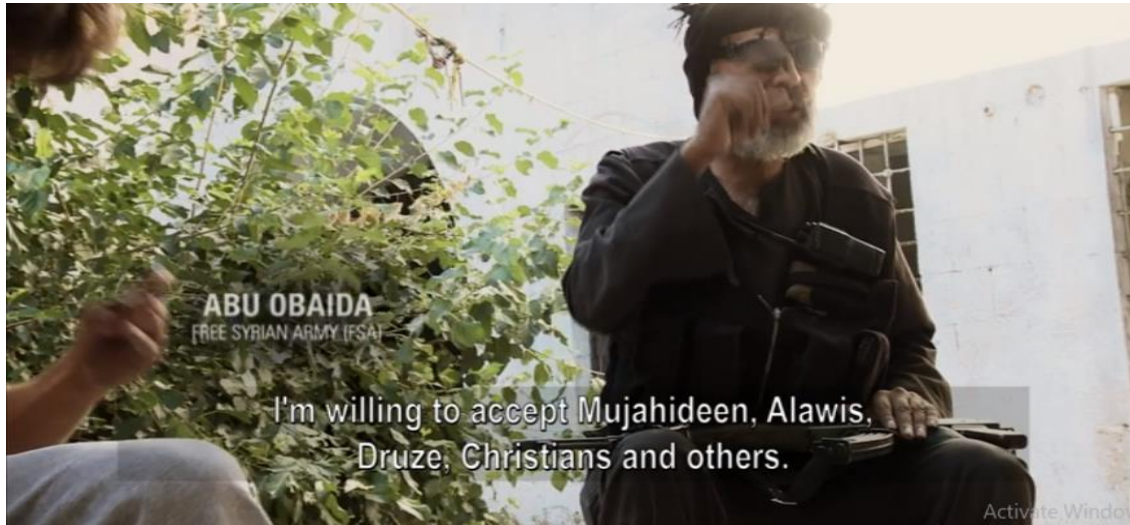
Timestamp: (01:15:20)

English TT: Subtitling Strategy: Loan

ST	TT	Back Translation
انا على استعداد جيبوا مجاهدين علوية ويحاربوا معي ومقاتلين مسيحية ودروز ومن جميع الطوائف	I'm willing to accept Mujahideen, Alawis, Druze, Christians and others,	I am ready to accept Alawite Mujahideen to fight with me, and Christian and Druze fighters and anyone from all sects.

Figure 43

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:15:20)



This example shows that the grammatical structure of the ST phrase مجاهدين علوية [Alawite Mujahideen] has been manipulated in the TT. In the ST structure, the adjective *Alawite* follows the identified noun *Mujahideen* [Islamic fighters]. This grammatical structure of the phrase may suggest that Alawis are Muslims. Thus, they can be called *Mujahideen* because they are also considered Islamic fighters according to the ST speaker. However, the grammatical structure of this phrase in the TT contributes to the ambiguity of its implied meaning. One of the meanings implies that Alawis are not Muslims.

Generally, translation involves transferring the meaning from the source language into the target language by following the Target language system (including the grammatical structure of the TL). What we have here is Translation Shifts (Catford, 1965); more specifically, changing the grammatical structure is called Grammatical Shift (Catford, 1965). For example, In English, the adjective precedes the identified noun. However, in Arabic, the adjective follows the identified noun. Therefore, translating this Arabic phrase [Noun+ Adjective] into the English language, where the structure of the same phrase

should be [Adjective + Noun], contributes to changing the grammatical structure in line with the target language's grammatical system. In this case, this type of grammatical change is called Automatic Shifts. It is called Automatic shifts because the translators have no choice but to follow the target language system (Ali, 2003).

However, if there were to be an automatic shift in translating مجاهدين علوية [Alawite mujahideen], the translators should have translated the Arabic phrase into *Alawite Mujahideen* not to *Mujahideen, Alawis*, as shown on the screenshot below.

In the TT, the translators change the grammatical structure of the Arabic word علوية [Alawite] as an adjective to *Alawis* as a noun. However, using *Alawis* between two commas is grammatically ambiguous, which in turn is semantically ambiguous. It can be understood as an *appositive*¹⁰⁹ to the noun *Mujahideen*. In this case, the translators seem to keep the ST's implied meaning (Alawis are Muslims therefore can be considered Mujahideen/Islamic fighters). It can also be understood as only a noun in a list of nouns but not as an appositive to the noun *Mujahideen*.

In short, the main clue to the ideological bias here is separating the adjective from the noun and adding the noun to a list of non-Muslim groups, while the ST shows two categories: on the one hand, مجاهدين علوية [Alawite Mujahideen] (i.e., Muslims or applying Islamic jihad), and on the other hand, مقاتلين [Fighters] (i.e., non-Muslims therefore described as simply fighters, rather than Mujahideen). This structure may suggest that Alawis are a group distinct from the group of mujahideen [Islamic fighters]. Hence, they are not considered part of the Islamic fighters (Mujahideen) due to their non-Muslim affiliation. In this case, one might say that it is a case of ideological manipulation since there are no technical constraints that may justify this manipulation; the total number of the characters TT is only 62, while the maximum number of characters is

¹⁰⁹ Apposition is a grammatical construction where two elements (e.g., two nouns) are placed side by side (grammatically, they are in apposition); one of the elements functions as the identifier of the other element (grammatically called Appositive); the other element is the identifyee, the identified element. Traditionally, there are two types of Appositives: the non-restrictive type (or the loose), as in (My Neighbour, the butcher), and the restrictive type (or the close), as in (My friend Smith) (Acuña-Fariña, 2009).

traditionally 84 in two lines. As mentioned in Chapter 4¹¹⁰, Sunni Muslims¹¹¹ do not believe that Alawis are Muslims at all, and some studies reveal that Alawis are originally not Muslims (Skutsch, 2013; Pipe, 1989). By doing so, the translators remove the attribute of Islam from the word Alawis, thus deislamising the term by manipulating the grammatical structure.

Example (13):

Film: *Syria's Torture Machine* (2011, dir. Julie Noon)

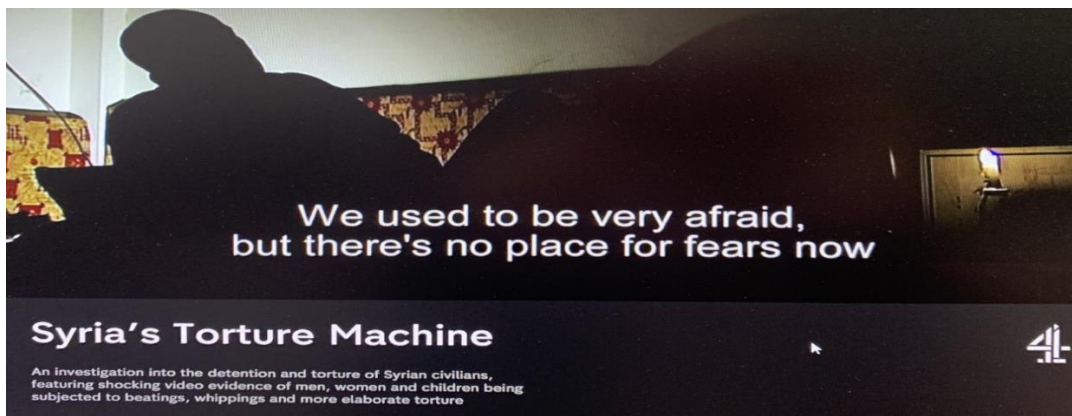
Timestamp: (00:47:08)

Subtitling Strategy: Omission

ST	TT	Back Translation
حتى الولد الي عمره سنة ما يقى يخاف لا من رئيس ولا من كل شي الله خلقه	Even a child is no longer afraid of the President or anyone else .	Even a one-year-old child is no longer afraid of a president or anything Allah creates .

Figure 44

A Screenshot from Syria's Torture Machine (2011, dir. Julie Noon), RS (00:47:08)

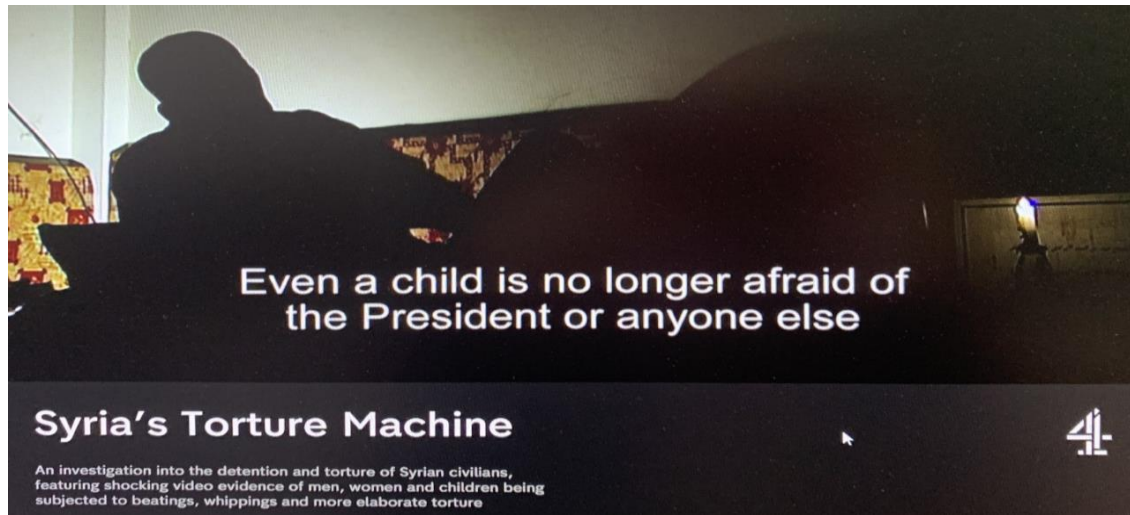


¹¹⁰ See Section 4.2.1.3 *Shiite Islam*.

¹¹¹ Sunni Muslims consider Alawis as a non-Muslim because Alawis reject one of the basic tenets of Islam (Pipe, 1989); “Muslims proclaim their faith with the phrase: ‘There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is His prophet’, Alawis assert ‘There is no deity but Ali, no veil but Muhammad, and no bab but Salman” (Pipe, 1989, p.431).

Figure 45

A Screenshot from Syria's Torture Machine (2011, dir. Julie Noon), TS (00:47:11)



As shown in this example, the subtitlers do not subtitle the Arabic relative clause **الله خلقه** , which means in English [Allah created]. This relative clause functions as an identifier of the preceding noun **كل شي** literally means in English [anything]; however, the subtitlers substitute it with *anyone else* and omit the relative clause that comes after it. By doing so, the Islamic connotation of the Arabic relative clause is removed from the TT utterance. The literal translation of the ST is [Even a one-year-old child is no longer afraid of a president or anything Allah created]. The underlined phrase presupposes any creatures created by Allah, not only people. However, the TT includes instead *anyone else*, which presupposes only people. By omitting the relative clause containing the word *Allah*, the TT utterance is deislamised. Technically speaking, the subtitlers can literally render the Arabic relative clause into English without any constraint. The total number of the TT utterance containing the literal translation of the Arabic phrase would be 75 characters in two lines, while the subtitling guidelines issued by channel 4 allow subtitlers to have 42 characters as a maximum number of characters per line for text in factual programmes (i.e., documentaries), which in turn means a total of 84 characters per two lines. Interestingly,

the deislamisation rate of this film is 100%. Accordingly, one can say that this example may be ideologically manipulated.

Section summary

To sum up, this section illustrates the ways that subtitlers can manipulate the TT by changing grammatical structures, which contribute to (de)islamising the TT, such as passivation (i.e., removing the agent), transitivity (i.e., changing the verb tenses), punctuations (i.e., using punctuation to change the grammatical structure, such as using commas for appositives), grammatical shift (i.e., changing the grammatical structure of the SL to TL), optative sentences (i.e., changing the subject of the optative sentences), and relative clauses (i.e., omitting the relative clause or replacing it with another grammatical structure).

This section also shows that lexical items and their grammatical structures are in an interdependent relationship. Any manipulation in the grammatical structure can contribute to changing the meaning. It is found that subtitlers sometimes make the TT utterance deliberately ambiguous by manipulating its grammatical structure to open the door for multiple interpretations. Subtitlers resort to grammatical ambiguity as a device to disseminate different ideologies or as a device that helps them to be on the safe side in dealing with controversial topics, as shown in Example 12. Finally, this section sheds light on the concept of *metaphorical deislamisation*, a case of deislamising the presupposition and interpretation of the TT utterance, the effect of the message implied in the utterance, by manipulating the grammatical structure of the sentence while keeping the lexical elements of the utterance with their Islamic connotations, as shown in Example 11.

Moreover, the deislamisation of the TT utterances can be achieved by manipulating the grammatical structures of the utterances in two ways. The first one is to manipulate the grammatical structures to remove the lexical items with Islamic connotations from the TT utterance, such as passivation. The second one is to manipulate the grammatical structures in a way that keeps the lexical items that have Islamic connotations in the utterance but deislamises the presupposition/ the interpretation of the utterance, such as the case of

metaphorical de-islamisation. This section illustrates how the above-mentioned examples (No.8-13) from the study corpus are likely to be ideologically manipulated at the grammatical level. It also gives ideas for subtitlers on how grammar can be used to (de)islamise the TT.

The next section illustrates potential traces of ideological and technical manipulation in the subtitling of Quranic material.

6.2 Textual Analysis: Illustrative Examples of Ideological and Technical Manipulation (Subtitling ICIs/ Quranic Material)

Generally, Muslims often employ verses from the Quran in their discourse as reminders of the actions required to adhere to Allah's teachings and fulfil their obligations as believers. The verses may also be used as supporting evidence in discourse, as it is considered heresy for a Muslim to deny any aspect of the Quran.

This section investigates the subtitlers' work in relation to the Quranic material found in the study corpus and whether this material, as a special category of ICIs, was subject to technical or ideological manipulations. In addition, the section answers one of the main research questions, how do the subtitlers deal with the verses of the Quran? It also investigates whether the subtitlers are more likely to use existing translations of the Quran or they use their own translations.

The study data contains 21 instances of verses from the Quran (as a whole verse or as a part of a verse) which occur as recited verses in the ST or as phrases mentioned in the main ST dialogue that are quoted from the Quran. They occur in only four films: namely, two instances in *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), one instance in *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), two instances in *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), and sixteen instances in *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski). The remaining five films do not include any specifically Quranic reference. The 21 instances of the Quranic references are rendered into English by utilising four subtitling strategies, namely, literal translation, loan, omission, condensation, and compensation; in addition, subtitling couplet (i.e., employing two subtitling strategies to render one ICI) is used, as illustrated in detail below.

Instance (1):

Film: *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)

Timestamp: (00:18:51)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:103

Subtitling Strategy: Subtitling couplet (literal translation + Compensation)

ST	TT	Back Translation ¹¹²
وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا	- Hold on to God and be not divided among yourselves. Let's stay together and not separated	“And hold fast, all together, by the rope of Allah (i.e., this Quran) and be not divided among yourselves” (Al- Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 87).

Figure 46

A screenshot from Born in Syria (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), TS (00:18:51)



¹¹² All back translations of the verses of the Quran are taken from *Translation of the meanings of The Noble Quran in the English language* by Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984). I adopt the English translation of the Quran by Hilali and Khan for the following reasons. Firstly, I am not theologically qualified to translate the Scripture of the Quran. Second, this translation of the Quran is considered a source-oriented translation. It is rich in the extra supplementary information (contained in the body text itself as well as in footnotes) that clarifies the meaning of the verses. As mentioned on the credit page of the book, it is revised and edited by a committee at The Presidency of Islamic Research, IFTA, Call and Guidance (through the King Fahd Complex for Printing the Holy Quran in Madinah, Saudi Arabia). In addition, this English translation of the Quran is one of the most widely and old used in the English-speaking world.

Figure 47

A screenshot from *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), TS (00:18:54)



This is a part of Q3:103, namely from Surah آل عمران [The Family of Imran]. وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا^١ وَأذْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ بِيَعْمَةً إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ مِنْهَا كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ, which means in English:

And hold fast, all of you together, to the Rope of Allah (i.e. this Quran), and be not divided among yourselves, and remember Allah's Favour on you, for you were enemies one to another but He joined your hearts together, so that, by His Grace, you became brethren (in Islamic Faith), and you were on the brink of a pit of Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus, Allah makes His Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, revelations, etc.) clear to you, that you may be guided. (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 87)

In this portion of Q3:103, the subtitlers utilise a subtitling technique known as a *subtitling couplet*, which involves employing two strategies: literal translation and compensation, to translate one ICI into English. This is not surprising given the length of the verse in question, which is typical of many of the Quranic verses.

The subtitlers use the literal translation strategy to render the entire ST utterance (ICI) except the Arabic phrase بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ [the rope of Allah], which is rendered into English through the compensation strategy. The subtitlers compensate for the loss of the translation of the phrase بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ [literally, the rope of Allah], which is interpreted by most theological scholars of the Quranic exegesis as *the Quran*. Investigating the 63 English translations available on the website

<https://www.islamawakened.com>, the Arabic word حَبْلٌ [literally, the rope], which refers to *the Quran*, was rendered into the *rope, bond, cable, cord, covenant, means, means of access, faith, and eternal and unchangeable sublime system*. However, the subtitlers avoid rendering this word into English and use *to God* instead, which is a more general expression. In addition, the word *God* has a religious connotation but not an exclusive Islamic connotation (see Section 6.1.1).

Furthermore, it is not a matter of technical constraints because the total number of characters is 74 in two lines. According to Netflix's guidelines, 42 characters per line is allowed, which means a total of 84 characters in two lines is acceptable. Avoiding rendering this word into English can be due to the subtitlers' insufficient knowledge about the translation of the Quran. Suppose they translate this expression حَبْلُ اللَّهِ literally to *the rope of Allah*. In that case, one might ask, particularly those from Western cultures (i.e., non-Muslims), what the phrase *the rope of Allah* or "the rope of God" refers to, particularly given the lack of religious context in which it is used. This can make the meaning of the phrase difficult to understand.

However, avoiding translating this word might be ideologically motivated in case the subtitlers know what is meant by it (which is interpreted in some English translations of the Quran as *the Quran* (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984; Ghali, 2003), *the Quran and his messenger* (Sarwar, 2001), *Islam* (Abdul Hye, 2006). Technically, the subtitlers can add extra information to clarify the meaning of this metaphor as they have already utilised the compensation strategy. The TT is contained within a total of 74 characters in two lines, which does not exceed the guidelines for subtitling of Netflix or the Code of Good Subtitling Practice by ESIST. Nevertheless, there is no need for the second part of TT, *Let's stay together and not separated*, since *and not separated* repeats the same meaning already implied in the first part of TT, *Let's stay together*. Subtitlers may avoid using words, such as the Quran, Islam, Allah, and faith, which would be needed to clarify the meaning of *the rope of Allah* in the TT utterance because they have Islamic connotations. Interestingly, the deislamisation rate of this film *Born in Syria* is 100%. Therefore, this could be ideologically manipulated.

Finally, to the best of my knowledge, it seems that the subtitlers of this film use their own translation rather than adopting any of the available English translations of the Quran, where they have the option to use any of them. Investigating 63 English translations of the Quran available to access on the website <https://www.islamawakened.com>, I can confirm that the translation provided in this film does not come from any of them¹¹³.

Instance 2:

Film: *Born in Syria* (2016, dir. Hernán Zin)

Timestamp: (00:18:56)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:103

Subtitling Strategy: Omission.

ST	TT	Back Translation
وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا	-	“And hold fast, all together, by the rope of Allah (i.e., this Quran) and be not divided among yourselves” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 87).

Figure 48

A screenshot from Born in Syria (2016, dir. Hernán Zin), TS (00:18:56)



¹¹³ The 63 English translations of this part of a verse are available on the following website <https://www.islamawakened.com/quran/3/103/default.htm>.

This part of Q3:103 is a repetition of the previous instance. It is repeated immediately after the first instance in the ST. Thus, omitting it in the TT is justified based on the subtitling guidelines of Netflix (since this film is broadcast on Netflix); any repeated utterance in ST should not be subtitled.

Instance 3:

Film: *The White Helmets* (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel)

Timestamp: (00.37:05)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q5: 32

Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
فمن احياها فكأنما احيا الناس جميعا	“to save a life is to save all of humanity”	“If anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 147).

Figure 49

A screenshot from The White Helmets (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), TS (00:36:58)



Figure 50:

A Screenshot from The White Helmets (2016, dir. Orlando von Einsiedel), TS (00:37:05)



This instance is a part of Q5: 32, namely from Surah المائدة [the Table]. مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ كَتَبْنَا عَلَىٰ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّهُ مَن قَتَلَ نَفْسًا بِغَيْرِ نَفْسٍ أَوْ فَسَادٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَتَلَ النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا وَمَنْ أَحْيَاهَا فَكَأَنَّمَا أَحْيَا النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا ۗ وَلَقَدْ جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِّنْهُمْ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْأَرْضِ لَمُسْرِفُونَ

Because of that We ordained for the Children of Israel that if anyone killed a person not in retaliation of murder, or (and) to spread mischief in the land - it would be as if he killed all mankind, and if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind. And indeed, there came to them Our Messengers with clear proofs, evidences, and signs, even then after that many of them continued to exceed the limits (e.g., by doing oppression unjustly and exceeding beyond the limits set by Allah by committing the major sins) in the land! (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.147)

The whole verse, Q5: 32, states that whoever kills a person for no justifiable reasons (e.g., in retaliation for murder) or to cause mischief on the earth would be as if s/he has killed all humankind, and whoever saves a person, it would be as if s/he saves all humankind. Usually, this verse (as a whole or in parts) is used in Islamic jurisprudence and in Muslims' everyday language as a reference to the Quran, which denounces killing and encourages people to save each other as a great deed that Muslims can do.

In this film, a part of Q5: 32, فمن احياها فكأنما احيا الناس جميعا [If anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind] (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.147) is

mentioned in ST as the motto of the White Helmets, the non-governmental civil defence in Syria. No linguistic elements in the ST indicate that this motto comes from the Quran. However, Muslims know it is a Quranic reference. To render it into English, the subtitlers used only quotation marks in the TT with the literal translation of the ST.

After comparing the literal translation of this part of a verse to its English translations in 63 English translations of the Quran available on the <https://www.islamawakened.com/quran/5/32/default.htm>, it can be concluded that the subtitlers do not adopt any of them. One cannot assume if the subtitlers used quotation marks to indicate that this TT is a quotation in origin or to indicate it is a motto because quotation marks usually signal both quotations and mottos. However, using quotation marks for a quotation in origin does not also imply that this quotation is from the Quran or shows any Islamic connotation. In addition, utilising the literal translation strategy does not contribute to having any Islamic connotations in the TT.

Figure 49 shows the subtitles of the ST utterance preceding the motto, إحننا شعارنا أولاً [our motto first and foremost as the civil defence is], which subtitled into English as [Abu Omar] *In the White Helmets, we have a motto....* Figure 50 shows the subtitle of the ST utterance which includes the motto itself, فمن احيها فكنما احيا الناس جميعا [whoever saves it, it would be as if s/he saves all mankind] (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.147).

Instance 4:

Film: *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)

Timestamp: (00:26:45)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q31:6

Subtitling Strategy: Omission

ST	TT	Back Translation
<p>وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَسْتَرِي لَهٗو " الْحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِعَبْرٍ "عِلْم"</p>	-	<p>“And of mankind is he who purchases idle talks (i.e., music, singing, etc.) to mislead (men) from the Path of Allah without knowledge” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.551).</p>

Figure 51

A Screenshot from *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), TS (00:26:45)



This instance is a part of Q31:6, namely from Surah لقمان, [Luqman], وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْتَرِي وَيَتَّخِذَهَا هُزُوًا أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ لَهُوَ الْحَدِيثُ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ وَيَتَّخِذَهَا هُزُوًا أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ, which means in English:

And of mankind is he who purchases idle talks (i.e., Music, singing, etc.) to mislead (men) from the Path of Allah without knowledge, and takes it (the Path of Allah, the Verses of the Quran) by way of mockery. For such there will be a humiliating torment (in the Hell-fire) (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.551).

In this film, a man is reciting this part of Q31:6 at a funeral in front of many people. The film subtitles do not subtitle this part of a verse or even describe the TT as *a man is reciting verses from the Quran* or *reciting the Quran*, for example, as other films broadcast on the same platform, Amazon Prime, such as *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) do. Therefore, one might say that the decision to omit this part of Q31:6 in the TT was made by the subtitles without any influence from the broadcasting platform, especially in the sense that Amazon prime does not issue any subtitling guidelines. There is no implication that the omission strategy was utilised due to any ideological manipulation because this part of Q31:6 is not in the main dialogue of the film. Usually, the decision of subtitling such cases is made by the

subtitlers; they decide whether such a case is plot-pertinent and then whether it should be subtitled.

Instance 5:

Film: *Cries from Syria* (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky)

Timestamp: (00:39:18)

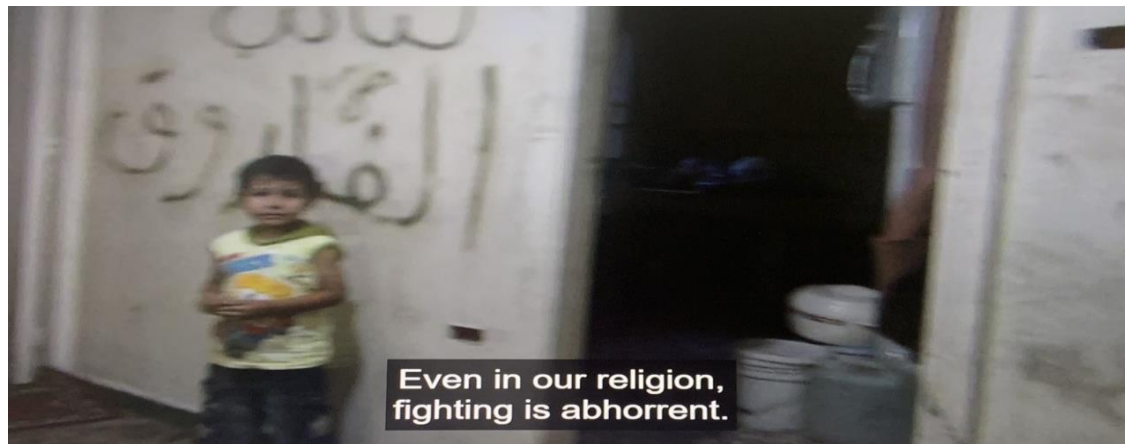
Verse reference in the Quran: Q2: 216

Subtitling Strategy: Condensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
يعني حتى في الدين عنا كتب علينا القتال وهو كرهن لنا	Even in our religion, fighting is abhorrent.	Even in our religion, fighting is ordained for us though we dislike it.

Figure 52

A Screenshot from Cries from Syria (2017, dir. Evgeny Afineevsky), TS (00:39:18)



This instance belongs originally to a part of Q2: 216, namely from Surah البقرة [the Cow]. The part is *كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهُ لَكُمْ*, which means in English “Jihad (holy fighting in Allah’s Cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it” (Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.45). The entire verse is *كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهُ لَكُمْ وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تَكْرَهُوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تُحِبُّوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَّكُمْ وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ*, which means in English:

Jihad (holy fighting in Allah's Cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it, and it may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you like a thing which is bad for you. Allah knows but you do not know. (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.45)

In the ST, there is no indication that this is a verse in the Quran (e.g., using the phrase Allah says...), although Muslims who recite the Quran know that this is a part of a verse in the Quran. However, the ST is different from the original verse in terms of personal pronouns. In the original verse, the Second-person pronouns are used (you), while in the ST, the first-person pronouns (we and us) are used. The subtitlers utilised the condensation strategy to render this part of the verse into English. They omitted parts of ST utterance, the ST words *كتب علينا*, a phrase with a verb in a passive tense, which literally means [is ordained for us]. The implied meaning is that *fighting is ordained for Muslims though they dislike it*. The verb *ordain* implies obligatory (i.e., fighting in Islam is obligatory under particular cases illustrated in the Islamic jurisprudence. However, jihad/fighting in Islam is a controversial issue in the sense that each jurisprudent school has a different view based on its interpretation of the verses of the Quran. The subtitlers, therefore, condensed the whole ST meaning into only *fighting is abhorrent*. The ST utterance implies that only Muslims, but not the religion, hate fighting; however, the TT implies that religion hates fighting, which is not the adequate meaning of the ST utterance.

In the original verse in the Quran, Q2: 216, this part is followed by *وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تَكْرَهُوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تُحِبُّوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَّكُمْ ۗ وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ*, which means in English “you (Muslims) may dislike something (e.g., Jihad/fighting), and it is good for you; you may like something, and it is bad for you; only Allah knows but you do not know” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.45). Fighting (which is hated)¹¹⁴ is good (for example, in the case of self-defence). Not fighting (which is liked) is bad (for example, in the case of easily giving in/surrendering to threats without self-defence).

Technically, there is no obstacle. The subtitlers have a maximum number of 42 in two lines for each utterance. The total number of TT characters in the utterance is only 38. Therefore, the subtitlers may choose to make the TT meaning ambiguous, which, in turn,

¹¹⁴ Naturally, war and fighting are not something people like.

avoids any debatable concepts in the TT. Therefore, one might say that this instance is more likely to be ideologically manipulated.

Instance 6:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:42:32)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:18

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation

ST ¹¹⁵	TT	Back Translation
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ	RECITING THE QURAN	“None has the right to be worshipped but He), the All-Mighty, the All-Wise” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.69).

Figure 53

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:42:32)



¹¹⁵ It is worth mentioning here that the ST utterance is a recitation of verse 18 from chapter 2, [Al-Imran] although the page of the Quran appearing in the scene contains verses 280 and 281 from Surah Al-Baqarah [The Cow].

Figure 54

A Screenshot from *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00.42:34)



This instance is a part of Q3:18, namely from Surah آل عمران [the Family of Imran]. The whole verse is *شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ وَأُولُو الْعِلْمِ قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ ۗ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ*, which is translated by Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984, p.69) as:

Allah bears witness that La ilaha illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), and the angels, and those having knowledge (also give this witness); (He is always) maintaining His creation in Justice. La ilah illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.

This part of Q3:18 is a testimony of *Tawheed* (i.e., the Islamic concept of the oneness of God), which means *there is no God except Allah, the All-Mighty and the All-Wise*. To render this part into English, the subtitlers of the film used the compensation strategy. They compensated for the loss of translating this part of Q3:18 by adding a description *RECITING THE QURAN* in capital letters and keeping it on the screen until the ST utterance ends.

Utilising this strategy might not be due to technical constraints; in terms of space, the total number of the back translation characters¹¹⁶ is 61 and can be fitted into two lines, based on the Code of Good Subtitling Practice by ESIST. However, utilising the compensation strategy for this instance might be due to the subtitlers' decision that it is not plot-pertinent and describing the utterance rather than what's uttered in the ST is enough for the readers of the subtitles.

Utilising the compensation strategy might also be due to another reason that relates to the testimony of *Tawheed* itself implied in the ST utterance. Testifying that there is no God except Allah is not in line with other religions. In addition, it is a part of the full testimony, which is called الشَّهَادَتَانِ [the two testimonies], as mentioned in Section 6.1.1 Example 2. Belief in the meaning of الشَّهَادَتَانِ [the two testimonies] is the minimum requirement for anyone to be a Muslim and it is what differentiates a Muslim from a non-Muslim. Interestingly, *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) contains other instances of the *Tawheed* statement, and they were subtitled into English by utilising the omission strategy and the dummy compensation strategy by adding the expression, VOICE OF PREACHER, to the TT subtitles. Both strategies contribute to not translating the ST utterances into English words that reflect the exact original meaning.

Instance 7:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:42:37)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:19

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ وَمَا اخْتَلَفَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا	RECITING THE QURAN	“Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam. Those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) did not differ except, out of

¹¹⁶ In case the same translation is used. However, the subtitlers can adopt another translation that may be shorter in terms of the total number of characters.

<p>جَاءَهُمُ الْعِلْمُ بَعْبًا بَيْنَهُمْ وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ</p>		<p>mutual jealousy, after knowledge had come to them. And whoever disbelieves in the Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, signs, revelations, etc.) of Allah, then surely, Allah is Swift in calling to account” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan,1984, p.70).</p>
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Figure 55

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:42:37)



Figure 56

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:42:41)



Figure 57

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:42:45)



The man in the scene continues reciting Q3:18, namely from Surah آل عمران [the Family of Imran]. The first part of Q3:18 is إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ وَمَا اخْتَلَفَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمْ , which is translated into English by Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan (1984, p.70) as “Truly, the religion by Allah is Islam. Those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) did not differ except”, was rendered into English utilising the same strategy utilised for subtitling Instance 5, the compensation strategy. The subtitlers used the description phrase, RECITING THE QURAN, in capital letters and keep it on the screen until the ST utterance ends.

Furthermore, this verse may be perceived as problematic due to its implication that Islam is the only religion accepted by God/ Allah, which conflicts with the beliefs of other religions, particularly Judaism and Christianity. Given that the documentary film subtitled into English is intended for a global audience, particularly the West audience, it is possible that the subtitlers chose to avoid including any potentially controversial statements in order to achieve the primary goal of the documentary film, which is to raise awareness about the Syrian conflict and its devastating impact on Syrians.

Additionally, the last part of Q3:18 الْعِلْمُ بَعْثًا بَيْنَهُمْ وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ , which means in English “out of mutual jealousy, after knowledge had come to them. And whoever disbelieves in the Ayat (proofs, evidence, verses, signs, revelations, etc.) of Allah, then surely, Allah is Swift in calling to account” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.70), is synchronic by a voice-over by the film narrator saying in English “as an exception, Abu Haidar has allowed a Quran reading lesson. In the world of Islamic soldiers, this is deeply personal, bordering on prayer and soul purification.” The voice-over implies that Islamic soldiers are not usually allowed to have Quran reading lessons. Their religious activities are deeply personal; however, only this fighting front, *Islamic Doctrine Fighters Movement*, called also *Jabhat al Nusra* [Support Front], consists of religious soldiers who are different from other religious fighters in terms of practising religious activities overtly, such as reciting the Quran as good deeds. This implication is also shown at the timestamp 0:43:29, when the leader of the Front, Abu Haidar, says:

Ask any civilian and they will tell you that the most fair group of brave fighters who give their best, they will quickly tell you, it's us- Jabhat al

Nusra (Liberation Front) and the Ahrar Sham (Free Men of the Levant).
(Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski, 2014, 0.43:29 - 0.43:59).

Synchronizing the narrator's English utterance with the reciting of the second part of Q3:18 in ST might be to veil the implied meaning of the second part of the verse, *any person who disbelieves of Allah's signs (including believers of other religions) should know that Allah is swift in reckoning*. This implied meaning also conflicts with the beliefs of other religions.

However, utilising the compensation strategy might be due to the subtitlers' decision that this ICI is not plot-pertinent; providing only a general description of what is uttered in the ST is enough for the readers of the subtitles.

Utilising the compensation strategy might also have been due to technical constraints. In terms of space, ¹¹⁷the total number of the back translation characters is 276, which cannot fit in two lines, as it exceeds the recommended subtitling norms which stipulate a maximum of 42 characters per line, with a maximum of two lines totalling 84 characters. Even if the subtitlers were to allocate two time slots¹¹⁸ of 4 seconds each, it would still be impossible for them to fit all the translated characters within the limited time allocated for the subtitles to appear on the screen (which is approximately 9 seconds, based on the timestamps shown in Figures 55-57 above).

The subtitling of this Quranic reference exemplifies a case where the interplay of ideological and technical manipulation is particularly evident. This is due to the fact that the total number of characters in the back translation of this Quranic reference¹¹⁹, amounting to 98, exceeds the recommended subtitling norms which stipulate a maximum of 42 characters per line, with a maximum of two lines totalling 84 characters.

¹¹⁷ In case the exact translation is used. However, the subtitlers can adopt another translation that may be shorter in terms of the total number of characters.

¹¹⁸ The term "slot" refers to the duration of time in which the subtitles are displayed on the screen.

¹¹⁹ In the case that the same translation is used. However, the subtitlers can adopt another translation that may be shorter in terms of the total number of characters.

Instance 8:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:43:00)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:20

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
وَالْأُمِّيِّينَ أَسْلَمْتُمْ فَإِنْ أَسْلَمُوا فَقَدِ اهْتَدَوْا وَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ الْبَلَاغُ وَاللَّهُ بَصِيرٌ بِالْعِبَادِ	RECITING THE QURAN	“And to those who are illiterates (Arab pagans): "Do you (also) submit yourselves (to Allah in Islam)?" If they do, they are rightly guided; but if they turn away, your duty is only to convey the Message; and Allah is All-Seer of (His) slaves” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.70).

Figure 58

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:00)



Figure 59

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:02)



Figure 60

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:05)



Figure 61

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:08)



Figure 62

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:12)



Figure 63

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:15)



This instance is a part of Q3:20, namely from Surah آل عمران [the Family of Imran]. The whole verse is *فَإِنْ حَاجُّوكَ فَقُلْ أَسْلَمْتُ وَجْهِيَ لِلَّهِ وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِ ۗ وَقُلْ لِلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ وَالْأُمِّيِّينَ أَسْلَمْتُمْ ۗ فَإِنْ أَسْلَمُوا* فَقَدِ اهْتَدَوْا ۗ وَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ الْبَلَاغُ ۗ وَاللَّهُ بَصِيرٌ بِالْعِبَادِ, which means in English:

So if they dispute with you (Muhammad SAW) say: "I have submitted myself to Allah (in Islam), and (so have) those who follow me." And say to those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) and to those who are illiterates (Arab pagans): "Do you (also) submit yourselves (to Allah in Islam)?" If they do, they are rightly guided; but if they turn away, your duty is only to convey the Message; and Allah is All-Seer of (His) slaves. (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.70)

The man in the scene continues reciting the Quran, particularly a part of Q3:20. Instance 8 was rendered into English using the same strategy utilised for subtitling Instances 6 and 7, the compensation strategy. The subtitlers used the description, RECITING THE QURAN, in capital letters and kept it stay on the screen until the ST utterance ends.

The utilisation of the compensation strategy may not necessarily be attributed to technical constraints. With regards to time allocation, the recitation of the Quranic verse can be completed within 15 seconds, allowing for it to be covered in three intervals or

"slots," each spanning 5 seconds. In terms of space, the total character count of the back translation is 198 (in the case that the subtitlers use this translation. However, the subtitlers can adopt another translation that may be shorter in terms of the total number of characters). With a simple calculation, it can be determined that the subtitles for the recitation of the Quranic verse can be displayed on the screen for a total of 15 seconds, with each slot spanning 5 seconds. This provides subtitlers with the ability to display the Quranic reference in three slots, with two lines of subtitles containing a total of 84 characters in each slot. In doing so, subtitlers can fit over 250 characters within the three slots of time allotted.

From an ideological point of view, utilising the compensation strategy might be due to the implied meaning of this part of the verse, which is that if the believers of other Scriptures surrender themselves to Allah (i.e., if they become Muslims), they will be rightly guided otherwise the duty of the Prophet Muhammad is only to inform them, and Allah is the seer of all his servants/ creatures (including the unbelievers). It also might have been due to the subtitlers' decision that it is not plot-pertinent and describing what is uttered in the ST is enough for the readers of the subtitles.

Upon examining the subtitling of this particular verse in isolation from other instances in the same film, it cannot be definitively suggested that there is a higher probability of ideological manipulation. However, a comprehensive analysis of all the verses that were subtitled in the same film by the same subtitlers, conducted at the summary section, may provide greater clarity and potentially reveal whether or not there was indeed ideological manipulation.

Instance 9:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:43:16)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q24:44

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
<p>إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةً لِّأُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ</p>	<p>VARIOUS VOICES AIDING RECITATION</p>	<p>“Truly, in these things is indeed a lesson for those who have insight” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan,1984, p.474).</p>

Figure 64

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:16)



This instance is a part of Q24:44, namely from Surah النور [the Light]. The whole verse is *يُقَلِّبُ اللَّهُ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ ۗ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةً لِّأُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ*, which means in English:

Allah causes the night and the day to succeed each other (i.e., if the day is gone, the night comes, and if the night is gone, the day comes, and so on). Truly, in these things is indeed a lesson for those who have insight. (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan,1984, p.474)

The recitation of this Quranic reference immediately follows the previous instance, and it seems in the ST that it is from the same Surah Q3:20. However, it does not belong to the same Surah, as it is from Q24:44. Again, the subtitlers utilised the compensation strategy to render this Quranic reference into English by providing a description, VARIOUS VOICES AIDING RECITATION, in capital letters to imply what the ST utterance is, especially in this scene, more than one person recites the same verse of the Quran.

Utilising the compensation strategy might have been due to something other than technical constraints. In terms of space, this ST utterance can be fitted in two lines since the total number of its back translation is only 56. However, the subtitlers are more likely to have used the compensation strategy because they might have thought that reciting this part of the verse is not plot-pertinent and that providing a general description of what is uttered in the ST is enough for the readers of the subtitles. In addition, the meaning implied in this part (is not fully comprehensible without the other part of the verse, which is not uttered at all in the ST. Therefore, translating this part does not make sense to the readers of the subtitles. Hence, utilising the compensation strategy to subtitle this Quranic reference is less likely to subject to ideologically manipulation.

Instance 10:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:43:20)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:14

Subtitling Strategy: Compensation

ST	TT	Back Translation
وَالْفَنَاطِيرِ الْمُقَنْطَرَةِ مِنَ الذَّهَبِ وَالْفِضَّةِ	VARIOUS VOICES AIDING RECITATION	“Much of gold and silver (wealth)” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.69).

Figure 65

A screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:20)



Figure 66

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:43:23)



This instance is a part of Q3:14, namely from Surah آل عمران [the Family of Imran]. The whole verse is زُيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ حُبُّ الشَّهَوَاتِ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ وَالْبَنِينَ وَالْقَنَاطِيرِ الْمُقَنْطَرَةِ مِنَ الذَّهَبِ وَالْفِضَّةِ وَالْخَيْلِ وَالْأَنْعَامِ وَالْحَرْثِ ۗ ذَلِكَ مَتَاعُ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا ۗ وَاللَّهُ عِنْدَهُ حُسْنُ الْمَبَاقِ , which means in English:

Beautified for men is the love of things they covet; women, children, much of gold and silver (wealth), branded beautiful horses, cattle and well-tilled land. This is the pleasure of the present world’s life; but Allah has the excellent return (Paradise with flowing rivers, etc.) with Him. (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan,1984, p.69)

Again, the subtitlers utilise the compensation strategy by adding the following description, VARIOUS VOICES AIDING RECITATION since many people are involved in the scene of reciting this part of the verse. In addition, the meaning implied in this part would only be fully comprehensible by adding a translation of the other part of the verse, which is not uttered at all in the ST. Therefore, translating this part does not make sense to the readers of the subtitles. Like the previous instance, utilising the compensation strategy to subtitle this Quranic reference is less likely to subject to ideologically manipulation.

Instance 11:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: 00:45:59

Verse reference in the Quran: Q3:159

Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
وان كنت فظا غليظ القلب لانفضوا من حولك	if you have been rude in speech and austere in your heart, everyone will forsake you.”	“And had you been severe and harsh hearted, they would have broken away from about you” (Al- Hilali & Muhsin Khan,1984, p.97).

Figure 67

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:45:27)

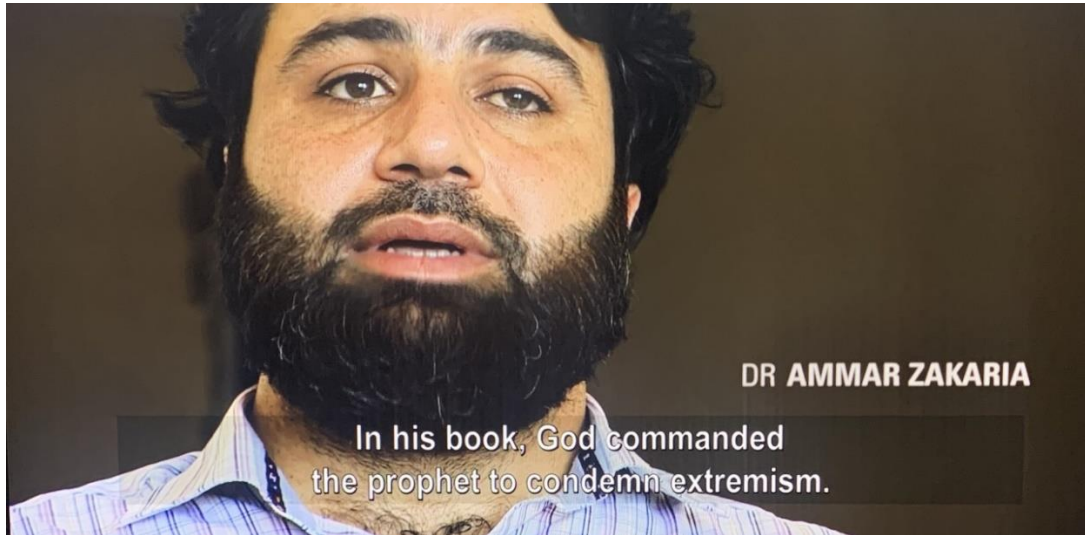


Figure 68

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:45:30)



Figure 69

A Screenshot from *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:45:36)



This instance is a part of Q3:159, namely from Surah عمران [the Family of Imran]. The whole verse is: *فَبِمَا رَحْمَةٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ لِنْتَ لَهُمْ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لَانْفَضُّوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ* وَأَسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ, which means in English:

And by the Mercy of Allah, you dealt with them gently. And had you been severe and harsh hearted, they would have broken away from about you; so pass over (their faults) and ask (Allah's) Forgiveness for them; and consult them in the affairs. Then when you have taken a decision, put your trust in Allah, certainly, Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him). (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.97)

This part of Q3:159 is mentioned in the ST as evidence from the Quran that Islam condemns extremism. The speaker in the ST firstly says, "الله عز وجل امر رسوله صلى الله عليه", which was subtitled into English as *In his book, God commanded the prophet to condemn extremism*. Then immediately, the ST speaker says "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم", which was also rendered into "in the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate". Then the ST speaker continues saying, "وان كنت فظا غليظا", which was rendered into "if you have been rude in speech and austere in your heart, everyone will forsake you". The subtitlers utilised the literal

translation strategy to render this part of the verse into English and enclosed it and the preceding utterance, *Bismillah*, inside quotation marks to indicate that it is a direct quotation from the Quran or, as mentioned in the TT, *the book of God*.

This verse indicates that the Prophet was commanded by Allah (and thus, all Muslims should follow Allah's command) to deal with people kindly and gently. Allah tells the Prophet, "By the Mercy of Allah, you dealt with them gently. And had you been severe and harsh hearted, they would have broken away from about you" (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.97). The implied meaning of this instance is very significant and in favour of Islam as a religion. It indicates that Islam generally encourages Muslims (including the Prophet Muhammad) to be tolerant and merciful but not rude and rough. Although the tense of this event was in the past and is addressed to the Prophet, it is common for Muslims to cite this part of the verse as a reminder to be merciful and truly kind to others. This image of Islam, in this instance, contradicts the negative representation of Islam presented by some Western media outlets as a religion of violence. By doing so, one might say that the subtitlers might have considered this part of the verse plot pertinent in the sense that it is relevant to the previous utterance where the ST speaker asserts that Islam is against extremism/violence and therefore should be translated fully.

However, investigating the 63 English translations available on <https://www.islamawakned.com/quran/1/1/default.htm>, it is found that the TT of this verse is similar to the one mentioned in *The Quran English Meanings* by Umm Muhammad (2008)¹²⁰; the total number of the characters is 69 which does not exceed the traditional norm in subtitling. By comparing this particular instance with other instances in the same film where the subtitlers opted not to provide translations despite the absence of any technical limitations (Instances 9 and 10), one could argue that subtitling this Quranic reference is susceptible to ideological manipulation.

¹²⁰ see <https://www.islamawakened.com/quran/3/159/default.htm>

Instance 12:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:55:48)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q22: 39

Subtitling Strategy: Omission

ST	TT	Back Translation
أَذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ	-	“Permission to fight (against disbelievers) is given to those (believers) who are fought against, because they have been wronged; and surely, Allah is Able to give them (believers) victory-” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.448).

Figure 70

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:55:48)



This instance is Q22: 39, namely from Surah الحج [the Pilgrimage]. The subtitlers utilised the omission strategy. The decision to remove this verse may have been due to technical constraints in the sense that the total number of the characters of the translation of the utterance (e.g., *fighting is permitted to those who are fought against because they*

were wronged and surely Allah is able to help them) is 99, which exceeds the recommended subtitling norms which stipulate a maximum of 42 characters per line, with a maximum of two lines totalling 84 characters. However, the subtitlers may also have decided to omit this verse completely and not subtitle any part of it (i.e., using other subtitling strategies, such as condensation, as they did in other cases in the same film) due to its implied meaning.

As mentioned in the *Tafseer Aljalalaen*¹²¹ of the Quran on page 337, this verse is the first verse of the Quran that was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad to give him and his companions the permission to fight against the disbelievers who wronged them and drove them out of Makkah to Medina, reassuring them that Allah surely is able to help them. The ST speaker (a military general physician in the Syrian regime) recites this verse in the scene as the opening utterance of his speech to announce that he is no longer with the Syrian regime and is now fighting against it. The ST speaker uses this verse as evidence from the Quran that fighting is permitted in Islam in such an unjust case (in the sense that the Syrian regime led by Assad unjustly and violently dealt with his people). The second part of the verse, *وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ*, [Allah is able to give them victory], is voiced over by an English narrator saying, “it was the most famous escape from Assad’s army”, which also appears on the screen as a closed caption (CC) subtitle, as shown in Figure 71 below. By doing so, the subtitlers may have considered that this part of the verse is not plot pertinent. Accordingly, the subtitling of this Quranic reference exemplifies a case where the interplay of ideological and technical manipulation is particularly evident.

¹²¹ By Imam Jalaluddin al-Mahalli and Jalaluddin al-Suyuti.

Figure 71

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (00:55:50)



Instance 13:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (00:55:52)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q22: 40

Subtitling Strategy: Omission

ST	TT	Back Translation
الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ	-	“Those who have been expelled from their homes unjustly only because they said: "Our Lord is Allah” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.448).

(either by using the compensation strategy or even the condensation strategy). Therefore, it is probable that this instance was handled through the use of certain ideological manipulations.

Instance 14:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:10)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q1:1

Subtitling Strategy: Subtitling Couplet (Literal translation + Loan)

ST	TT	Back Translation
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	In the name of Allah, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful!	“In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.1).

Figure 73

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:02)

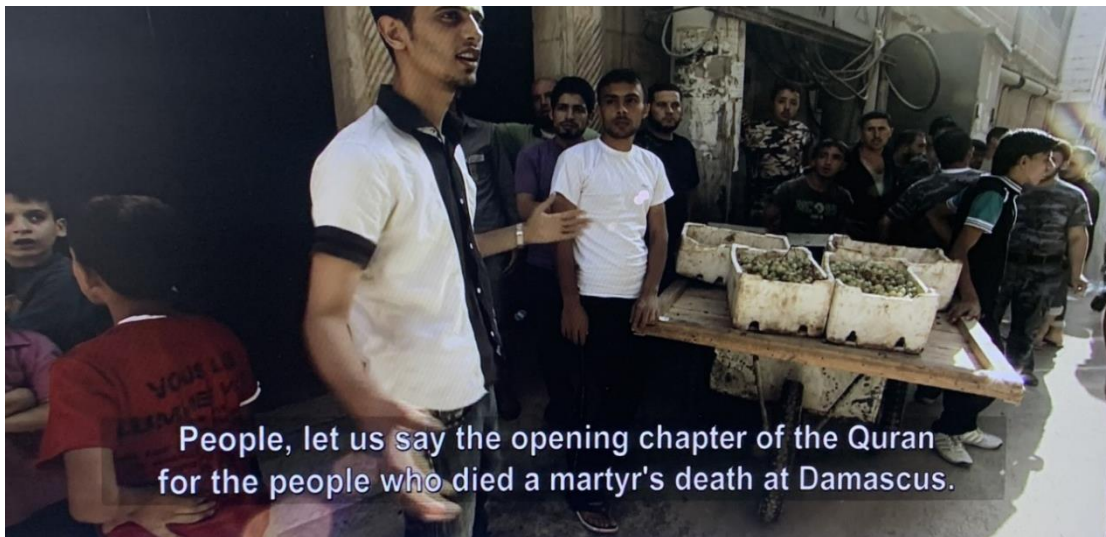


Figure 74

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:07)



Figure 75

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:10)



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ , which means in English “In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.1) is the first verse of الفاتحة , [the opening chapter of the Quran/ Al-Fatihah]. “This sura is seen to be a precise table of contents of the Quranic message. It is very important in Islamic worship, being an obligatory part of the daily prayer, repeated several times during the day” (Abdel Haleem, 2005, p.3). Al-Fatihah is considered a Muslim prayer for mercy and guidance obtained from Allah. It contains both supplication and thanksgiving. It is the belief in the mercy and power of Allah. It talks about the relationship between Allah as the God of all mankind.

The speaker in the ST asks people in the film to recite this Surah for the souls of martyrs killed at Damascus. As part of the tradition in many Muslim countries, people usually recite this chapter as a prayer for the soul of dead Muslims, asking Allah to bestow His mercy on them¹²². Interestingly, the subtitlers translate all the verses of this Surah, although it looks so long and can be shortened or omitted. The primary subtitling strategy adopted by subtitlers is the literal translation strategy. In addition, the subtitlers use the strategy of loan twice to render the word الله into *Allah* mentioned in this Surah into English.

This instance, Q1:1, starts with two other names of Allah. The first one is الرَّحْمَنُ , which is the name of Allah “whose bounties are open to anyone even without asking whether they be believer or disbeliever, righteous or sinner” (Ozek et al.,1996, p. XVI). This meaning is fully expressed in the TT by using the adverb *Entirely* before the adjective *Merciful*. The second one is الرَّحِيمُ , which is the name of Allah whose bounties are open only to the believers in the hereafter (Ozek et al.,1996); this meaning is also fully expressed in the TT by using the adverb *Especially*. This fully expressed translation may reflect the professionalism of the subtitlers by providing adequate English translations of the Arabic words الرَّحْمَنُ and الرَّحِيمُ . However, investigating the 63 English translations available on <https://www.islamawakned.com/quran/1/1/default.htm>, it is found that the TT of this verse is in the same as that in *The Qur'an English Meanings* by Umm Muhammad (2008)¹²³. Therefore, it is likely to be quoted directly from this translation.

¹²² even though there is no evidence from the Quran or Sunnah (Hadith) that reciting this Surah in this context is an obligatory or recommended religious activity.

¹²³ See <https://www.islamawakned.com/quran/1/1/>

Upon examining the subtitling of this particular verse in isolation from other instances in the same film, it cannot be definitively suggested that there is a higher probability of ideological manipulation.

The following instances (No.15 - No.20) are the remaining verses of Surah Al-Fatiha. The film subtitlers seem they have adopted the English translation by Umm Muhammad (2008). There are no technical constraints that would hinder the subtitlers from fully translate these verses. Like the above instance, investigating each verse in isolation from the other verses/instances in the same film, one might not be able to identify any traces of potential ideological manipulation. However, a comprehensive analysis of all the verses that were subtitled in the same film by the same subtitlers, conducted at the summary section, may provide greater clarity, and potentially reveal whether or not there was indeed ideological manipulation. Henceforth, the following instances of the remaining verses of Surah Al-Fatihah are explicated solely with respect to their implied meaning. The final determination regarding the presence of any indications of ideological manipulation shall be deferred until the summary section.

Instance 15:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:12)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q1: 2

Subtitling Strategy: Subtitling couplet (Literal translation + Loan)

ST	TT	Back Translation
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ	Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds.	“All praise and thanks are Allah’s, the Lord of the ‘Alamin’ (mankind, jinn and all that exists)” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.1).

Figure 76

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:12)



This instance is Q1:2. It confirms the praise be to Allah, the Lord of all worlds, including the physical, metaphysical or spiritual world as clearly interpreted by scholars, such as Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984) and Ozek et al. (1996). Two strategies are utilised to render this verse into English: Loan (using the word *Allah*) and literal translation (*Praise and Lord of the worlds*).

Instance 16:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:14)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q1:3

Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ	The Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful,	“The Most Gracious, the Most Merciful” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.1).

Figure 77

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:14)



This instance is Q1:3. It is a confirmation of the two names of Allah: الرَّحْمَنُ [the Entirely Merciful] and الرَّحِيمُ [the Especially Merciful], as discussed previously in Instance 14.

Instance 17:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:15)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q1:4

Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ	Sovereign of the Day of Recompense.	“The Only Owner (and the Only Ruling Judge) of the Day of Recompense (i.e., the Day of Resurrection)” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.1).

Figure 78

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:15)



This instance is Q1:4. It confirms that the Allah is the Master of the Day of Judgment. The Day of Judgment, also known as the Day of Resurrection or the Last Day, is a belief in many religions, including Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, that refers to a time when God will judge all human beings for their deeds and beliefs during their lifetime. It is believed that on this day, the dead will be resurrected, and God will judge each person based on their faith, actions, and intentions. The righteous will be rewarded with paradise, while the wicked will be punished in hell. This belief emphasises the accountability of human beings for their actions and serves as a motivation to lead a righteous life.

Instance 18:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:17)

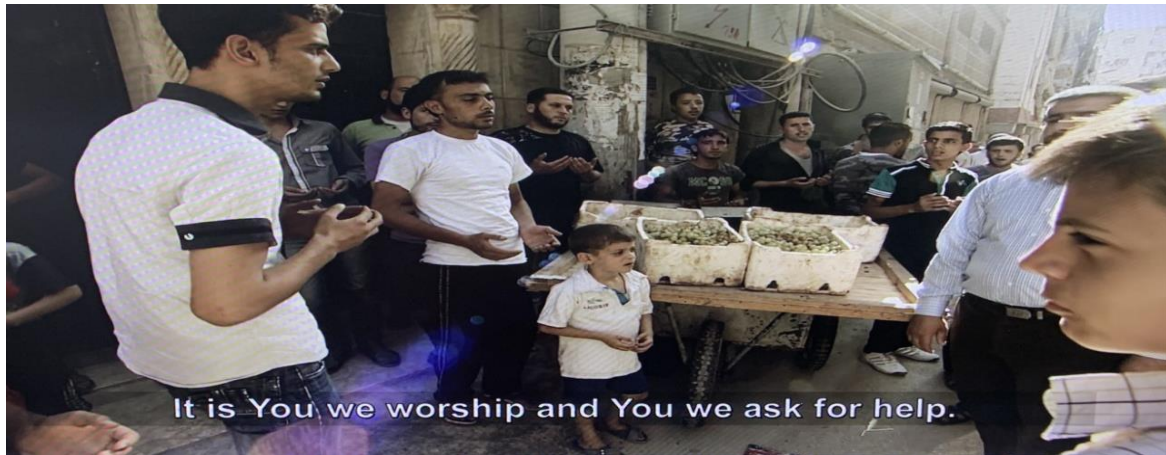
Verse reference in the Quran: Q1:5

Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ	It is You we worship and You we ask for help.	“You (Alone) we worship, and You (Alone) we ask for help (for each and everything)” (Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.2).

Figure 79

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:17)



This instance is Q1:5. It is a confirmation that Allah is God that should be worshipped and the one who should be asked for help.

Instance 19:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:20)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q1:6

Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ	Guide us to the straight path.	“Guide us to the Straight Way” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.2).

Figure 80

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), TS (01:19:20)



This instance is Q1:6. It is the request from the servants to Allah to guide them to the straight path and keep them without swerving (Ozek et al., 1996).

Instance 20:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:19:22)

Verse reference in the Quran: Q1:7

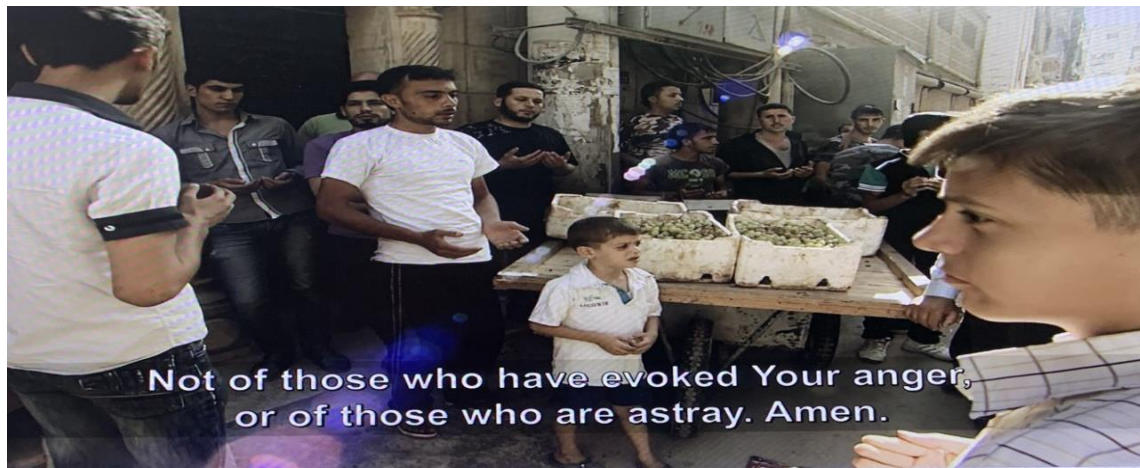
Subtitling Strategy: Literal translation

ST	TT	Back Translation
صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ	-The path of those upon whom you have bestowed favour;	The way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace, not (the way) of those who earned Your Anger (i.e., those whose intentions are perverted; they know the Truth, yet do not follow it), nor of those who went astray (i.e.,

	-Not of those who have evoked Your anger, or of those who are astray. Amen.	those who have lost the (true) knowledge, so they wander in error, and are not guided to the Truth)” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, pp.1-2).
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Figure 81

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:19:24)



This instance is Q1:7. It completes the meaning of the previous verse by defining the straight path that believers ask Allah to guide them to. The straight path refers to the way followed by those people who have bestowed Allah’s grace, not the one followed by those people who have earned Allah’s anger or those who are astray.

As demonstrated, the subtitlers have completely translated all verses of Surah Al-Fatiha (Instances No.14 - No.20). From both the technical and semantic standpoint (i.e., the implied meaning of the verses), there are no hindrances for subtitlers to provide a complete translation of these verses. In addition, looking at the subtitling of each verse of Surah Al-Fatiha in isolation from the other instances in the same film, it seems that there is not any potential trace of ideological manipulation. However, an in-depth examination of all the

subtitle verses within the same film and produced by the same subtitlers, carried out in the summary section, could offer improved understanding and uncover any possible ideological manipulation.

Instance 21:

Film: *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski)

Timestamp: (01:24:06)

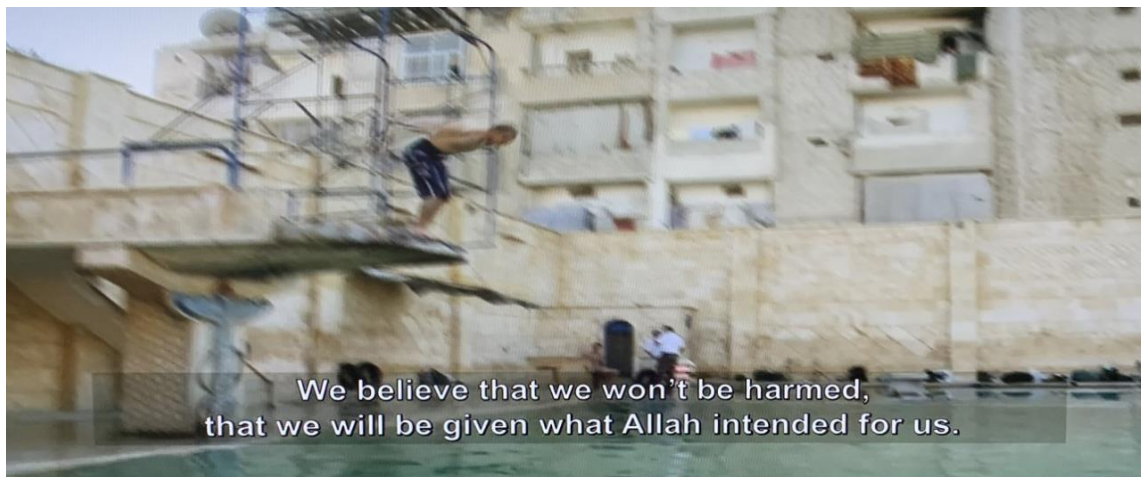
Verse reference in the Quran: Q9:51

Subtitling Strategy: Subtitling couplet (Literal translation + Loan)

ST	TT	Back Translation
لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا	we will be given what Allah intended for us	“Say: Nothing shall ever happen to us except what Allah has ordained for us” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.252).

Figure 82

A Screenshot from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski), TS (01:24:06)



This instance is Q9:51, namely from Surah التوبة [Repentance]. The whole verse is قُلْ لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا هُوَ مَوْلَانَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ, which means “Say: Nothing shall ever

happen to us except what Allah has ordained for us. He is our Maula (Lord, Helper and Protector). And in Allah let the believers put their trust” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.252). It is a verse commonly cited as a source of comfort on occasions of fear or danger. In the ST, this part of the verse is preceded by a sentence *ونحن على علم وتمام اليقين انه*, which literally means [we know and are fully aware]. This sentence implies that the speaker strongly believes that what happens to them is what Allah intended for them. The subtitlers utilise literal translation strategy to render this part of the verse into English and the strategy of loan to render the word *الله* [Allah] into English. The ST and TT do not indicate that this instance is a part of a verse from the Quran. Only Muslims who are used to reciting the Quran know that it is mentioned in the Quran. Regarding both the technical constraints and the implied meaning of this Quranic reference, subtitlers faced no obstacles to translate it completely. In addition, looking at this instance in isolation from the other instances in the same film, it seems that there is no potential trace of ideological manipulation.

Section Summary

Generally speaking, subtitling verses of the Quran is a very challenging task. Unlike other modes of translation, subtitling as a form of audiovisual translation is restricted by technical constraints, such as the time and space allocated to the TT on the screen. While literary translators, for example, have footnotes to add supplementary information to make the meaning and intricacies of the ST clearer to the TT audience, the subtitlers only have a little space on the screen. Usually, the subtitle slot should contain a maximum of 84 characters in two lines. The Quran is known for its very rhetorical language. In addition, it is rich in culturally specific items, metaphors, and narratives.

Notably, to fully render the verses of the Quran into another language, translators /subtitlers would need to refer to the context of the verses (e.g., any historical events related to the verse, why and when it was revealed, and what the religious message implied). Rendering verses out of context can contribute to the mistranslation of the verse and then misinterpretation, which may contribute to the misrepresentation of Islam as a religion. In addition, Quranic verses are known with their intricate nature, which can contain complex

syntax, rich imagery, and multiple layers of meaning. Therefore, it can be challenging to accurately capture their full depth and nuance in the limited space of a 42-character subtitle line. Moreover, some of the Quranic verses have been the subject of extensive theological debates throughout history, further highlighting the difficulty of conveying their full meaning within such constraints.

Therefore, some subtitlers may prefer to adopt other readily available English translations of the Quran and slightly modify them to fit the space allocated on the screen. For example, the subtitlers of the documentary film *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski) seem to have referred to *The Quran English Meanings* by Umm Muhammad (2008)¹²⁴ for the verses they fully rendered into English with a very slight modification in two verses to make them fitted the space on the screen.

In addition, both the in-house guidelines of the broadcasting platforms and those issued by ESIST do not address religious-cultural items in general and Islamic items in particular. Netflix, for example, advises the subtitlers to subtitle cultural items, including religious ones, only if they are plot pertinent.

However, any manipulation of subtitling verses of the Quran is not necessarily due to technical constraints or to the nature of the verses of the Quran as a Scripture and as a complex highly literally text. Sometimes, it can be due to the meaning implied in the verses of the Quran themselves, whether they are in line with the purpose of the film or not or whether they conflict with the beliefs of other religions (i.e., the target audience).

At the first glance, one might say that subtitling some instances is not subject to any ideological motives, as the cases of the verses of Surah Al-Fatiha (Instances 14-20) and Instance 21. However, a comparison of these instances to others within the same film, where the subtitlers faced no technical limitations in fully translating them (e.g., Instances 9 and 10), reveals a more nuanced picture. By examining the verses that have been fully translated in contrast to those that have not been translated (e.g., utilising omission or

¹²⁴ The reason behind adopting this English translation of the Quran rather than other translations is unknown since I could not interview the subtitlers.

compensation strategies), it is possible to assert that there may be a potential case of ideological manipulation. Specifically, the untranslated verses in full pertain to other religions or references to fighting. In addition, certain untranslated verses may need to be understood in the context of the surrounding verses or supplemented by other verses within the same Surah in order to avoid misinterpretation or misrepresentation of the intended message of a Surah. However, those that have been translated relate to the general attributes of Allah or highlight the beautiful attributes of Islam as a religion. Moreover, some of the translated instances are considered less prone to misinterpretation or misrepresentation, as they may not require contextual information. For example, in the case of the verses of Al-Fatiha, all the verses of the Surah are typically recited in the source text and therefore translated in the target text. Moreover, there are no technical limitations that would prevent translators from translating these verses in full. Notably, these translated and untranslated instances appear in the same film and were subtitled by the same subtitlers, further suggesting the possibility of ideological manipulation.

Avoiding subtitling verses about fighting / Jihad and non-Muslims may be for many reasons. For example, the reason behind this attitude in translating such verses of the Quran may be due to the general purpose of the documentary films subtitled into English to address Western audiences, which include both Muslims and non-Muslims. The subtitlers may not want to include any element in the TT that can have negative implications for the target audience, which may undermine or defy the main purpose of producing the documentary films (i.e., raising the global audience's awareness about the Syrian war and its implications on the Syrians). In addition, the subtitlers may also avoid translating such verses because they believe they are not theologically and religiously qualified to translate such verses. Furthermore, translating such verses out of the original context in which they were revealed may contribute to mistranslation and misinterpretation. Additionally, the nature of audiovisual translation and subtitling, in particular, is distinctive with its technical constraints that do not provide enough space and time to add any extra information and explanation of such verses. By doing so, the TT may reinforce misconceptions and stereotypical views of Islam as hostile towards non-Muslims.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter introduces the data analysis based on the third stage in Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA (1989/1995). This stage of analysis is called *Description*, which provides micro-analysis based on the previous two stages of the analysis: explanation (social practices) and interpretation (discursive practices). Remarkably, this chapter indicates how technical and ideological manipulation (in the form of islamisation or deislamisation of the TT) can be achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels. It also sheds light on the cases of technical and ideological manipulation overlapping. The discussion in this chapter is divided into two groups: the Quranic material and non-Quranic material.

In the section on the non-Quranic material, the discussion is divided into two subsections. The first one discusses the subtitling strategies employed to render some lexical words (including their derivatives) into English and whether the Islamic connotation is kept in the TT (i.e., islamising or islamising the word in the TT), shedding light on some potential traces of technical and ideological manipulation.

The second subsection discusses how subtitlers can manipulate the grammatical structures of the TT utterances to islamise or deislamise the TT. Mainly, the subtitlers change the grammatical structures to remove the lexical items that have Islamic connotations (e.g., by changing the active voice sentences into passive voice (i.e., passivation) or by changing the structure of the optative sentences to omit the agent). The subtitlers also manipulate the punctuations of the lexical items to make their grammatical structures ambiguous, where the Islamic connotation can be removed from the lexical item based on one of the potential interpretations (e.g., using a comma for appositives in a list of items). The subtitlers also depend on the grammatical shifts when translating from two languages with different syntactic structures to manipulate the TT (e.g., the difference between the structure of adjectives in Arabic and English). Finally, the subtitlers can keep the lexical items with Islamic connotations in the TT and manipulate the tense of the verbs (e.g., changing it from the present tense into the past tense) to deislamise the presupposition of the TT utterance. I call this case *Metaphorical Deislamisation*. It is

metaphorical because the lexical items with Islamic connotations are still kept in the TT utterances (i.e., visible). However, the presupposition, the implied meaning, of the TT utterance reflects the removal of Islamic connotations from the presupposition of the ST utterance.

The section on Quranic material discusses the subtitling strategies employed to render the verses of the Quran (as an entire verse or as a part of a verse, based on how it is mentioned in the ST). It also sheds light on any potential traces of technical and ideological manipulation. It is found that the subtitlers mostly choose the compensation strategy to provide a description of what is uttered rather than a definition. In other cases, the subtitlers employ literal translation, omission, and condensation. Since the verses of the Quran are usually long, the subtitlers employ the *subtitling couplet*, where two subtitling strategies are used together to subtitle one ICI. Pedersen (2005) emphasises that it is normal to combine two strategies to render a specific cultural item. Nevertheless, this study introduces the term *Subtitling Couplet* to refer to the practice of combining two strategies for subtitling a single cultural item, which has not been formally identified as a term before.

This section has also revealed that the level of islamisation in translated text can be classified into two categories: high and low. A high level of islamisation involves the complete translation of a Quranic verse, including the use of the phrase "Allah says" and a full explanation of its meaning. On the other hand, a low level of islamisation employs a compensation strategy, such as the use of *RECITING THE QURAN* to describe the verse in the source text, providing only its origin as Scripture. While both levels of islamisation contribute to the overall islamisation of the translated text, it should be noted that the former strategy, with its comprehensive treatment of the verse, leads to a higher density of islamisation in the target text. In other words, it has a greater impact on the level of islamisation of the target text than the latter strategy, which only involves one word, and is therefore less dense in the target text.

Moreover, it is found that subtitlers may take the primary purpose of the documentary films, which is to document and raise awareness about social, political, humanitarian, or

sociocultural issues for the target audience (the Western audience, which most of them are non-Muslims), into account when subtitling verses of the Quran. They are found to avoid providing translations of verses about the Jihad/fighting non-Muslims and Islam as the only accepted religion by Allah, either by using the omission strategy or compensation with only a description of what is uttered in the ST as only *Reciting the Quran*. However, they provide translations of verses about Allah's attributes (e.g., merciful) and Islamic teachings that do not conflict with the beliefs of other religions or are not likely to offend their followers.

Moreover, it is found that looking at individual instances of the subtitled Quranic verses in isolation is not enough to determine whether or not there is any trace of ideological manipulation, and that a comprehensive analysis of all verses within the same film is necessary. In addition, it is found that subtitling such verses out of context can lead to misinterpretation and contribute to negative stereotypes of Islam. Ultimately, examining the translated and untranslated or partially translated verses within the same film, taken into consideration the technical constraints, can reveal potential cases of ideological manipulation.

The next chapter, *Conclusion*, lists and discusses all the research findings in detail. It also revisits the research questions. In addition, it summarises the contributions of the research and the key themes in the study. Finally, it addresses the study's limitations and provides suggestions for further research.

Conclusion

The present study investigates the subtitling strategies of Islamic cultural items and delves into the intricacies of subtitling Islamic cultural items from Arabic into English within the context of documentary films. The task of subtitling these cultural items poses significant challenges for subtitlers, as they are constrained by the technical limitations of subtitling as a mode of audiovisual translation. Furthermore, rendering religious cultural items necessitates a thorough understanding of the meanings and functions of such items in discourse. The subtitling process in this context is further complicated by a range of social practices and cultural factors, such as the diversity of Islamic sects and thus the diversity of the Islamic language and concepts that may be presented in the ST and TT; the religious beliefs of the subtitlers and people involved in the process of subtitling such as editors and representatives of subtitling, producing, and broadcasting companies; the negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the West, and potentially islamophobia. These factors can influence the subtitlers' choice of strategies in subtitling Islamic cultural items.

Given the lack of specialised guidelines for subtitling religious cultural items, particularly those of an Islamic nature, issued by academic research institutions, subtitling organisations, or broadcasting platforms, it is investigated that a taxonomy of subtitling strategies based on empirical data would be helpful for academics and professionals working in the field. This taxonomy would serve as a guide for subtitlers and researchers, allowing for a critical analysis of the subtitling process from various perspectives, such as the subtitlers' religious attitudes or ideologies. Therefore, the aim of this study is to conduct research on this topic in order to fully understand the subtitling process of ICIs and any potential ideological manipulation that may occur in the form of islamisation or deislamisation of the TT, as ICIs are items that belong to or emerge from the religion of Islam. It is important to emphasise that there are few attempts to identify the translation strategies of religious cultural items, such as Elewa (2014), who adopted the same translation strategies proposed by Newmark (1988) for translating culturally specific items. However, there has not yet been any study to identify the subtitling strategies of ICIs,

considering the technical constraints. This study makes a significant contribution by delving deeply into the subtitling of Islamic cultural items (ICIs) as a distinct field within audiovisual translation. It offers a taxonomy of subtitling strategies specific to ICIs, which can be applied to other genres beyond documentaries, including dramas and comedies. Additionally, this taxonomy can be tested to see if it can be applied to other religious cultural items, such as those related to Christianity. The study also identifies the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of the target discourse in audiovisual translation, which is a first in the literature, and provides a comprehensive lexico-grammatical analysis of how this phenomenon can be achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels of discourse. Finally, this study is the first in Arabic-English subtitling studies to cover the documentary genre and is one of the few studies in the global audiovisual translation field.

Accordingly, this chapter revisits the research questions outlined in the introductory chapter. It also lists the findings emerging from the data analysis. The general observations highlighted in this study are also summarised and discussed in relation to the research questions. The main contributions of the thesis are also presented, along with an examination of the strengths and limitations of the study's methodology and scope. Finally, recommendations and suggestions for future research are provided.

Research Questions Revisited

In this section, the research questions are revisited and answered based on the findings of the research. The research questions are:

- **What strategies do subtitlers adopt to subtitle the Islamic cultural terms in documentary films?**
 - **What are the most and least frequently used strategies employed by subtitlers in rendering ICIs?**
 - **How do subtitlers approach the subtitling of verses from the Quran, which are considered ICIs and sacred texts, into English?**

This research examines a case study, rendering ICIs from Arabic into English in the genre of documentary films as represented in nine films broadcast on Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Channel 4 (All 4).

Based on the empirical analysis, nine strategies: loan, literal translation, substitution, transposition, addition, compensation, dummy compensation, omission, and condensation, have been identified in subtitling ICIs. It is found that the most frequently employed strategy is omission, with a percentage of 48.3%. Then, transposition comes in the second position with a percentage of 16.8%. Literal translation, condensation, Substitution, compensation, and loan follow with a slight difference in percentage: 7.7%, 6.7%, 5.8%, 5.8%, and 5.1%, respectively. Then, dummy compensation follows with a percentage of 3.6%. The least frequently used strategy is addition, with a percentage of 0.2%.

The presented taxonomy has been applied to empirical data consisting of Arabic ICIs and their corresponding English subtitles. By utilising this taxonomy on a diverse range of data collected from various documentaries broadcasted on different platforms, produced by different companies, and subtitled or translated into English by different subtitlers or translators, this extensive application of the taxonomy demonstrates its reflection of the subtitling norms of ICIs in a broader context.

As a distinctive type of ICIs, Quranic verses or portions thereof, are typically rendered into TT utilising five subtitling strategies: literal translation, compensation, loan, condensation, and omission. Three verses of the Quran are subtitled using the *Subtitling Couplet*, two subtitling strategies utilised to render one ICI into English. An analysis of the subtitling practices of the verses of the Quran reveals that some subtitlers utilise pre-existing translations while others engage in independent translation of the verses. Additionally, the implied meaning of the verses plays a crucial role in determining the subtitling approach employed. It is found that certain verses pertaining to fighting (jihad) and other religions are not fully translated into English, with some being omitted or compensated for, while verses discussing general attributes of God, such as mercy, are more fully rendered into English.

- **To what extent do video-on-demand broadcasting platforms influence the subtitling process of ICIs in documentary films?**

Video-on-demand platforms vary in their influence on the process of subtitling in general. Some, like Amazon Prime, do not mention any subtitling guidelines at all. In contrast, others, like Netflix and Channel 4 (All 4), have published guidelines mainly concerned with technical constraints, such as the limited number of characters in each line of subtitles. However, guidelines concerned with the content of the subtitles are very limited. Only instructions on which repetition items should be omitted in a second occurrence have been published by Netflix and Channel 4 (All 4).

Regarding subtitling religious (including Islamic) cultural items or religious language in general, no subtitling guidelines have been issued at all by the platforms. Consequently, if there exists the possibility of ideological manipulation, it may be carried out by subtitlers rather than video-on-demand platforms.

- **Is there any trace of manipulation involved in the process of subtitling ICIs?**
 - **If manipulation is detected, what is its cause: technical constraints or ideological manipulation in the form of (de)islamisation of the target text?**
 - **In the case of ideological manipulation, how is it achieved at the lexical and grammatical level in the subtitling process?**

An analysis of the data is carried out based on the subtitling guidelines that are issued by scholars in the field of audiovisual translation, by specialised subtitling committees and organisations (e.g., the code issued by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST)), and by the video-on-demand broadcasting platforms (namely, Netflix and Channel 4 (All 4)). Comparing the ST to the TT in light of the prescriptive subtitling guidelines illustrates that there is a manipulation in the subtitling ICIs. Technical constraints affect the process of subtitling ICIs. This research has found that technical constraints of the subtitling mode present a significant challenge for most ICIs, particularly

when the ICIs are already long in the source text (ST). In other cases, fully rendering ICIs into the target text (TT) often necessitates the inclusion of additional information to ensure their comprehensibility in the TT, which in most cases does not fit within the constraints of space and time of subtitles.

To answer the sub-question of whether there are any potential traces of ideological manipulation either to intentionally Islamise or deislamise the TT, the CDA model by Fairclough, the three-dimensional model (1989/1995), is applied to uncover any traces by employing three stages of analysis: *Explanation* to investigate the social practices, *Interpretation* to investigate the discursive practices in the TT production, interpretation, and consumption, and *Description* to investigate the textual analysis, where the potential traces of ideological manipulation can be detected at the lexical and grammatical levels. The answer to this question is Yes; there are some potential traces of ideological manipulation in the form of islamisation and deislamisation of the TT of ICIs, as illustrated in Chapter 6. In instances of technical manipulation, subtitlers may alter the text to conform to limited space and time constraints. As ICIs can be included among other elements in the source text (ST) utterance, manipulation to deislamise the target text (TT) - for example, through the omission of ICIs or the utilisation of alternative strategies to utilise TT equivalents of ICIs that have fewer characters to meet technical limitations - may still be subject to scrutiny as it may be motivated by ideology rather than technical considerations.

It is found that ideological and technical manipulation of the TT can be achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels. The reason for technical manipulation is to have TT with fewer characters while the reason for ideological manipulation is to have the TT in line with certain ideological motives. Manipulation can be done by choosing lexical words with fewer characters or changing the TT utterance's grammatical structure to remove some elements. Examples of grammatical manipulation include passivation, transitivity, changing the optative sentence to informative sentences, and manipulating the punctuation of the sentence elements, as in the case of the comma for appositives and items in a list, as shown in Chapter 6 (see section 6.1.2).

Findings of the Study

This section aims to present a concise and clear summary of the study's findings as follows:

1. The proposed taxonomy of the subtitling strategies consists of nine strategies, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 32

The Taxonomy of Subtitling Strategies of ICIs

Subtitling Strategy	Description
Loan	Transferring the ST word into the TT by using the TL alphabet (i.e., transliteration/ naturalization)
Literal Translation	Literally translate an ICI (word by word) into TT that has a semantically identical equivalent.
Substitution	Replacing the closet TT equivalent of an ICI with another TT lexical item.
Transposition	Rendering an ST cultural concept expressed in the form of an ICI into its cultural accepted equivalence of the concept in TT.
Addition	Adding new TT of an ICI that is not mentioned in the ST at all.
Compensation	makeup of the loss of the ICI translation by providing a general description that is relevant to ICIs either in terms of function or meaning.
Dummy Compensation	makeup of the loss of the ICI translation by providing irrelevant information to what is uttered in the film (i.e., compensating the TT with mock substitutes that are not relevant to ICIs in the ST either in terms of function or meaning).
Omission	Completely omitting the ICI.
Condensation	Partially omitting the ICI(s).

2. The treatment of ICIs is quite diverse. It is found that the most frequently employed strategy is the omission strategy, with a percentage of 48.3%. Then, transposition comes in the second position with a percentage of 16.8%. Literal translation, condensation,

substitution, compensation, and loan follow with a slight difference in percentage: 7.7%, 6.7%, 5.8%, 5.8%, and 5.1%, respectively. Then, dummy compensation comes after with a percentage of 3.6%. The least frequently used strategy is the addition strategy, with a percentage of 0.2%, as illustrated in Figure 17 in Chapter 5.

However, the utilisation of the omission strategy for ICIs at a rate of 48.3% suggests that a substantial portion of these items are excluded from the TT. This high percentage may be attributed to technical constraints, as subtitlers may prioritise the removal of ICIs over other elements in the ST utterance to meet technical limitations. Additionally, subtitlers may deem ICIs to be unnecessary or extraneous and choose to omit them for ideological motives. Interestingly, the strategies of omission and dummy compensation together constitute 51.9% of the ICIs were not subtitled into the TT. Although utilising dummy compensation ostensibly seems that ICIs are subtitled into TT, the subtitles provided can be called pseudo. It is just a way to fill the space. By utilising dummy compensation, the subtitlers do not actually render ICIs into their TT equivalents.

Furthermore, the utilisation of transposition strategy for ICIs at a rate of 16.8% suggests that subtitlers adopt a target text-oriented approach for a considerable portion of the ICIs to meet the purpose of the subtitling, the target audience and context. In the case of this study, which focuses on subtitling Arabic documentary films about war into English to raise awareness worldwide, mainly in Western countries. By doing so, subtitlers prioritise the needs and expectations of the target audience, as well as the conventions and norms of the target language and culture, over those of the source. Additionally, the literal translation strategy involves rendering an Arabic ICI into a TT with a semantically exact equivalent in English. This is applied to the cases where the Arabic ICI itself has an Islamic connotation and at the same time used in other religions, such as the word الجنة [paradise], جهنم [hell], يوم القيامة [the Day of Judgment], etc. Such ICIs share the same denotative meaning as well as the religious connotation. The three mentioned examples are all the same in three religions: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity

Remarkably, the strategies of omission, dummy compensation, transposition, and literal translation together constitute 76.4% of the ICIs that lose their Islamic connotations when subtitled into the TT. In other words, these four strategies automatically contribute to deislamising the TT. However, the other subtitling strategies that also contribute to deislamising the English subtitles of the ICIs include substitution, condensation, and compensation. However, substitution compensation, and condensation do not always contribute to deislamising the TT; it depends on the TT equivalent for each ICI chosen by utilising these strategies.

The subtitling strategies that contribute to islamising the TT subtitles of the ICIs are loan, compensation, substitution, condensation, and addition. This research implies that subtitlers employ these strategies to a considerable degree, even though their utilisation is not particularly high. Generally, utilising the two strategies: loan and addition, automatically contribute to islamising the TT. By utilising the loan strategy, it is reasonable to have TT subtitles with Islamic connotations in the sense that the subtitlers transfer the ICIs by using the TT alphabet. However, the utilisation of the addition strategy raises further questions. The reasons behind subtitlers' decision to add ICIs (i.e., an item with an Islamic connotation that is not mentioned in the ST at all) in the TT, whether to enhance comprehension or achieve certain ideological objectives, remain uncertain. Again, substitution, compensation, and condensation can also contribute to islamising the TT; it depends on the TT equivalent for each ICI chosen by utilising these strategies.

Accordingly, the subtitling strategies can be classified into three categories: de-islamisation-oriented strategies, islamisation-oriented strategies, and two-edge-oriented strategies, as illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 83

Subtitling Strategies of ICIs & (De)islamisation Orientation



3. It is found that subtitling some ICIs involves employing two subtitling strategies, and I call this case *Subtitling couplet*. This finding is in line with Pedersen (2005), who emphasises that it is normal to combine two strategies to render a specific cultural item. Nevertheless, this study proposes the term *Subtitling Couplet* to denote the act of combining two strategies to subtitle a single cultural item, a term that has not been previously established in academic literature.

4. The strategy of *Addition* in my proposed taxonomy of the subtitling strategies of ICIs is different from the one mentioned by Díaz- Cintas and Remael (2014). *Addition* in my

research refers to the process of incorporating new ICIs in the form of loan words into the target text (TT). In other words, subtitlers add these loan words to the TT even if they are not present in the source text. In contrast, *Addition* in Díaz Cintas and Remael (2014) refers to the process of adding information mainly “in passages containing cultural references that are expected to cause comprehension problems but are essential for a good understanding of the program. In such cases, information is added. Additions are always a form of Explicitation” (Díaz- Cintas & Remael, 2014, p.207).

5. It is found that the phenomenon of deislamisation of the TT subtitles of ICIs is dominant. The overall deislamisation rate of the collected data as a whole is 94.10%, while the islamisation rate is only 5.90%, as illustrated in Figure 20 in Chapter 5. However, based on the textual analysis, it is found that the deislamisation of the TT is not necessarily an ideological manipulation. (De)islamisation can be a reasonable result of rendering items from one language into another and from culture into another. It can also be a result of technical manipulation. Otherwise, (de)islamising the TT intentionally can be ideological manipulation. It is worth mentioning that (de)islamisation as an ideological manipulation is not essentially against or in favour of Islam as a religion. As illustrated in Chapter 6, there is an instance of islamisation of non-Islamic items in the ST of *Aleppo: Notes from the Dark* (2014, dir. Michal Przedlacki & Wojciech Szumowski). The instance is the subtitling of the phrase حزام ناسف , which literally means *a blowing belt, an explosive belt or a dynamite belt*, into *Shahid belt*, to introduce the TT with negative Islamic connotations. By doing so, islamisation does not serve Islam as a religion. It works against Islam by associating the concept of suicide bombing with negative Islamic connotations, especially when combining visual elements (i.e., a dynamite belt held by a soldier with a beard who was previously introduced in the film as an Islamic soldier) with the verbal element (i.e., the TT subtitles *a Shahid belt*). In another instance in *The Ruins of Raqqa* (2018, dir. Matt Brown), an Arabic Islamic cultural item, the word استشهادي , which is derived from the Arabic word شهيد [shahid / martyr], is deislamised in the TT by using the substitution strategy *a suicide bomber* to remove the negative connotation of the ICI in the ST. By doing

so, deislamisation serves Islam as a religion by disassociating the concept of suicide bombing from Islamic connotations.

6. Documentary films are varied in terms of the rate of (de)islamisation of the TT. For example, films broadcast on Netflix and channel 4 (All 4) have the highest rates of deislamisation. However, those films broadcast on Amazon prime have the lowest rates of deislamisation of TT discourse. Interestingly, there are no specialised guidelines for subtitling religious or Islamic cultural materials issued by any of the broadcasting platforms.

7. In line with Díaz Cintas (2012), it is found that there are some cases of overlapping between ideological and technical manipulation. What may appear to be a technical manipulation can also potentially be an ideological manipulation, such as the case of subtitling verses of the Quran that talk about fighting (jihad) or other religions.

8. In investigating the process of subtitling all verses of the Quran in the study corpus, it is found that those verses that talk about fighting or other religions are not fully rendered into English. They are either completely omitted or rendered into English by providing a general description of them, such as *Reciting the Quran*. Although the compensation strategy still contributes to islamising the TT, as the word Quran is mentioned in the TT. The subtitlers manipulate the expressive value of the ICI by keeping its Islamic connotation and removing the negative express value of the ICI (the verse that talks about other religions) in the case that this verse is fully translated to the audience. However, those verses about peace or the characteristics of the God of Islam as merciful, for example, are fully rendered in English. It seems that the subtitlers of the documentary films might have considered that these films are subtitled into English to address the Western audience that mainly consists of non-Muslims. It is a way to make these documentary films acceptable to the whole world, including Western countries.

9. It is found that islamisation can be achieved at two levels: high and low. For example, a high level of islamisation involves the complete translation of a Quranic verse, including

the use of the phrase "Allah says" and a full explanation of its meaning. On the other hand, a low level of islamisation employs a compensation strategy, such as the use of RECITING THE QURAN to describe the verse in the source text, providing only its origin as Scripture. While both levels of islamisation contribute to the overall islamisation of the translated text, it should be noted that the former strategy, with its comprehensive treatment of the verse, leads to a higher density of islamisation in the target text. In other words, it has a greater impact on the degree of islamisation of the target text than the latter strategy, which only involves one word, and is therefore less dense in the target text.

10. Deislamisation can be metaphorically, not linguistically, achieved. It is the case of keeping items in the TT with Islamic connotation but manipulating the sentence's grammar to deislamise the sentence's proposition in the TT, a case I call *Metaphorical deislamisation* (see Example 11 in section 6.1.2). In other words, the lexical items with Islamic connotations are still kept in the TT utterances (i.e., visible). However, the presupposition, the implied meaning, of the TT utterance reflects the removal of Islamic connotations from the presupposition of the ST utterance.

Exploration of Key Themes

In addition to the specific findings of this study on the (de)islamisation of the target discourse in audiovisual translation, it is important to consider the broader implications and themes that emerge from this research. Therefore, this section explores three key themes that relate to the study: technical manipulation vs. ideological manipulation, (de)islamisation vs. (non)secularisation, and (de)islamisation vs. ideological manipulation. By examining these themes, this study sheds light on the ways in which different types of manipulation impact audiovisual translation, and how the study findings contribute to broader conversations in the field. Through this exploration, the study provides a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of the target discourse in audiovisual translation and offer potential avenues for future research.

Technical Manipulation Vs. Ideological Manipulation

Technical manipulation in subtitling refers to the changes made to the TT material in order to meet the technical limitations (i.e., the space and time constraints). These changes may include removing, altering or substituting elements. On the other hand, ideological manipulation in subtitling refers to the changes made to the TT material in order to conform to the ideology or political beliefs of the people involved in the process of subtitling (e.g., subtitlers, editors, producing and broadcasting institutions) or the target audience. These changes may include altering the meaning or the grammatical structure of TT utterances and adding or removing references to certain ideas or concepts.

It is important to note that what may appear to be a result of technical manipulation in subtitling may ultimately have its origins in ideological motivations (Díaz Cintas, 2012). This means that the technical aspects of subtitling, such as the timing and placement of subtitles, may be manipulated in order to serve a specific political or ideological agenda. This overlap between technical and ideological manipulation is a complex phenomenon that merits further examination in translation and subtitling studies.

Generally, both types of manipulation can be controversial and affect the translated material's accuracy and authenticity. Subtitlers need to carefully consider the impact of their changes' and strive to maintain the integrity of the original material as much as possible.

Secularisation of Discourse & (De)islamisation of Discourse

Secularisation of discourse refers to the process by which religious ideas and concepts are removed from discourse. It can also refer to the replacement of religious language with a non-religious one. Overall, secularisation of discourse reflects a shift away from religious influences in shaping public discourse (Calhoun, 2008). In this case, the discourse that lacks any religious language, concepts and connotations is a secular discourse. In the field of translation, there are several strategies that can be used to secularise discourse in translation. These include:

- Replacing religious language and references with secular or neutral equivalents. For example, replacing the word *God* with *the universe*, *the nature* or *a higher power* in a text.
- Removing religious themes and concepts from the text. For example, eliminating references to specific religious figures or practices in a translated text.
- Using inclusive language, such as using hyponyms words (e.g., *people* instead of the name of certain religious group, *building* instead of the name of a religious building such as church or a mosque).

It is important to note that secularising discourse in translation may not always seem like a type of ideological manipulation. It may not always be undesirable or inappropriate, depending on the context and intended audience of the TT. However, in some cases, it may be important to maintain religious language and references in order to accurately convey the meaning of the original text.

In contrast to secular discourse, non-secular discourse is characterised by the presence and influence of religious ideas and language in the discourse. Non-secular discourse is a form that is not limited to a specific religion and can encompass both specialised religious discourse, such as religious sermons, and non-specialised religious discourse, such as the use of religious cultural items (e.g., ICIs) in everyday discourse, which is the focus of the current study. It is important to note that the presence of religion in non-specialised religious discourse does not rule out the presence of religious elements in the discourse. This is why I prefer to use the term non-secular over religious discourse, as the latter term can encompass both specialised and non-specialised forms of discourse.

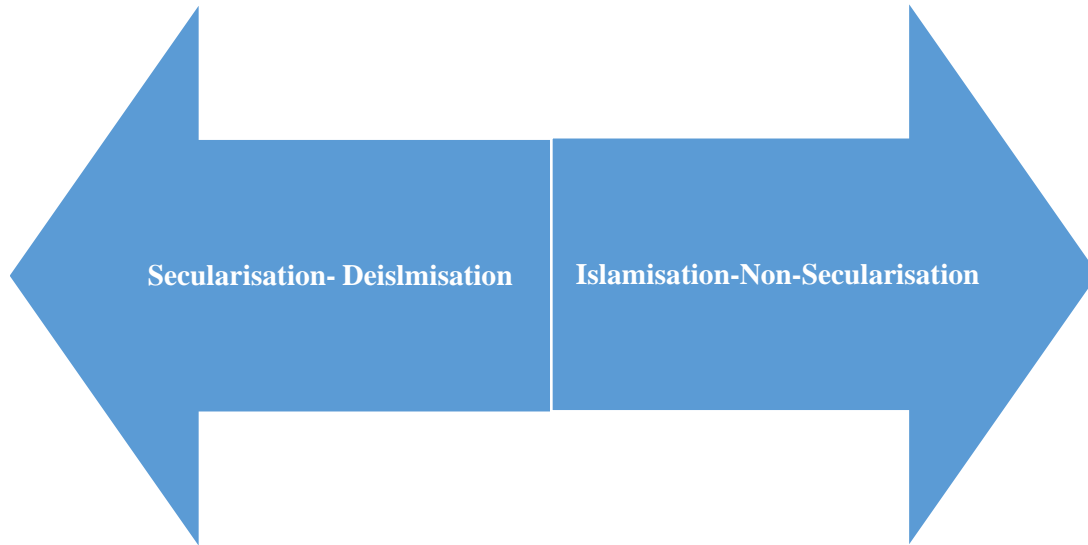
Based on the distinctions between secular and non-secular discourse, it is essential to consider the relationship between them and the topic of this study, which is the (de)islamisation of discourse. As previously discussed, discourse can be classified as both secular and non-secular discourse at a broad level. However, deislamisation of discourse is a distinct classification between the two. In other words, secularisation of discourse can be

considered as an extreme degree of deislamisation of discourse when all religious items, whether they belong to Islam or any other religion, are intentionally eliminated from the discourse (either ST or TT). On the other hand, deislamisation does not always lead to secularisation since deislamisation is only concerned with eliminating Islamic items or connotations from the discourse (either ST or TT), which means that it is okay with religious connotations or elements that are not specific to Islam. Therefore, the only instance in which secularisation results from deislamisation is when the deislamisation of discourse contributes to the absence of all religious items and connotations in the discourse. For example, using the word *martyr* in English involves a deislamisation of discourse in the sense that this word does not have an Islamic connotation; however, it is not secularisation in the sense that this word has religious connotations in religions other than Islam. On the other hand, when the same word is substituted by the word *killed*, it involves deislamisation and secularisation simultaneously in the sense that no religious connotation is left in the TT, whether for Islam or any other religion.

On the other hand, islamisation belongs to non-secular discourse, which may involve other religious discourses such as Christianity. For example, using the word *jihad* in discourse can be considered islamisation as a form of non-secular discourse because it has Islamic connotations. However, it does not involve secularisation as it is still a religious term. In summary, deislamisation of discourse refers to the absence of Islamic elements or connotations from discourse. On the other hand, secularisation of discourse refers to the complete removal of all religious elements or connotations from discourse. While deislamisation can lead to secularisation, this is only sometimes the case, as deislamisation can still involve the presence of non-Islamic but religious elements or connotations that are not particularly Islamic. However, islamisation of discourse refers to the inclusion of Islamic elements or connotations in discourse. This is a case of non-secular discourse which can involve other religious elements that are not specifically Islamic. Figure 84 below illustrates the relationship between (non-)secularisation and (de)islamisation of discourse.

Figure 84

The Relationship Between (Non-)Secularisation and (De)islamisation of Discourse



(De)islamisation of Discourse & Ideological Manipulation

As previously mentioned, deislamisation of discourse refers to the process of removing or minimising the language and concepts with Islamic connotations in a given discourse. Islamisation, however, refers to the process of including language and concepts with Islamic connotations in a given discourse. The (de)islamisation process can be a form of ideological manipulation, as it can be used intentionally to dissent or promote a particular political or ideological agenda.

It is important to note that while the deislamisation of discourse can be a form of ideological manipulation, it can also be a reasonable result of the translation process or a result of technical manipulation.

The process of deislamisation of discourse can occur when translating from one language to another, as certain ICIs may not have an equivalent in the target language with

the same Islamic connotations or where the TT equivalent is not exclusive to the religion of Islam but shared with other religions, such as *the day of judgment, prophet, hell and heaven*. Additionally, in the context of subtitling, technical manipulation can also result in the deislamisation of discourse. For example, sometimes subtitlers resort to removing or substituting ICIs with other elements with fewer characters to fit the timing and placement constraints of subtitles on the screen.

On the other hand, islamisation can result from the lack of a TT equivalent. For example, subtitlers may utilise the loan strategy because some ICIs have no equivalent in the target language. Regarding the technical limitations of subtitling, the use of strategies contributes to islamising the TT, such as the strategy of loan for certain ICIs may result in a TT with fewer characters, as opposed to utilising other strategies, which may result in a TT with more characters. In such instances, the process of islamisation serves to mitigate these technical constraints.

It is important to be aware of these different factors that can lead to (de)islamisation of discourse and not assume that it is always a result of ideological manipulation.

(De)islamisation of target discourse in audiovisual translation requires careful consideration and ethical decision-making by people involved in the process of subtitling ICIs. Further research is needed to understand better the consequences and implications of (de)islamisation of discourse on target audience (i.e., reception -based studies) and to develop best practices for handling it in audiovisual translation.

Limitations of the Study

This study is based on the textual analysis of the TT of documentaries broadcast on three platforms only: Netflix, Amazon Prime, and channel 4 (All 4). Only documentaries about the Syrian war are included in a way to identify the social practices in the context of the data collected. The investigated films address sociocultural and political issues (people's life during wartimes). However, due to the PhD thesis length, it is difficult to cover more than one theme addressed by the documentaries since the theme may affect the subtitling strategies employed. Therefore, films about Syria that primarily focus on the topic of ISIS in Syria are excluded from the study corpus. Furthermore, it is difficult to

cover other kinds of documentaries, such as scientific, biographical, or historical ones, where they differ in terms of their features, content, and target audience.

Additionally, I could not conduct interviews with the film subtitlers as I could not locate contact information for most of them. Attempts to locate their contact through the internet proved challenging due to the prevalence of individuals with similar names and a lack of response from translators whom I attempted to contact.

Finally, it is noteworthy that my analysis is primarily focused on the textual aspects. Hence, additional studies that are reception-based may delve into areas that were not possible to explore through text-based analysis. Consequently, such studies can be of great value in investigating the impact of the textual phenomena and the translator's decisions that I have examined.

Contributions of the Study & Suggestions for Further Research

This study is the first to undertake an empirical investigation into the subtitling process of ICIs with the aim of determining the phenomenon of (de)islamising the TT. It provides the field with a proposed taxonomy that can be applied to investigate the subtitling strategies of ICIs in other film genres, such as drama and comedy and films broadcast on other platforms, such as HBO Max, Disney+, and Hulu. This taxonomy can be used as a guide in any future research to extend the investigation of subtitling religious cultural items by applying it to other religious cultural items of other religions, such as Christianity.

In addition, the present study is the first to provide a comprehensive analysis of prescriptive subtitling guidelines for religious cultural items in general and ICIs in particular by conducting an examination of officially published materials on three prominent video-on-demand broadcasting platforms, namely Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Channel 4 (All4). Through a systematic review of these guidelines, this research contributes to the existing literature by identifying commonalities and differences in subtitling practices across platforms and highlights areas where further improvement is needed. The findings of this study offer valuable insights for subtitling practitioners,

researchers, and policymakers to promote effective and accessible communication for all audiences.

It is also the first to introduce the phenomenon of (de)islamisation of target discourse in audiovisual translation studies. Although previous research has examined the translation of words with Islamic connotation in the genre of news. For example, Al-Hejin (2012) provides examples from interviews with Saudi women that were translated into English by the BBC English news website, revealing that religious references were either secularised or omitted. This practice is called by Al-Hejin (2012) as "dereligiousisation". Al-Hejin (2012) emphasise that this practice can lead to misrepresentation. In addition, Baker (2010) examines the framing of news stories related to terrorism and security, highlighting the political implications of translation choices of words such as *martyrdom* in the media. Both scholars address how words and expressions with Islamic connotations can be manipulated in the media, but this thesis has gone further to provide a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon and terms it as a distinctive one in audiovisual translation.

Moreover, this study also presents a unique contribution to the field of audiovisual translation, as it is the first to develop a calculation equation for identifying the rate of (de)islamisation of target discourse. This equation provides a quantitative measure for assessing the degree to which ICIs are removed or altered in the process of audiovisual translation, which can be applied to other literary translation texts beyond the scope of this study. By developing this calculation equation, this study enhances the understanding of the complex relationship between language, culture, and ideology in translation, and offers a valuable tool for future research in the field.

This study is also the first to illustrate the relationship between two phenomena: secularisation and (de)islamisation of discourse. It also illustrates how (de)islamisation as an ideological manipulation can be achieved at the lexical and grammatical levels of discourse. Moreover, the statistical findings of this study related to the rate of (de)islamisation of the TT can be used in other fields of study, such as media/film studies, to test whether there is any correlation between the high rate of (de)islamisation of the TT

and the high number of international awards the films have received. In other words, to what extent (de)islamising the TT affects the audience's reception of films?

Additionally, this study is the first to address the subtitling of documentary films as a genre in Arabic-English audiovisual translation literature, in particular. In addition, it is among the few studies that address the genre of documentary in audiovisual translation in general.

As an original contribution to the field of audiovisual translation, this study introduces new terms to the literature. First, *Subtitling Couplet*, is introduced in this study to denote the use of two subtitling strategies for a single culturally specific item (e.g., ICI). Despite being previously highlighted and discussed by Pedersen (2005), this phenomenon has not been formally named or termed in academic literature. Second, the term *Dummy Compensation* as a subtitling strategy is introduced in this study and provided with a distinction between it and the subtitling strategy of “compensation” proposed by Díaz Cintas & Remael (2014). While “compensation” refers to makeup of the loss of the ICI translation by providing a general description that is relevant to ICIs either in terms of function or meaning, “Dummy Compensation” is based on my definition, which involves compensating the TT with mock subtitles that are not relevant to ICIs in the ST either in terms of function or meaning as discussed in Chapter 5 (see section 5.2.1). The distinction has important implications for subtitling practices and can inform future research in the field of audiovisual translation. It also introduces the term *Metaphorical deislamisation*, which refers to the process of deislamising the proposition of the TT while the linguistic elements in the TT utterance still have Islamic connotations. This case is achieved by manipulating the grammar. In the case of Example 11 (see section 6.2.1), the presupposition and interpretation of the TT utterance, the effect of the message implied in the TT utterance, is metaphorically deislamised by manipulating the grammatical structure of the sentence (i.e., changing the present tense into past tense) while keeping the lexical elements of the utterance with their Islamic connotations.

One of the suggestions for further research is the investigation of the phenomenon of (de)islamisation in discourse by employing the CDA approach espoused by Wodak, *the discourse-historical approach*, which involves a diachronic examination of the subtitling strategies employed to subtitle Islamic cultural elements in documentaries. As Wodak (1999) posits, this particular CDA model primarily concerns itself with the historical context of discursive events and the evolution of discourse over time. Therefore, this approach could be utilised to investigate the subtitling strategies employed for Islamic cultural elements from a historical perspective in news broadcasts or films produced before and after the events of September 11, 2001, when Islamophobia was at its zenith, reflecting the stereotypes of Muslims and Islam that were prevalent in media. In addition, the phenomenon of the (de)islamisation of discourse can be investigated in other forms of translation, such as literary translation.

In conclusion, this extensive investigation makes a substantial and meaningful contribution to the field of audiovisual translation, as well as the broader domain of Translation Studies. By employing authentic data and conducting meticulous textual analysis through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to the study corpus, this research has yielded a noteworthy finding: the (de)islamisation of discourse should not be automatically assumed to be an inherently ideological manipulation. Instead, it can arise as a result of technical manipulation or as a justifiable outcome when transposing linguistic elements from one language to another. Moreover, the findings of this study contribute to the development of practical guidelines and strategies for translators and practitioners involved in audiovisual translation. These insights underscore the necessity of nuanced decision-making in subtitling, which considers both technical and ideological factors. Furthermore, this research highlights the importance of incorporating authentic data in translation studies. It reveals the intricate interplay between language, culture, and audiovisual mediums, enriching our understanding of translation practices and their impact on societal perceptions. Finally, this investigation significantly enhances our knowledge of audiovisual translation and provides valuable guidance for practitioners. This PhD thesis

contributes to the broader field of Translation Studies, fostering a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between language, culture, and audiovisual translation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Data Collected from *Born in Syria* (2016) Directed by Hernán Zin (Broadcast on Netflix)

1	Arabic ST: يا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)¹²⁵	English Back Translation
	0:03:26.0	My goodness	O' Allah (God)
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

2	Arabic ST: ادعي لربي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:05:36.0	Praying to God	Praying to my God
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal Translation		

3	Arabic ST: ارجوك والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:09:41.0	-	Please. I swear to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

4	Arabic ST: والله عرب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:11:47.0	-	I swear by Allah, Arab.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

¹²⁵ It is important note that the text in the TT section is an exact transcription of the subtitles that appears on the screen, including any punctuation, spelling, or grammatical errors that may be present in the original subtitles.

5	Arabic ST: الله ، قومي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:13:17.0	-	Allah , get up.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

6	Arabic ST: صرت اسبح ربي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:15:09.0	I was praying to my lord	I was saying “Glory be to my lord”.
	Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling couplet (compensation + Literal Translation)		

7	Arabic ST: بدي أقول لبشار الأسد الله يسوي بأولادك مثل ما ساويت فينا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:18:43.0	I wish Al Assad’s Children suffer what we are suffering here	I want to say to Bashar Alassad that may Allah make your children suffer what children are suffering because of you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

8	Arabic ST: وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:18:51.0	Hold on to God and be not divided among yourselves. Let’s stay together and not separated	And hold fast, all together, by the rope of Allah (i.e., this Quran), and be not divided among yourselves” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 87).
	Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling Couplet (transposition+ Literal Translation)		

9	Arabic ST: وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:18:56.0	-	And hold fast, all together, by the rope of Allah (i.e., this Quran), and be not divided among yourselves” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 87).
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

10	Arabic ST: والله العظيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:19:04.0	For God’s sake	I swear to Allah, Almighty.
	Subtitling Strategies: Dummy Compensation		

11	Arabic ST: والله العظيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:19:09.0	-	I swear to Allah, Almighty.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

12	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:31:34.0	-	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

13	Arabic ST: سموا بالرحمن		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:36:20.0	-	Say in the name of the Most Gracious.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

14	Arabic ST: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:36:20.0	In the name of God	“In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, p.1).
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + transposition)		

15	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:38:32.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

16	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0:40:17.0	-	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

17	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:06:40.0	Thank God	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

18	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:11:59.0	I am Fine	Thanks to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

19	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:15:46.0	Thank God	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

20	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:16:22.0	hopefully	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

21	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:16:28.0	Hopefully	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

22	Arabic ST: الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:16:39.0	-	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

23	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:18:32.0	-	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

24	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:19:22.0	-	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

25	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:19:28.0	-	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

26	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:21:54.0	-	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

27	Arabic ST: لا والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1:22:46.0	-	No, I swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

Appendix 2: Data Collected from The White Helmets (2016), Directed by Orlando von Einsiedel (Broadcast on Netflix)

1	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.00:40.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

2	Arabic ST: وحدوا الله يا جماعة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.00:48.0	-	Say there is no God but Allah, people.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

3	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.00:50.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

4	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.00:53.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

5	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.00:56.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

6	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.00:59.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

7	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.01:02.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

8	Arabic ST: الحمد لله متزوج وعندي بنت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.01:47.0	I have married, and I have a daughter.	Thanks to Allah. I am married and have a daughter.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

9	Arabic ST: السلام عليكم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.02:40.0	Hello	Peace be upon you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

10	Arabic ST: الله معك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.03:22.0	-	May Allah be with you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		
11	Arabic ST: ربي يحميك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.03:28.0	-	May my Lord protect you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

12	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.06:01.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

13	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.07:42.0	Thank God	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

14	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.07:46.0	-	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

15	Arabic ST: في شيء شهيدين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.08:10.0	And possibly two people killed	There are two martyrs .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

16	Arabic ST: وأصدقاء كثيرين استشهدوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.12:50.0	Many of our colleagues have been killed	And a lot of friends have martyred .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

17	Arabic ST: الله يوفئك بابا لا تتركني		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:01.0	Please, Dad, Don't leave me	May Allah be with you, dad. Do not leave me.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

18	Arabic ST: البرميل الثاني وقع عدد كبير من الشهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:29.0	The second barrel bomb killed a lot of people.	The second barrel contributes to have a lot of martyrs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

19	Arabic ST: فسبحان الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.14:21.0	All Glory is to God	All Glory be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

20	Arabic ST: لله بده ما يخلينا نطلع نغادر المكان الا انه نطالع او نسمع صوت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.14:24.0	We were not meant to leave the area without hearing a sound.	Allah does not want us to leave the place until we hear a sound.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

21	Arabic ST: الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.15:05.0	-	Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

22	Arabic ST: قول لا إله إلا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.15:08.0	-	Say there is no god but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

23	Arabic ST: هذا اعجاز رب العالمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.15:10.0	-	This is the miracle by Lord of All that exists (Mankind, jinn, etc.) ¹²⁶
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

24	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.15:29.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

25	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.17:07.0	God willing	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

¹²⁶ The translation of رب العالمين [Lord of All that exists.] is taken from *the Noble Quran: English translation of the meanings and commentary* by Al-Hilali and Muhsin Khan (1984, p.1).

26	Arabic ST: والله كإحساس يعني إحساس صعب هو انه تكون انت بعيد عن اهلك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.17:54.0	.. It's a hard feeling, that you are away from your family....	I swear by Allah , as a feeling, it is a hard feeling to be away from your family.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

27	Arabic ST: استشهد من عنا اثنين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.19:18.0	Two white Helmets were killed from there.	Two people of us martyred .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

28	Arabic ST: يا شباب, استشهد مروان واحمد دعبول		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.19:24.0	Guys, Marwan and Ahmad Daboul were killed .	Guys, Marwan and Ahmad Daboul martyred .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

29	Arabic ST: أقرأوا لهم الفاتحة يا شباب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.19:57.0	Read the opening chapter of the Quran for their souls.	Read <i>Alfatiha</i> the opening chapter of the Quran for them, guys. .
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

30	Arabic ST: الله يتقبل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:05.0	May God accept them	May Allah accept them
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

31	Arabic ST: السلام عليكم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:55.0	Hello	Peace be upon you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

32	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.21:50.0	Thank God	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

33	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.21:53.0	-	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

34	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:35.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

35	Arabic ST: حسبى الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:40.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

36	Arabic ST: سبحان الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.23:07.0	-	All Glory be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

37	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:03.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

38	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:07.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

39	Arabic ST: الله يحميكم جميعا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:11.0	May God protect you	May Allah protect you all.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

40	Arabic ST:		
41	بس ان شاء الله		
42	بتسلمهم الله سبحانه وتعالى		
43	الله يحميهم يا رب اهلي وزوجتي وبنتي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:30.0	But I trust in God to protect my family and colleagues	But Allah willing. Leave them to Allah, glorified and exalted be He. Allah protect them. O' lord! My family, wife, and daughter.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Condensation (3 ICIs): Omission + Omission+ Transposition)		

44	Arabic ST: انا أخوي استشهد خمس أشهر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.28:11.0	My brother was killed five months ago	My brother martyred five months ago.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

45	Arabic ST: فتحته والا صورة أخوي شهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.28:28.0	I got online and saw my brother's photo, Dead	I got online, and I saw my brother's photo, a martyr .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

46	Arabic ST: ايه والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.28:47.0	Yes, right	Yes, I swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

47	Arabic ST: اعطونا النتيجة هل أبو كرمو استشهد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:00.0	Tell us the news, Has Abu Karmou been killed	Tell us the news, has Abu Karmou martyred?
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

48	Arabic ST: اثنين مستشهدين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:31.0	There were two killed	Two people martyred.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

49	Arabic ST: الله يرحمه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:45.0	He is dead.	May Allah rest him in peace.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

50	Arabic ST: الله يجعل مثواه الجنة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:54.0	-	May Allah make abode in paradise.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

51	Arabic ST: الله يرحمه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:59.0	God bless him	May Allah rest him in peace.
	Subtitling Strategies: Dummy Compensation by providing irrelevant meaning.		

52	Arabic ST: يأخي الله يقويكم واعملوا جهدكم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.30:01.0	Thanks, brother, and please do your best.	May Allah support you, brother. Do your best.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

53	Arabic ST: هدول شهداء اليوم من المستشفى؟		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.30:23.0	Are these today's victims from the hospital?	Are these today's martyrs from the hospital.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

54	Arabic ST:		
55	الله أكبر		
56	الله أكبر		
57	أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله		
58	أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله ،		
59	أشهد أن محمداً رسول الله		
60	أشهد أن محمداً رسول الله .		
61	حي على الصلاة		
62	حي على الصلاة		
63	حي على الفلاح		
64	حي على الفلاح		

65	اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ		
66	اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ ، لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.30:39.0 - 0.32:01.0	-	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. I testify that there is no God except Allah, I testify that there is no God except Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, Come to the prayer. Come to the ultimate success. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. I testify that there is no God except Allah
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission		

67	Arabic ST: دائما يكون عندنا تفاؤل انه ان شاء الله الي جاي أحسن من الي رايح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:21.0	We are always optimistic that what's to come is better	We are always optimistic that Allah willing what's to come is better.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

68	Arabic ST: والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.32:59.0	-	I swear by Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

69	Arabic ST: سبحان الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:40.0	-	All glory be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

70	Arabic ST: واحنا هيك سبحان الله حسينا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:50.0	That's how we feel.	That's how we feel. All glory be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

71	Arabic ST: بفضل الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:56.0	Thanks to God	By the grace of Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

72	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.24:11.0	Thank God	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

73	Arabic ST: ما ننأيس ابدا من من رحمة الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.34:32.0	And never to lose hope	We should not despair of the mercy of Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

74	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.36:15.0	-	Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

75	Arabic ST: فمن احيها فكنما احيا الناس جميعا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.37:05.0	“to save a life is to save all of humanity”.	“ If anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of all mankind. ” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p. 147).
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

Appendix 3 : Data Collected from Cries from Syria (2017), Directed by Evgeny Afineevsky (Broadcast on Amazon Prime)

1	Arabic ST: ان ولدي ثامر الذي نحتسبه الان عند الله من الشهداء		
2			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.11:08.0	My Son Thamir, who is now among martyrs of God,	My son, Thamir whom we counted among martyrs of Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + transposition		

3	Arabic ST: الله سبحانه وتعالى بعث أطفال درعا ليكونوا شعلة لهاي الثورة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.11:37.0	Children of Daraa were a divine message to the Syrian people.	Allah, glorified and exalted be He, sent the children of Daraa to be the flame of this revolution. .
	Subtitling Strategies: compensation		

4	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:40.0	-	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

5	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:42.0	-	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

6	Arabic ST: قولوا لي بكم بشار؟ لا والله -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.14:52.0	-Tell me, do you want Bashar? -No, we don't!	-Tell me, do you want Bashar? -No, we swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

7	Arabic ST: بدكم غيره- لا والله -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.14:56.0	-Anyone else? - No, we don't!	-Do you want anyone else? - No, we swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

8	Arabic ST: اتشهد احمد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.17:09.0	-	Say there is no God except Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

9	Arabic ST: اتشهد احمد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.17:12.0	-	Say there is no God except Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

10 11	Arabic ST: والذي استشهد على أثرها ثلاثة شهداء على الأقل وستة جرحى كإحصائية أولية		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.17:18.0	At least, three people died and six injured in initial reports.	At least three people got martyred and six got injured in an initial statistic.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Substitution		

12 13 14	Arabic ST: قدامي والله والله والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:55.0	I swear to God , in front of me.	In front of me. I swear by Allah. I swear by Allah. I swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (3 ICIs) = Omission + Omission + transposition.		

15	Arabic ST: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الى شعب سورية الحر البطل الابي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:10.0	In the name of God , to the free Syrian people.	In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful. To the free heroic dignified people of Syria.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

16	Arabic ST: حتى يحقق الله لنا النصر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:45.0	until God give us victory.	Until Allah give us victory.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

17 18	Arabic ST: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم سدد رمينا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.23:23.0	In the name of God, compassionate and merciful, may God support our shootings.	-In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful. -May Allah support our shootings.
	Subtitling Strategies: -Subtitling Couplet: (Transposition + Literal translation) -Transposition		

19 20	Arabic ST: الحمد لله رب العالمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.23:55.0	-	Praise be to Allah. Lord of All that exists.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

21 22	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله في أمور غير تتحسن ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.23:59.0	I hope to God that things will get better.	Allah willing, things will get better. Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

23	Arabic ST: "وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْتَرِي لَهْوَ الْحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ"		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:45.0	-	“And of mankind is he who purchases idle talks (i.e., music, singing, etc.) to mislead (men) from the Path of Allah without knowledge.” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.551)
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

24	Arabic ST: عم بنواجه ناس ما بخاوا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.31:22.0	We are facing people who are unafraid of God.	We are facing people who are unafraid of Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

25	Arabic ST: استشهدا الطفل عبد العليم الخطيب نتيجة سوء التغذية.		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:52.0	This child, Abdul Aleem Al-khateeb, died of starvation.	The martyrdom of the kid, Abd Aleem Alkhateeb is due to starvation.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

26 27	Arabic ST: يا ملك الموت هيا اقبض روحي لا اكل في الجنة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.34:34.0	Oh angle of death , go ahead and catch my soul so that I can eat in paradise .	O', angle of death , go ahead and catch my soul so that I can eat in paradise .
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + Literal translation		

28	Arabic ST: احنا صرنا نقول ان شاء الله ما بيجو على حلب ويخلص محل ما اجا.		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.36:35.0	We said, "Oh God , we don't want the war come to Aleppo."	We said, Allah willing , we hope they will not come to Aleppo, and they end at the point they start.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

29	Arabic ST: اسم كتيبي كتيبة شهداء البيضاة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.38:43.0	My group is called, "The Martyrs of Bayyada."	My group is called, "The Martyrs of Bayyada."
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

30	Arabic ST: يعني حتى في الدين عنا كتب علينا القتال وهو كرهنا لنا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.39:18.0	Even in our religion, fighting is abhorrent.	Even in our religion, the holy fighting “Jihad” is ordained for us (Muslims) though we dislike it. (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.45)
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

31	Arabic ST:		
32	اوه يمة يا		
33	أحلى شهيد جهزي اواعي أحلى شهيد للجنة يا يمة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:16.0	Oh, mother, the nicest martyr is coming to you in heaven in new clothes, mother.	O’, mother, the nicest martyr . Prepare the clothes of the nicest martyr who is coming heaven , mother.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + Omission + Literal translation		

34	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:27.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

35	Arabic ST: اخواني المسلمين في كل مكان		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:56.0	To my fellow Muslims everywhere,	My brother Muslims everywhere.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

36	Arabic ST:		
37	والحمد لله رب العالمين اخوكم أبو محمد الجولاني		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.41:16.0	All praises due to God, Lord of all. Your brother, Abu Muhammad Al-Julani.	All praises to Allah, Lord of All that exists. Your brother, Abu Muhammad Al-Julani.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Literal translation		

38	Arabic ST: اقسام بالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.42:26.0	-	I swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

39	Arabic ST:		
40	بلشت بقتال المجاهدين المسلمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.43:15.0	You started the fights against Islamic fighters.	You started the fights against Muslims, the holy fighters of Islam.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan + Transposition		

41	Arabic ST: أنتم الجيش الحر كلياتكم مرتدين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.43:20.0	All of you Free Army are apostates .	All of you Free Army are apostates .
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

42	Arabic ST:		
43	انا قائد فصيل المعراء الشعب بأكمله الحمد لله رب العالمين طلع بيطالب جميعه الحرية ل جمال العفسة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.43:55.0	I am a leader from Al-Maraa, And all the Syrians went out on the streets and demanded “Freedom for Jamil Afessa!”	I am a leader from Al-Maraa, and all the people, Thanks to Allah , Lord of All that exists , went out on the streets and demanded “Freedom for Jamil Afessa!”
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

44	Arabic ST: الله أكبر عليك يا بشار		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:29.0	May God take revenge on you Bashar.	May Allah take revenge on you Bashar.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

45	Arabic ST: الله أكبر عليك يا بشار		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:33.0	-	May Allah take revenge on you Bashar.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

46	Arabic ST:		
47	الحمد لله رب العالمين انا وابن خالي ما كنا بالمدرسة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.47:17.0	Praise to God , my cousin and I were not in the school.	All praises to Allah, Lord of All that exists. my cousin and I were not in the school.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

48	Arabic ST: الله يرحمهم أصدقائي كلهن ماتوا جوات المدرسة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.47:19.0	But all of my friends, may their souls rest in peace , died in it.	May Allah rest them in peace. All my friends died in the school.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

49	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.49:19.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

50	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.49:22.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

51	Arabic ST: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.53:46.0	-	Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

52	Arabic ST: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.53:50.0	-	Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

53	Arabic ST: اعتقد ان الرقم بين 900 والالف شهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.55:31.0	I believe the number is between 900-1000 deaths.	I believe the number is between 900-1000 martyrs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

54 55	Arabic ST: وأطلق بعض الاسلاميين الذين يملكون فكر تكفيري		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.05:23.0	And released radical Islamists.	And he released some Islamists who have extremist thought.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan + compensation		

56	Arabic ST: ارفع راية الإسلام		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.05:58.0	-	Raise the flag of Islam.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

57	Arabic ST: شوي شوي بخداع هيك الدين وهيك الإسلام		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:29.0	They started to teach us what is Islam .	Gradually, by deceiving us that this religion is like this and this what Islam looks alike.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

58 59	Arabic ST: وقال الله وقال الرسول		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:31.0	What God said and what the Prophet said.	And Allah said and the prophet said.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Literal translation		

60	Arabic ST: قال حق عليكم الجهاد أنتم ما لازم تضلکم هيك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.08:05.0	The leader said that joining the holy war is your duty.	He said that joining the holy war of Islam is your duty. You should not be like this.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

61	Arabic ST: يلي بيدخن او يلي بيكفر بيقطعولهن راسون		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.08:38.0	Anyone who smokes or blaspheme , they cut off their heads.	Anyone who smokes or blaspheme . They cut off their heads.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

62	Arabic ST: كنت اشوف حالات القصاص		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.09:43.0	I saw the punishment	The Islamic legal retribution
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

63	Arabic ST: رفقاتي الي ما رجعوا توفوا هونيك استشهدوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:01.0	None of them returned. They all died there.	They did not return. They martyred there, my colleagues.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

64 65	Arabic ST: هاي البنت المرتدة وابوها المرتد هدول		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:11.0	This girl is a “ heretic ”? And this is her “ heretic ” father?	This girl is a “ heretic ”? And this is her “ heretic ” father?
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + Literal translation		

66	Arabic ST: دولة داعش, دولة العراق والشام , يلي بيدعون الإسلام يقتلون عائلات بأكملها		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:18.0	This is ISIS, they pretend they are Muslims, and they kill whole families!	The state of ISIS (Daesh) , the state of Iraq and Syria, who they pretend they follow Islam, kill whole families.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

67	Arabic ST: أي ما بتخافون من الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:21.0	Aren't you afraid of God?	Aren't you afraid of Allah?
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

68	Arabic ST:		
69	انا حمدت ربي ألف دور		
70	انه الحمد لله		
	رب العالمين انه ابني ما دخل مع داعش		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:32.0	I've thanked God a thousand times that my son didn't join ISIS	I said praise be to Allah a thousand times that, " praise be to Allah, Lord of All that exists. ", my son did not join ISIS.
	Subtitling Strategies: literal translation + Omission + Omission		

71	Arabic ST:		
72	الحمد لله		
	رب العالمين		
	انه أحسنا نسفرو لهون		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:47.0	We thanked God that we were able to make him travel to here.	Thanks to Allah, Lord of All that exists, that we were able to make him travel here.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

73	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.15:48.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

74	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.15:51.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

75	Arabic ST: أحد رفقاتنا استشهد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.16:53.0	One of my friends was killed	One of our friends martyred .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

76	Arabic ST: قدر الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.17:16.0	-	Divine Preordainment.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		
77	Arabic ST:		
78	صار لها ساعتين تحت الأنقاض		
79	ان شاء الله بأذن الله تطلع عائشة بأذن الله شهر عمرها شهر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.20:32.0	She stayed two hours beneath the rubble And eventually she got out alive. She is one month old.	She stayed two hours beneath the rubble. Allah willing, Allah willing , she will get out alive. Allah willing . She is one month old.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission		

80	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.20:40.0	-	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

81	Arabic ST: في خامس أيام رمضان منذ الصباح وحتى هذه اللحظة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.21:18.0	On the fifth day of Ramadan , since morning, till now.	On the fifth day of Ramadan (the month of fasting in Islam), since morning, till now.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

82	Arabic ST: قول يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.22:46.0	-	Say "O' Lord!".
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

83	Arabic ST: قول يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.22:49.0	-	Say "O' Lord!".
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

84	Arabic ST: الحمد لله كل يوم عم يمضى عم بكون احسن من اليوم يلي قبله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:25.0	Every day I'm getting better and better.	Praise be to Allah. Every day I'm getting better and better.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

85	Arabic ST:		
86	-لهلاء صح مافيني اتحرك برا السرير بس ان شاء الله -عم يحكو الدكاترة انه بعد ست شهور - بس انا متأكد مع دعواتكم الصادقة رح امشي قبل هيك ان شاء الله -ورح ارجع على الشغل من جديد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:29.0	I can't move myself now or get up from the bed. The doctor said I will be able to walk in Six months, but I'm sure with your prayers I will leave the bed sooner and get back to work.	Till now, it is true that I cannot get up from the bed, however, Allah willing, The doctors say that after six months. But I am sure with your prayers, I will walk sooner, Allah willing, And get back to work again.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

87	Arabic ST:		
88	الله لا يوفئك		
89	الله لا يوفئك يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.26:43.0	May God take revenge on you.	May Allah not support you. May Allah not support you. O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (transposition + Omission +Omission)		

90	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.27:00.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

91	Arabic ST: الله اكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.27:02.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

92	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.28:30.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

93	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.28:32.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

94	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.28:45.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

95	Arabic ST: ياخي وحد الله ياخي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.33:52.0	-	O' brother, say there is no god but Allah, brother.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

96	Arabic ST: وانا كمان صرت أقول يا رب بقلبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.35:0.0	I was also praying to God , deep in my heart.	And I also said O' Lord , deep in my heart.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

97	Arabic ST: انا كنت أقول هيك مشان رب العالمين بحبني		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.35:09.0	I did so because I know he loves me.	I said so because Lord of All that exists loves me.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution by pronoun		

98	Arabic ST: رب العالمين بحب كل الأولاد الصغار		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.35:15.0	God loves all the children.	Lord of All that exists loves all the children.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

99	Arabic ST: الي سنتين مجوز ماعديش بس جاييني على الطريق ان شاءالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.41:37.0	I've been married for two years. I don't have children, but we are expecting a child.	I've been married for two years. I don't have children, but we are expecting a child. Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

100	Arabic ST: بتمنى انه كل شب سوري يروح عالجهد ميشان تتحرر سوريا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.43:22.0	I wish that every Syrian would fight until Syria is free.	I wish that every Syrian join the holy fight of Islam to free Syria.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

101	Arabic ST: يعني من عيلتنا من بين حفيد ودار عمي يعني ما يقارب 21 شهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.44:08.0	More than 20 people in our extended family have been killed.	from our family (from grandson and my uncle's family) around 21 martyrs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

102	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله أكون من الشهداء		
103			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.44:27.0	I would hope to die fighting for it.	Allah willing, I am one of the martyrs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Compensation		

104	Arabic ST:		
105	عندي حلم كبير انه نرجع لحلب- ان شاء الله- حبيبتي ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.49:49.0	- I deeply hope to return to Aleppo one day. -My dear, God willing, you will come back.	I have a big dream that we will return to Aleppo, Allah willing . - My dear, Allah willing .
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + transposition		

Appendix 4: Data Collected from Aleppo: Notes from the Dark (2014), Broadcast on Amazon Prime

1	Arabic ST:		
	كرامة لله احنا مو ميشان شيء بس والله العظيم مو ميشان شيء		
2	بس لنعرف نحرك جسمه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.02:08.0	Let's dig it up round here just a bit. We need to get this body out.	For the sake of Allah . we need nothing. We swear by Allah, Almighty , just we need to move his body.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

3	Arabic ST:		
4	الله يستر عرضك دنيا واخرة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.02:11.0	May God save you until the Judgment Day.	May Allah protect and preserve your honour in this world and the Hereafter.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + compensation		

5	Arabic ST:		
	انا ان شاء الله بتمنى ارجع على مهنتي انا بشتغل بصيانة الموبايلات		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.02:44.0	God willing , after the uprising, I'm going to back to my old job. I used to repair mobile phones.	Allah willing , I wish I return to my job. I used to repair mobile.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

6	Arabic ST:		
	بتمنى ارجع لمهنتي. و ان شاء الله رح ارجع لمهنتي. بس بنفس الوقت حبيت الاعلام كثير بس انا الاعلام ماهي مهنتي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.02:50.0	God willing , I will be doing that again. Journalism is my duty but it is not my profession.	I wish I return to my job. Allah willing , I will return to my job. However, at the same time, I like journalism, but it is not my profession.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

7 8	Arabic ST: الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.03:46.0	CROWD SCREAMS ALLAHU AKBAR	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Loan)		

9 10 11	Arabic ST: صلي على النبي صلي على النبي صلي على النبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.04:53.0	CROUD SHOUTS AND GRIEVES	Peace be upon the prophet. Peace be upon the prophet. Peace be upon the prophet.
	Subtitling Strategies: condensation (Omission + Omission + Dummy compensation)		

12	Arabic ST: الله مصلي على النبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.04:56.0	-	Peace be upon the prophet.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

13	Arabic ST: يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.04:58.0	Oh God!	O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

14	Arabic ST: صلي على النبي عمو		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.05:00.0	-	Say “ peace be upon the prophet ”, uncle.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

15	Arabic ST: اللهم صلي وسلم على سيدنا محمد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.05:01.0	MAN CRYING	Peace be upon our prophet Muhammad.
	Subtitling Strategies: Dummy compensation		

16	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.05:05.0	-	O’ Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

17	Arabic ST: يارب يارب		
18			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.05:06.0	-	O’ God! O’ God.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

19	Arabic ST: السلام عليكم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.06:03.0	SOUND OF MOTORBIKES AND GREETINGS	Peace be upon you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

20	Arabic ST: لا شيء يعوضهم الا الايمان بالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.07:47.0	The only thing they still have is faith in God .	No compensation except the belief in Allah .
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

21	Arabic ST: لا إله الا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:17.0	-	There is no God but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

22	Arabic ST: انا هدول جاهز أقدمهن كلهن في سبيل الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:18.0	I'm willing to give them All to God .	I'm willing to give them All for the sake of Allah .
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

23	Arabic ST: عملنا نحن الشعب السوري مشاريع شهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:27.0	Assad has turned all of us, the people of Syria, into martyrs .	He has turned us, the people of Syria, into martyrs .
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

*	Arabic ST: هذا حزام ناسف. هذا بس لأنه لما يجي كلابك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:31.0	This is a shahid belt. When these dogs come here,	This is a blowing belt. This is used when your dogs come here.
	Subtitling Strategies: Addition		

24 25	Arabic ST: الا ما ادخل على وكر من وكر كلابك و نتقرب فيهن الى الله ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:34.0	I'm going to walk up to them, blow myself up, and ... then to God .	- I will enter one of your dogs' kennels, to please Allah by them, Allah willing
	Subtitling Strategies: compensation + Omission		

26 27	Arabic ST: الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:40.0	CALL TO PRAYER	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Compensation)		

28 29 30 31	Arabic ST: السلام عليكم - حاج ايمن شلونك شلون احوالك الله يكرمك يارب - عفوا		
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Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
0.09:46.0	“Good morning, what’s up? How are you feeling?”	Peace be upon you. Hajj Ayman, how are you? May Allah honour you. Amen. Thank you.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission+ Transposition + Omission + Omission		

32	Arabic ST:	
33	A- ان شاءالله-	
34	بجبل عرفات	
35	بصحبتك-B	
36	ان شاءالله الحمدلله رب العالمين	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
0.09:49.0	- - “Thank God, I’m fine.”	A- Allah willing , at the Mount Arafat of pilgrim. B- By accompanying you, Allah willing. Praise be to Allah Lord of All that exists.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission + Transposition + Omission		

37	Arabic ST: A- شلونك شلون احوالك شلون امورك- B- الحمد لله شلونك انت	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
0.09:55.0	-	A- How are you? B- praise be to Allah. , how are you?
Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

38	Arabic ST:		
39	A- الف الحمد لله والشكر لله-		
40	B- الله يديمك يارب-		
41	تفضلوا .		
42	A- الله يسلمك يارب-		
43			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.10:05.0	- - “May God be with you.” -	A- Praise be to Allah and thanks to Allah , a thousand times. B- May Allah protect you. Amen. A- May Allah protect you. Amen.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission+ Omission+ Transposition + Omission + Omission + Omission		

44	Arabic ST:		
	بشكل يومي في سوريا في قتل في دمار في خراب في شهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.12:55.0	Throughout Syria, there are murders, victims and destruction on a daily basis;	Throughout Syria, there are murders, martyrs and destruction on a daily basis.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

45	Arabic ST:		
46	سمو بالله		
47	قولوا		
48	الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

0.14:19.0	PRAYING TO ALLAH	Say “ in the name of Allah ”. Say “ Allah is the greatest ”. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Compensation + Omission + Omission + Omission)		

49	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.14:32.0	NERVOUS VOICES	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Dummy compensation			

50	Arabic ST:		
51	العزة لله		
52	الله أكبر		
52	والحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.14:34.0	-	All glory be to Allah. Allah is the greatest. Praise be to Allah.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission			

53	Arabic ST:		
54	A-السلام عليكم-		
55	B-وعليكم السلام-		
56	A-الله يعطيكم-		
	العافية		
	B-الله يعافيك-		
	يا اهليلج وسهلين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.15:23.0	GREETINGS	A-Peace be upon you. B-Peace be upon you too.

			A- May Allah grant you good health. B- May Allah grant you good health too, welcome.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission+ Omission+ Omission+ Compensation)			

57	Arabic ST:		
58	هاد الشارع راح فيه أكثر من ثلاثين شهيد اسمه شارع الشهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.16:05.0	More than 30 people were killed here. Now we call it martyrs street.	In this street, more than 30 martyrs died here. It is called the street of martyrs .
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Literal translation			

59	Arabic ST:		
	ممنوع كان حدا يمرق من ها لشارع بسبب خطورته الكثيرة. عدد من الشهداء والأطفال		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.16:16.0	You could not get through here. There were a lot of people killed, including children.	It is not allowed for anyone to cross this street due to its danger. There were a lot of martyrs , including kids.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

60	Arabic ST: وما حسنا نسحب شهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.16:18.0	We couldn't take their bodies away.	We couldn't take the bodies of the martyrs away.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

61	Arabic ST: ضلوا الشهداء هون جثث مرمية في الشارع شهر كامل وما قدر حدا يسحبهن		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.16:22.0	They would lie on the street the entire month and no one dared to approach them.	The bodies of martyrs stayed lie on the street the entire month and no one dared to approach them.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution (by pronoun)		

62	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله جاينك يا بشار يا كلب على نص قصر ك انت وحسن الكلب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.19:06.0	-	Allah willing , we are coming to you, Bashar, the dog, at the middle of your palace, and Hassan the dog too.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

63	Arabic ST:		
64	اخوكم بالله أبو حيدر انا قائد عسكري في حركة أنصار العقيدة		

Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
0.19:13.0	I'm Abu Haider, I'm squad leader of the Islamic Doctrine Fighters Movement,	Your brother in the religion of Allah , Abu Haider, I am squad leader of the Doctrine Fighters Movement.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Compensation		

65	Arabic ST: في عندنا بحلب ثلاث جبهات	
66	نشكر الله ونحمده عنا جبهة على البحوث العلمية مبنى البحوث العلمية في حلب جديدة وعنا جبهة في تل عارن وعنا جبهة في سفيرة	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
0.19:17.0	Fighting goes on in Aleppo on three fronts: next to the R&D center in New Aleppo and in the Tel Aran and Sfire districts.	In Aleppo, there are three fronts. We thank Allah and praise be to Allah , we have a new centre of scientific research in Aleppo, another one in Tel Aren, and another one in Saferah.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission+ Omission		

67	Arabic ST: اقسم بالله،	
68	العلي العظيم انه بالحجر نقاتله بالمظاهرات بالحجر بالحجر	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
0.19:48.0	I swear to God, we would throw stones during demonstrations,	I swear by Allah, Most High Almighty , we fight him by throwing stones, stones.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

69	Arabic ST: لبعد ست شهور أكثر من 52 ألف شهيد هدول مين قتلهم؟ مين قتلهم؟		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.19:57.0	Who killed 25000 protesters ? Who killed them?	For six months, there were more than 52 thousand martyrs . Wo killed them? who killed them?
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

70	Arabic ST: انا والله قبل الثورة ما كنت عسكري		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:20.0	I was not in the military before the uprising.	I swear by Allah , I was not in military before the uprising.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

71	Arabic ST: حي على الفلاح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:38.0	ARABIC STRINGED INSTRUMENT PLAYS	Come to the ultimate success.
Subtitling Strategies: Dummy Compensation			

72	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:40.0	PRAYER	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Compensation			

73 74	Arabic ST: فرب العالمين اصطفاني. حظ فيني النخوة وهداني ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.20:44.0	But God forgave me and helped return to faith.	Lord of All that exists chose me to have bravery and guide me, Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

75 76	Arabic ST: - السلام عليكم - - وعليكم السلام -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.21:17.0	CALLING GREETINGS	-peace be upon you. -peace be upon you too.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Compensation)		

77	Arabic ST: بس ان شاء الله انا عملي صار بالإغاثة تحديدا بالخبز بتابع بالخبز تحديدا فعليا للناس المحتاجة والي يشوف فيهن ابتسامة عنجد انا كثير بكيف عليها		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.21:40.0	My reward for the work I do is people's smiles. It means a lot to me.	But Allah willing , my work becomes with the rescue agency, particularly, distributing bread for people in need whose smiles make me happy.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

78	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:36.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

79	Arabic ST:		
80	الله أكبر		
81	الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:50.0	VOICE BEHIND CAMERA CHANTING 'ALLAHU AKBAR'	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission+ omission + Loan)			

82	Arabic ST:		
83			
84	الله أكبر		
85	الله أكبر		
86	ياالله		
87	ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.22:54.0	-	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Omission+ Omission+ Omission + Omission +Omission+ Omission			

88	Arabic ST:		
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89	الله أكبر		
90	الله أكبر لا إله الا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.23:20.0	EMERGENCY SERVICES SIRENS	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. There is no God but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Dummy compensation)		

91	Arabic ST:		
92	-لا إله الا الله لا الله الا الله والشهيد حبيب الله- لا الله الا الله والشهيد حبيب الله-		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.24:07.0	-MOURNERS SINGING AND CHANTING	-There is no God, but Allah and Allah love the martyr. -There is no God, but Allah and Allah love the martyr.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Dummy compensation)		

93	Arabic ST:		
94	- تكبير -		
95	-الله أكبر - لا إله الا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.24:09.0	-	Say Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. There is no God but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission		

96	Arabic ST: حسبى الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

0.25:54.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

97	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:11.0	May God be with him.	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

98	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:19.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

99	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:55.0	CROWDS HURRYING AND PRAYING	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Compensation			

100	Arabic ST:		
101	ياالله		
102	ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.27:20.0	PEOPLE SHOUTING, CALLING TO GOD.	O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Omission + Compensation)			

103	Arabic ST:		
104			
105	ياالله ياالله ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.27:41.0	PEOPLE SHOUTING, CALLING TO GOD.	O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Omission + Compensation)		

106	Arabic ST:		
	كل يوم بيوعي عنا بيوقع شهداء وضحايا فهمت كيف علي يعني مافي رحمة بقلبه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:23.0	Our martyrs get killed every day. There's also the wounded. They have no mercy.	Every day, we have martyrs and injuries, you understand me, i.e., there is no mercy in his heart.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

107	Arabic ST:		
108			
109	A- السلام عليكم B- وعليكم السلام C- السلام عليكم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.29:28.0	- - -	- peace be upon you. - peace be upon you too. - peace be upon you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission		

110	Arabic ST:		
111	انهار من الأيام لله مكننا منه ونزلناه بفضل من رب العالمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	0.30:24.0	One day with God's help we killed him.	One day, Allah enabled us to catch him with the grace of Allah, Lord of All that exists.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission			

112	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
113	رب العالمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.32:15.0	Thank God I'm alive.	Praise be to Allah. Lord of All that exists.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission			

114	Arabic ST: السلام عليكم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.32:19.0	-	Peace be upon you.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

115	Arabic ST: والله كنا اول يعني اشتغل و هيك عند العالم اطبق خرجيتي بس هلق ما بقدر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.35:56.0	Before that I worked at homes and I was earning. Now I can't. They have no money.	I swear by Allah , before that, I worked at homes to earn money. But now I cannot.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

116	Arabic ST:		
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117	الله بييعينا الله ايش بييعتلنا بشتري خبز		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.36:25.0	God helps us and remembers us. Neighbors help.	Allah help us. What Allah give us is used to buy bread.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

118	Arabic ST:		
119			
120	الله أكبر		
121	الله أكبر		
122	الله أكبر		
123	الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.39:38.0	MEN SHOUTING WARNINGS	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Omission + omission + omission + Dummy compensation)		

124	Arabic ST:		
125			
126	الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:20.0	CHANTING	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.

		Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Dummy compensation)		

127	Arabic ST:		
128	الله أكبر		
129	الله أكبر		
			الله أكبر
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:33.0	GUNFIRE AND CHANTING	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Dummy compensation)			

130	Arabic ST:		
	هاي نعمة من رب العالمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:45.0	-	This is a blessing from Lord of All that exists.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

131	Arabic ST:		
132	الله أكبر		
133	الله أكبر		
			الله أكبر
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.42:03.0	-	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission			

<p>134 135 136</p>	<p>Arabic ST:</p> <p>لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ</p> <p>إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ وَمَا اخْتَلَفَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْعِلْمُ بَعْيًا بَيْنَهُمْ وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ</p> <p>فَإِنْ حَاجُّوكَ فَقُلْ أَسْلَمْتُ وَجْهِيَ لِلَّهِ وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِ ۗ وَقُلْ لِلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ وَالْأُمِّيِّينَ أَسْلَمْتُمْ ۗ فَإِنْ أَسْلَمُوا فَقَدِ اهْتَدَوْا ۗ وَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ الْبَلَاغُ ۗ وَاللَّهُ بَصِيرٌ بِالْعِبَادِ</p>		
	<p>Timestamp</p> <p>0.42:36.0 - 0.43:30.0</p>	<p>English Subtitles (TT)</p> <p>RECITING THE QURAN</p> <p>RECITING THE QURAN</p> <p>VARIOUS VOICES AIDING RECITATION</p>	<p>English Back Translation</p> <p>“None has the right to be worshipped but He, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.</p> <p>Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam. Those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) did not differ except, out of mutual jealousy, after knowledge had come to them. And whoever disbelievers in the Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, signs, revelations, etc.) of Allah, then surely, Allah is Swift in calling to account.</p> <p>So if they dispute with you (Muhammad [peace be upon him]) Say: “I have submitted myself to Allah (in Islam), and say to those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) and to those who are illiterates (Arab pagans): “Do you (also) submit yourselves (to Allah in Islam)?” if they do, they are rightly guided; but if they turn away, your duty is only to convey the Message; and Allah is All-Seer of (His) slaves.” (Al-</p>

			Hilali & Muhsin Khan,1984, pp.69-70)
Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + Compensation + Compensation			

137	Arabic ST: بيقول عنهن الغرب كلن سلفية او تنظيمات متشددة او كذا انهم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.43:31.0	The West says that the Islamist groups fighting in Syria are very radical and intolerant,	All the west says that they are Salafi or extremist groups, etc.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

138	Arabic ST: هي الحركات الإسلامية المتشددة الي بيخوفوا الغرب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.44:00.0	That's who your Islamists are that the West is afraid of.	Theses are the extremist Islamic groups that the West is afraid of.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

139	Arabic ST:		
140	الله أكبر		
141	الله أكبر		
142	الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.44:08.0	MEN CHEERING 'ALLAHU AKBAR'	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.

		Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + omission + omission +Loan)		

143	Arabic ST: -بالعكس كثير غلطانين -بس هاد فكر بحاول بشار الأسد وجماعته حتى بيحاولوا كل الرؤساء العرب الخونة فكانوا يتذرعوا على طول بالحركات المتشددة هدول اسلامين بس ان مسكوا السلطة بدهن يقطعوا روس بدهن يذبحوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.44:18.0	You are wrong.	On contrary, they are wrong.
	0.44:21.0	Bashar Assad and his entourage of treacherous Arab leaders	However, this is the thought that Bashar Al-Assad and his people, including his entourage of treacherous Arab leaders.
	0.44:35.0	Was successful in persuading you that if Islamic groups come to power, they will retaliate and heads will be cut off.	They were successful in persuading people that these groups, the extremist Islamists , will cut people's head and slaughter people, when they come to power.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

144	Arabic ST:		
145	فاحنا قدوتنا سيدنا رسول الله والسلف الصالح فان كان صحابه سيدنا رسول الله ذبحوا الخلق وهنن على ديننا وكذا فتحنا بنعملها وهذا الكلام غير صحيح بالمرة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.44:57.0	Our guide is prophet Muhammad . Neither	Our model is the prophet of Allah .

0.45:15.0	he nor his disciples ever murdered anyone.	The prophet and his disciples who ever murdered anyone.
	And they are a model for us to follow, so we are not going to murder either.	And they follow our religion, so we are not going to murder either. This is totally wrong.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Substitution by pronoun		

146	Arabic ST:		
147	حي على الصلاة حي على الفلاح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.45:25.0	-CALLI TO PRAYER	Come to the prayer. Come to the ultimate success.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Compensation)			

148	Arabic ST: عناك خوف ولهم الحق لأنهم لا يعرفون الانسان المسلم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.45:23.0	The Westerners are concerned and they are right because they do not know any Muslim personally.	The Westerners are concerned, and they are right because they do not know who Muslim is.
Subtitling Strategies: Loan			

149	Arabic ST: والانسان المسلم يخاف من الانسان الغربي لأنه لا يعرف الانسان الغربي		
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	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.45:31.0	The Muslims are afraid of the Westerners because they don't know them either.	And the Muslim is afraid of the Western person because they do not know them either.
Subtitling Strategies: Loan			

150	Arabic ST:		
151			
152	- ماهوا المطلوب لحل هذه المشكلة ؟		
153	-المطلوب هو التواصل		
154	نبذ التطرف الإسلامي- ونبذ التطرف الاخر الله عز وجل امر رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم في كتابنا بنبذ التطرف-		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.45:40.0	-What can you do to solve this problem?	- What is required to solve this problem?
	0.45:43.0	-We need to communicate and reject Islamic extremism and any other radicalism in the world.	-The answer is the need to communicate and reject Islamic extremism and the other extremism in the world.
	0.45:46.0		
	0.45:51.0	-In his book , God commanded the prophet to condemn extremism.	- Allah, the Glorified and the Majesty order his prophet, peace be upon him, in our book, to condemn extremism.
Subtitling Strategies:			
Loan + transposition + Omission + literal translation + Omission			

155	Arabic ST:		
156	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		

"وان كنت فظا غليظ القلب لانفضوا من حولك"			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.45:59.0	<p>"In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate,</p> <p>If you have been rude in speech and austere in your heart, everyone will forsake you."</p>	<p>In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate,</p> <p>And had you (Muhammad, [peace be upon him] been severe and harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about you" (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, 1984, p.97)</p>
<p>Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling couplet :(Transposition+ Literal translation)</p> <p>+ Literal translation</p>			

157	<p>Arabic ST: الان الاخوة المجاهدين يقومون بترتيب هذه الكنيسة لإعادة تأهيلها</p>		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:10.0	<p>Now, the Mujahideen brothers are cleaning up in the church so it will be ready for worship.</p>	<p>Now, the mujahideen /Islamic fighter brothers are tidying this church to refurbish it (to be ready for worship).</p>
<p>Subtitling Strategies: Loan</p>			

158	<p>Arabic ST: نحن الان في الشيخ مقصود نتعهد بحماية هذه الكنيسة ونتعهد بحماية هذه المقدسات</p>		
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	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:19.0	At Sheikh Makssoud, we promise that we will clean up the church and we will protect Christian sanctity.	We are now at Shiekh Makssoud (a region), we promise to protect this church and we promise to protect all sanctity.
Subtitling Strategies: Loan			

159	Arabic ST: ونحن نحترم جميع المقدسات نحن الاسلام لسنا ارهاب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:30.0	We respect believers, because we are Muslims .	And we respect all sanctity. We are Islam , we are not terrorism.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

160	Arabic ST: بقصفوا الموائد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:34.0	-MAN TALKING	They bombed the minarets .
Subtitling Strategies: Dummy compensation			

161 162	Arabic ST: بسم الله والله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:37.0	-	In the name of Allah. And Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission			

163	Arabic ST: شوف اخوي بالنسبة لنا نحننا نحننا مسلمين فهمان كيف علي وحاليا نحننا في مرحلة حرب مع اظلم نظام في العالم عدا على الكرة الأرضية كلها		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.48:08.0	You know, the way it looks to us Muslims is that we are fighting a war with the world's worst dictator.	You know my brother, regarding us, we are Muslims . Do you understand me? We are currently in war against the worst dictator regime in the entire world.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

164	Arabic ST:		
165	ونحننا لنا في رسول الله قدوة حسنة عندما سئل انه قتلانا نحننا في		
166	الجنة وقتلاهم في النار بأذن الله		
167	لأنه احنا قانمين على قضية حق		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.48:28.0	And our Prophet Muhammad – whose example we follow says that our sacrifices in paradise and theirs are in hell .	And our prophet of Allah is our model. When he was asked, he said that our sacrifices in paradise and theirs in hell, Allah willing, because we are right.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Literal translation + Literal translation + Omission		

168	Arabic ST: والله قلنا كلمة "أنتن دمكم نجس وسختوا الأرض يا كلاب يا ما يعرف شو الحسو الدم انه دمكم الحسوه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

0.51:18.0	They told us: “your blood is like shit. You’re staining the floor, dogs...” “Lick the blood”.	I swear by Allah , we said “your blood is filth. You are staining the floor, dogs, ... I do not know. Lick the blood, lick your blood.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

169	Arabic ST: تعال اتفرج لك هيدا النبي ادمين اليهود الكفار ما بيساوا هالعمائل - وينكم يا عرب يا روؤساء يا امراء ياكذابين وينكن؟		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:12.0	CROWD MURMUR They are people, look. The Jews, the infidels – they wouldn’t have done that. Where are you Arabs, presidents, emirs. Liars! Where are you?!	Come to see these people. They are Jews, the infidels - they would not have done that. Where are you, Arabs, presidents, emirs. Liars! Where are you?!
Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation			

170	Arabic ST:		
171			
172	-ولكم عم يقتلنا عالهوة يلي ما بتخافوا الله يلي مالكين بتركيا -يلي ما بتخافوا الله تعوا شوفوا الحمنا معه ماي يا انزال يلي ما بتخافوا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:22.0	We are being killed by Alawis who do not fear	He is killing us based on our identification card, You, who do not fear Allah , who are having

	<p>God! You in Turkey, fear Allah!</p> <p>They pulled them out of water ...</p> <p>You cowardly bastards, who do not fear Allah!</p>	<p>properties in Turkey, who do not fear Allah,</p> <p>come and see how he deals with our bodies as he deals with water, you bastards, who do not fear Allah.</p>
<p>Subtitling Strategies: Addition +transposition + Loan + Loan</p>		

173	Arabic ST:		
174			
175	شكيناكم ل الله للكل - شكيناكم لواحد أحد		
176	الله أكبر عليكم. الله ينتقم منكم الله أكبر		
177			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:36.0	<p>We complain about you to God!</p> <p>- revenge</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p>	<p>We complain about you All to Allah!</p> <p>We complain about you to the One and only One [Allah]. Allah is the greatest. May Allah take revenge. Allah is the greatest.</p>
<p>Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission+ Omission + Omission+ Omission+ Transposition)</p>			

178	Arabic ST:		
179	الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:42.0	<p>CROWD SHOUTS</p> <p>'ALLAHU AKBAR'</p>	<p>Allah is the greatest.</p> <p>Allah is the greatest.</p>
<p>Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Loan)</p>			

180	Arabic ST: نحمل هذه الجرائم ما يسمى العالم المتحضر والإسلامي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:55.0	THESE MURDERS ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SO- CALLED "CIVILIAN" AND ISLAMIC WORLD	These murders are the responsibility of the so- called "civilian" and Islamic world.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

181 182	Arabic ST: " بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أَذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظَلِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِن دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَن يَقُولُوا رَبَّنَا اللَّهُ		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.55:48.0	-	In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful "Permission to fight (against disbelievers) is given to those (believers) who are fought against, because they have been wronged; and surely, Allah is Able to give them (believers) victory -" (Al -Hilali & Muhsin Khan, p.448)
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

183 184 185 186	Arabic ST: - وقعت الطيارة هون على المدنية - بس بس اسلام اسلام . غلطتين الإسلام كل شيء يقول لا إله الا الله محمدا رسول الله		
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بس غلطه بس			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.02:48.0	A plane dropped a bomb on civilians here.	A plane dropped a bomb on civilians here.
	1.02:52.0	Only Muslims . Their only fault was that they believed in Islam .	Only only Islam Islam . Their fault was Islam.
	1.02:58.0	Anyone who utters the holy words: “ there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet, ” commits an offense.	Anyone who utters there is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the prophet of Allah . This would be their fault only.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Omission + Loan + Subtitling Couplet (Literal translation + Loan)			

187	Arabic ST:		
188			
189	- منه ل الله و بس - منه ل الله و بس - شكينا ل الله و بس		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.03:06.0	I accuse Assad before God, God will do what he wants with him.	-May Allah take revenge from him. That's it. -May Allah take revenge from him. That's it. -We accused him before Allah. That's it.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Compensation)			

190	Arabic ST:		
191			
192	الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.04:36.0	-PANICKED SHOUTING	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Dummy compensation)		

193	Arabic ST:		
194	يا الله		
195	يا الله		
196	يا الله يا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:18.0	Oh God, oh God, Oh God...	O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition+ transposition +Transposition + Omission		

197	Arabic ST: ادعي بالرحمة لربك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:28.0	Ask God to protect us.	Ask Allah to be merciful to you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

198	Arabic ST:		
199	يا الله		
200	يا الله يا الله		

	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:31.0	- - -	O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission+ Omission			

201	Arabic ST:		
202			
203	الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.07:22.0	-PEOPLE RUNNING AND SCREAMING	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Dummy Compensation)			

204	Arabic ST: كان عدد الشهداء 50 صار 60 رجع لما ضرب القذيفة الثانية صار تقريبا وصل لل 100		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.07:39.0	At first there are 50 victims , and 60 a moment later. When another bomb explodes, the count is now 100.	The number of the martyrs was 50, then it became 60. Then, it became around 100 when exploded the second bomb.
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

205	Arabic ST: وينا ماما؟ في الجنة -		
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	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.08:08.0	-Where is your mum? - In heaven .	-Where is my mother? -In heaven
Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation			

206	Arabic ST: يا حرام		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.09:05.0	It's a sin!	It's a sin!
Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation			

207	Arabic ST:		
208	انا ما عندي ولا مجرد لحظة انه أفكر باهلي والا ابوي امي والا ابوي لا. ولكن انا عندي تفكير من الله عز وجل انه بدعي الله انه يتقبلني.		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.10:13.0	Not for a moment do I think of my family, my mother, or father. No. I only think for God to accept me.	I do not have, even a moment, to think of my family, my father, and my mother. However, I am only thinking of being accepted by Allah, the Glorified and the Majesty, I ask him to accept me.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission			

209	Arabic ST: في اهلي في عندهن الله ما ينساهم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.10:24.0	My family has God , he will not forget about them.	My family has Allah , he will not forget about them.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

210	Arabic ST:		
211	وقت يلي يكون عم بقاتل ما بفكر غير بالشهادة انه انول الشهادة هاد هو الشيء الوحيد يلي بفكر فيه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.10:28.0	When I fight I only think to be a shahid , a martyr saint. God will not accept anyone as shahid.	The time when I fight, I don't think of anything but martyrdom , that I will be martyred . This is the only thing that I think of
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + compensation		

212	Arabic ST:		
213	ليش, في ام والام الحمد لله مربية فاضلة بفضل الله وكرمه بس هاد بكون همه زيادة عن اللزوم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:04.0	There is a mother who brings up their children well, but this is the most beloved one	Why is there a mother? The mother, praise be to Allah , brings up their children well, by the grace and generosity of Allah , but this is the most beloved one.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

214	Arabic ST:		
215	بحلم ان شاء الله يستشهد البابا واجيب بارودة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.11:21.0	I would like my dad to become a shahid and I would like to have a refile	I dream that Allah willing my father would martyr and I would have a refile.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Compensation		

216	Arabic ST:		
217	الاخوة المجاهدين كان عندهم اشخاص معينين، في عندهن جهات معينة فكانت تدعمهن -ان شاء الله ممكن اقلك كان يمكن يسد حاجتهن من العوز		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.13:38.0	The soldiers of the Islamic groups have their friends and supporters, who back them up. This allows them to satisfy their basic needs.	The Mujahideen brothers/ the Islamic fighters, brothers , had certain people, and they had certain parties that used to support them. Allah willing , I can say that this can suffice their needs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + Omission		

218	Arabic ST: الشعب بالمطلق ما بيعرف هادا جيش حر هاد مجاهدة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.14:05.0	People do not know exactly who is with the Free Syrian Army, and who is a Mujahideen .	People do not know exactly who is with the Free Army, and who is with the holy fighters of Islamic groups .
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

219	Arabic ST:		
220	يمكن الجيش الحر بعقيده تكون عقيدة الجهاد أخف يمكن يكون ما يعرف ابعاد القتال يلي عم بيقاتل فيه يمكن بس هو بالنهاية مسلم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.14:37.0	Perhaps the FSA put less emphasis on religion and the	Perhaps the Free Army with its credendum put less emphasis on jiihad the holy war of Islam . I do not know the dimensions of their

		ultimate goal of the jihad, the holy war. But together, as Muslims.	fight, but at the end, they are Muslim.
Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling Couplet (Loan + compensation) + Loan.			

221	Arabic ST:		
222			
223	نحننا ان شاء الله اخوة في الله واخوة في الوطن واخوة حتى في القتال والجهاد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.14:48.0	We are brothers in God , homeland and combat.	Allah willing , we are brothers in Allah, homeland, combat and the holy war of Islam (Jihad).
Subtitling Strategies: Omission+ transposition + Omission			

224	Arabic ST:		
225	انا على استعداد جيبوا مجاهدين علوية ويحاربوا معي ومقاتلين مسيحية ودروز ومن جميع الطوائف		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.15:20.0	I'm willing to accept Mujahideen, Alawis , Druze, Christians and others,	I am ready to accept Alawite Mujahideen to fight with me, and Christian and Druze fighters and anyone from all sects.
Subtitling Strategies: Loan + Loan			

226	Arabic ST:		
227	انا اقسم بالله ، العلي العظيم		
228	انا ما بنكر انه صار في فرقة بين الاخوة المجاهدين وما بنكر انه صار في تفرقة بين الاخوة المجاهدين والاخوة بالجيش الحر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

1.15:47.0	I swear to God , and I am frank about the fact that there is a dispute Between the Mujahideen brothers and the FSA brothers.	I swear by Allah, the Most High Almighty , that I do not deny that there is a dispute between the brother mujahideen (the holy fighters of Islam) , and I do not deny that there is a dispute between the brother mujahideen (the holy fighters of Islam) and the Free Army.
Subtitling Strategies: transposition + Loan + Omission		

229	Arabic ST:	
230	العالم كله سعى على ذلك. والله العلي العظيم يتمنى انه انا ما في يوم من الأيام استشهد قبل ان أرى الاخوة تتفرق	
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)
	1.16:00.0	The whole world had taken care of that. I swear to God that I'd rather be shahid than see them live at loggerheads.
		English Back Translation
		The whole world had worked for that. I swear by Allah, the Most High Almighty , that I hope to get martyred before seeing the brothers in a dispute.
Subtitling Strategies: transposition + compensation		

231	Arabic ST:	
232		
233	ان شاء الله	
234	لنصر قاب قوسين او أدنى ان شاء الله النصر قريب ان شاء الله يارب	
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)
	1.16:27.0	God. Give us victory. Give us a close victory. That give us God.
		English Back Translation
		Allah willing. The victory is very close. Allah willing. The victory is very close. Allah willing. O' Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + omission + Omission + transposition		

235 236	Arabic ST: هدول الشباب الأربعة عنجد لا هن ولادي ولا هن قرابيبي نهائيا بقربوني جيرة بقربوني ان شاء الله اسلام		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.17:37.0	This foursome are neither my children nor relatives. They are my neighbours, Muslims.	This foursome is neither my children nor relatives. They are my neighbours. Allah willing, Islam.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Substitution		

237	Arabic ST: دخیل الله قومي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.18:41.0	MAN CRYING	For the sake of Allah, get up.
	Subtitling Strategies: Dummy compensation		

238	Arabic ST: دخیل اسم الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.18:55.0	-	For the sake of the name of Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

239 240	Arabic ST: يا شباب خلینا نقرا الفاحة کلنا بصوت جماعي على روح الشهداء يلي ماتوا بريف دمشق.		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.19:01.0	People, let us say the opening chapter of the	People, let us say Alfatiha (the opening chapter of the Quran)

	Quran for the people who died a martyr's death at Damascus.	for the people who died a martyr's death at Damascus.
Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + Literal translation		

241	Arabic ST:	
242	-بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم-	
243	-الحمد لله رب العالمين-	
244	-الرحمن الرحيم -مالك يوم الدين-	
245	-اياك نعبدو واياك نستعين-	
246	اهدنا الصراط المستقيم،	
247	-صراط الذين انعمت عليهم-	
248	-غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين-	
		-امين-
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)
	1.19:10.0	English Back Translation
		In the name of Allah, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful!
		-In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful"
		Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds.
		- "All praise and thanks are Allah's, the Lord of the 'Alamin' (mankind, jinn and all that exists)".
		The Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful, Sovereign of the Day of Recompense.
		- "The Most Gracious, the Most Merciful".
		- "The Only Owner (and the Only Ruling Judge) of the Day of Recompense (i.e., the Day of Resurrection)"
		You (Alone) we worship, and You (Alone) we ask for help (for each and everything)"
		It is You we worship and You we ask for help.
		Guide us to the straight path. The path of those upon whom you have bestowed favour;
		Guide us to the Straight Way "The way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace,"

	<p>Not of those who have evoked Your anger, or of those who are astray.</p> <p>Amen.</p>	<p>not (the way) of those who earned Your Anger (i.e., those whose intentions are perverted; they know the Truth, yet do not follow it), nor of those who went astray (i.e., those who have lost the (true) knowledge, so they wander in error, and are not guided to the Truth)” (Al -Hilali and Muhsin Khan, p p.1 -2)</p>
<p>Subtitling Strategies:</p> <p>Subtitling couplet: (Loan + Literal translation) Subtitling couplet (Loan + literal translation) + literal translation + literal translation + literal translation + literal translation + Literal translation + Loan</p>		

249	Arabic ST:		
250	الله أكبر على الظالم الله أكبر على الساكت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.19:31.0	MOURNFUL MUSIC	-May Allah, the great, take revenge on the tyrant. -May Allah, the great, take revenge on the indifferent.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission +Dummy compensation)			

251	Arabic ST:		
252	الله أكبر على الظالم الله أكبر على الساكت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.19:35.0	Allah, we accuse the tyrant. Allah, we accuse the indifferent.	-May Allah, the great, take revenge on the tyrant. -May Allah, the great, take revenge on the indifferent.

	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + compensation
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253	Arabic ST:		
254	الله أكبر على الظالم الله أكبر على الساكت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.19:42.0	CHANTING AND CLAPPING	-May Allah, the great, take revenge on the tyrant. -May Allah, the great, take revenge on the indifferent.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission +Dummy compensation)		

255	Arabic ST:		
256	-الخائنين اليوم قولوهن شهدائنا كانوا بدون دماء بدون دماء شهدائنا ماتوا بالأسلحة الكيماوية - خليكم انتم بمراقصكم وملاهيكم الحمراء - -خلي العرب يسمعوا اذا في عندهم ضمير يسمع		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.20:27.0	-Tell the traitors that our martyrs have died today without the shedding of blood. - -Let the Arabs hear us and show that they still have a conscience.	Tell the traitors that our martyrs have died today without the shedding of blood. without the shedding of blood. Our martyrs died because of chemical weapons. Stay at your red and dancing bars. Let the Arabs hear us and show that they still have a conscience.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + Omission		

257	Arabic ST:		
258			
259	بدنا نداء واحد		
260	" ياالله ياالله ياالله ياالله ياالله "		

261 262 263 264	" ياالله ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.20:44.0	Let's shout: "Oh, Allah!"	Let us shout together "O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!"
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Loan)		

265	Arabic ST: - انا كمواطن مارح نسامحك ابدا ابدا - لا قدام الله ولا قدام العالم كله والإنسانية ولا قدام ضمائرکم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.20:54.0	I will never forgive you for this as a citizen. I swear before Allah, before the world and before your conscience.	I will never forgive you for this as a citizen. I swear before Allah , before the world and humanity and before your conscience.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

266 267	Arabic ST: اشهد ان لا إله الا الله اشهد ان محمدا رسول الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.21:32.0	VOICE OF PREACHER	I testify that there is no God, but Allah. I testify that Muhammad is the prophet of Allah.

	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Dummy compensation)
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268	Arabic ST: نحن على علم وتمام اليقين انه لن يصيبنا الا ما كتبه الله لنا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:06.0	We believe that we won't be harmed, that we will be given what Allah intended for us.	We believe and know that “nothing shall ever happen to us except what Allah has ordained for us.” (Al-Hilali & Muhsin Khan, p. 252)
	Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling couplet: (Literal translation + Loan)		

269	Arabic ST: انه انا الي عمر محدد الله حظلي اياه خلص بدي اعيشه. وبعدين بدي اموت خلص		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:34.0	Allah gave me a certain time to live, and so I will not live any longer.	Allah gave me a certain time to live, and so I will not live any longer. Then, I will die. That is it.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

270	Arabic ST: فالناس تأقلمت على القصف على الدار على الخراب على الشهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:37.0	People have grown accustomed to the bombings, devastation, the causalities .	People have grown accustomed to the bombings on houses, devastation, and the martyrs .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

271	Arabic ST:		
272	– تكبير		
273	الله أكبر		
274	تكبير – الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:59.0	- CHEERING “ALLAHU AKBAR”	Say “Allah is the greatest”. Allah is the greatest. Say “Allah is the greatest”. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + Loan)		

275	Arabic ST: الله أكبر على الظالم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.25:07.0	HAPPY VOICES AND PIANO MUSIC	-May Allah, the great, take revenge on the tyrant.
	Subtitling Strategies: Dummy compensation		

Appendix 5: Data Collected from 7 Days in Syria (2016), Directed by Robert Rippberger (Broadcast on Amazon Prime)

1	Arabic ST:
2	الله أكبر
3	الله أكبر
4	اشهد ان لا إله الا الله اشهد ان لا إله الا الله

Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
00.08:15	(MUEZZEN CALLING)	-Allah is the greatest. -Allah is the greatest. -I testify that there is no God but Allah. -I testify that there is no God but Allah.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + omission + compensation)		

5	Arabic ST: السلام عليكم	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
00.09:40.0	(GREETINGS IN ARABIC)	Peace be upon you.
Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

6	Arabic ST:	
7	الله يهدي حاله	
8	بجاه سيدنا محمد عاقرب بجاه الحبيب محمد	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
00.11:48.0	The situation is really bad.	May Allah make this situation good for the sake of our prophet Muhammad. Soon for the sake of our beloved Muhammad.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + omission + Compensation)		

9	Arabic ST: اه يارب	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	00.11:56.0	-	O' my God.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

10 11	Arabic ST: صلي على النبي صلي على النبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00.11:58.0	You must leave now	Say "Peace be upon the prophet". Say "Peace be upon the prophet"
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + compensation)			

12	Arabic ST: حسبى الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00.14:57.0	In the name of God.	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Dummy Compensation			

13	Arabic ST: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00.14:59	In the name of the Servant of the Gentle.	Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Dummy Compensation (not equivalent at all)			

14 15	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل فيك يا بشار حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

00:15:02	In the name of the Servant of the Gentle.	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs, O' Bashar! Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + dummy compensation)		

16	Arabic ST: شالوا الشباب كان مستشهد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:17:44	The young guys pulled him out. He was already dead .	The young guys pulled him out. He had already martyred .
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

17	Arabic ST: يعني اول شهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:17:47	He was the first one dead .	This means the first martyr .
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

18	Arabic ST: ثلاثهم مستشهدين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:18:19	They were all dead .	Three were martyrs .
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

19	Arabic ST:		
20	الله أكبر		

21	الله أكبر		
22	الله أكبر		
23	الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:18:22	(MEN CHANTING IN ARABIC)	-Allah is the greatest. -Allah is the greatest. -Allah is the greatest. -Allah is the greatest. -Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + dummy compensation)		

24	Arabic ST: الاطفال يلى كانوا نايمين عالتخت ثلاثتهم مستشهدين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:18:30	-	The kids who were sleeping on the bed, they martyred .
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

25	Arabic ST: كانوا ثلاث اطفال والشهيد يلى تحت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:18:34	There were three children inside and the person on the street.	They were three kids and the martyr on the street.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

26	Arabic ST: اربعة شهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:18:34	All four died	Four martyrs .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

27	Arabic ST: هي بين الاسلاميين والجيش الحر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:19:07	It's between Islamists and the Free Army.	It's between Islamists and the Free Army.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

28	Arabic ST: والا هذول الشيوخ يلي مستلمين كل واحد فاتحلي محكمة لحالة وقاعد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:19:38	Or, those religious sheikhs , each has his own courtroom to judge now	Or those religious leaders (sheikhs) , each one has his own courtroom to judge now.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

29	Arabic ST: كنتم عم تقولو يا رب يا بشار		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:19:45	They were saying, “oh God ” and “Oh Bashar.”	They were saying “ O’ God ” and “ O’ Bashar ”.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

30 31	Arabic ST: يلعن روحك يا حافظ يلعن بشار ومالك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:25:11	-	May Allah expel Hafiz’s soul from His mercy.

			May Allah expel Bashar and Malek from His mercy.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission			

32	Arabic ST: ياريتيني صلاح الدين تا احمي هذا الدين تا احمي هذا الدين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:25:29	-	I wish I were Salah Al-Deen to protect this religion, to protect this religion.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

33 34	Arabic ST: يلعن روحك يا حافظ يلعن بشار ومالك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:25:35	-	May Allah expel Hafiz's soul from His mercy. May Allah expel Bashar and Malek from His mercy.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission			

35 36 37 38	Arabic ST: شهيدينا راح على الجنة راح شهيدينا راح على الجنة راح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:25:44	-	Our martyr went to the heaven . Our martyr went to the heaven .

	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission
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39	Arabic ST:		
40	شهيدينا راح على الجنة راح		
41	شهيدينا راح على الجنة راح		
42			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:25:50	-	Our martyr went to the heaven . Our martyr went to the heaven .
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission		

43	Arabic ST:		
44	تكبير - الله أكبر -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:26:03	GROUP: Allahu Akbar.	-Say "Allah is the greatest". -Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + loan)		

45	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله يسهلها، يعني مافي شي عندنا يحمينا لا قبو ولا شي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:26:51	By God , there is nothing that I can use to protect them.	Allah willing, May Allah make it easy. There is nothing that we can use to protect us, such as underground shelter
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

46	Arabic ST:		
47			
48	تكبير-		
49	الله أكبر - تكبير الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:33:29	(CROWD CLAMORING)	-Say “Allah is the greatest”. -Allah is the greatest. -Say “Allah is the greatest”. -Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + dummy compensation)		

50	Arabic ST: الدور يكون وصلان خيرات الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:33:34	The line is reaching to God knows where.	The line is reaching to Allah knows where.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

51	Arabic ST:		
52	- الحمد لله بكفو		
53	ان شاء الله الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:36:09	-It is enough and also more. Thanks to God , it is enough. -God willing Thanks to God.	Praise be to Allah. it suffices our need, Allah willing. Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Transposition + Transposition		

54	Arabic ST: الله يرضى عليك		
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	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:37:57	-	May Allah be pleased with you.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

55	Arabic ST: صوت من الراديو يتلو آيات قران		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:44:10	(Reciting on radio)	Reciting the verses of the Quran on radio.
Subtitling Strategies: dummy compensation			

56	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:51:00	(SPEAKING IN ARABIC)	Allah willing.
Subtitling Strategies: Dummy Compensation			

57	Arabic ST:		
58	- السلام عليكم - وعليكم السلام ورحمة الله وبركاته -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:54:42	(MEN SPEAKING IN ARABIC)	- Peace be upon you. -Peace and blessings of Allah be upon you.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + dummy compensation)			

59	Arabic ST: الله يعطيك العافية		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:54:46	-	May Allah grant you good health.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

60	Arabic ST: والله في امر ما لازم وجه عليه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:59:04	(SPEAKING IN ARABIC)	I swear by Allah that there is something that I should not talk about.
	Subtitling Strategies: Dummy compensation		

61	Arabic ST:		
62	الله أكبر		
63	الله أكبر تكبير يا شباب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:02:07	Pray to God! God is great.	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Say “Allah is the greatest”, guys.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Transposition + Compensation)		

64	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:02:32	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

65	Arabic ST:		
66	لقتوا الشهادة لقتوا الشهادة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

01:02:37	Make sure he recites shahadeh [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah]	Make sure he recites <i>Shahadah</i> [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah]. Make sure he recites <i>Shahadah</i> [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah].
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (omission + Compensation)		

67	Arabic ST: قول اشهد ان لا اله الا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:02:39	- Say, “there is no one but Allah”	Say “there is no God but Allah”.
Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling couplet (Loan + Literal translation)			

68 69	Arabic ST: لقتوا الشهادة لقتوا الشهادة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:02:45	-	Make sure he recites <i>Shahadah</i> [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah]. Make sure he recites <i>Shahadah</i> [a testimonial that there is no God but Allah].
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission			

70 71 72	Arabic ST: اتشهد الله يرحمه اشهد ان لا اله الا الله		
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	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:02:50	- Say, “there is no one but Allah.” God bless his soul.	- Say, “there is no one but Allah.” -May Allah rest his soul in peace. -I testify that there is no God but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + Transposition + Omission		

73	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:03:06	-	Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

74	Arabic ST: حسبى الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:03:16	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

75	Arabic ST: الله يوفقن		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:03:24	-	May Allah enable you to succeed.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

76	Arabic ST: لا إله إلا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:03:26	No God but Allah	There is no God but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling Couplet (Literal translation + Loan)		

77	Arabic ST: ياخي كرمال الشهيد انزلوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:03:40	Please. For the sake of the martyr , leave.	Please. For the sake of the martyr , leave.
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

78	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
79	الله أكبر		
80	الله أكبر		
81	الله أكبر		
82	الله أكبر		
83	الله أكبر		
84	الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:05:40	(MEN CHANTING IN ARABIC)	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + dummy compensation).		

85	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
86	الله أكبر		
87	الله أكبر		
88	الله أكبر		
89	الله أكبر		
90	الله أكبر		

Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
01:08:28	(MEN CHANTING IN ARABIC)	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + dummy compensation)		

91	الله أكبر		
92	الله أكبر		
93	الله أكبر		
94	الله أكبر		
95	الله أكبر		
96	الله أكبر		
97	الله أكبر		
	Arabic ST:		
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation	
01:08:53	(MEN CHANTING IN ARABIC)	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.	
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission + dummy compensation).			

98	Arabic ST:	
99	الله أكبر	

100	الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:09:30	-	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission+ Omission		

Appendix 6: Data Collected from Sky and Ground (2018), Directed by Talya Tibbon and Joshua Bennett (Broadcast on Amazon Prime)

1	Arabic ST: حيث يصل المكان صاروخ حراري, الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:02:29	The place was just hit with a heat-seeking missile.	The place was just hit with a heat-seeking missile. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

2	Arabic ST: الله أكبر عليك يا بشار		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:02:36	God damn you Bashar!	May Allah take revenge on you Bashar.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

3	Arabic ST:		
4	الله أكبر		
5	الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:02:40	-	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.

		Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission+ Omission		

6	Arabic ST: الميششليات التكفيرية الاسلامية يلي كانت موجودة حياتنا احنا كانت بخطر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:02:47	The Islamist extremist militias made life very dangerous.	The Islamist extremist militias that were in our life made our life very dangerous.
Subtitling Strategies: Compensation			

7	Arabic ST: نحننا الاكراد بيؤخذوا صورة عنا انه نحننا ملاحدة بالاساس		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:02:51	We are Kurds, so they consider us infidels to begin with.	We are Kurds, so they consider us infidels to begin with.
Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation			

8	Arabic ST: رب العالمين يرحمنا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:03:25	May God have mercy on us.	May Lord of All that exists have mercy on us.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

9 10	Arabic ST: ايه يالله ان شاء الله بنتيسر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:07:48	Good luck.	Yeas, O' Allah! Allah willing , it will be easy.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission+ Transposition)			

11	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:08:08	Oh, God!	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

12	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:08:27	-	Allah willing
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

13	Arabic ST:		
14	شعوري والله		
15	الحمد لله رب العالمين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:09:19	My feelings.... I thank God.	My feelings, I swear by Allah, ... Thanks to Allah, Lord of All that exists.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission+ Transposition + Omission)		

16	Arabic ST:		
17	الله يوفقنا		
18	يا رب وان شاء الله نوصل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:09:22	I hope we reach our goal,	May Allah enable us to succeed. O' Allah! Allah willing, we will reach our goal.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission+ Omission + Transposition)		

19	Arabic ST: ام محمد تمام الوضع - الحمدالله -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:10:12	-Om Mohammad, how about you. -ok	- Are you okay, Om Mohammad? - Thanks to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

20 21	Arabic ST: الله الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:11:37	Allah! Allah!	Allah! Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan + Loan		

22	Arabic ST: . لابس عسكري ياالله . في قطع عسكرية هون مثلا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:13:27	He is in uniform. God! Are there military units here?	He is in military uniform. O' Allah! Are there military units here?
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

23	Arabic ST: انا والله كل بناتي ولسي ريتا بشوفها بنتعب لسي بتحمس أكثر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:15:50	When I see my girls suffer, especially my little Rita, It motivates me.	I swear by Allah , when I see my girls suffer, especially my little Rita, it motivates me.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

24	Arabic ST: والله حطيت الصبح حشيش وعشب رطب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:16:50	In the morning, the grass is very wet.	I swear by Allah , in the morning, the grass is very wet.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

25	Arabic ST: دخیل الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:21:20	Oh my God!	For the sake of Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

26	Arabic ST: الله حيوه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:24:47	Sounds great.	May Allah bless him.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

27	Arabic ST: ابو قاسم كيف الاخبار- زفت والحمدالله -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:31:59	-Suleiman, how's it going? -Shitty, thank God. shitty.	-Abu Qasem, how is it going? - praise be to Allah , not god.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

28	Arabic ST:		
29	ياالله		
30	ياالله		

	ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:33:09	Oh God! Oh God! Oh God!	O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + transposition + transposition		

31	Arabic ST: الحمد لله وصلنا هون ما في مشكلة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:43:40	Thank God We reached here with no trouble.	Thanks to Allah, we reached here with no trouble.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

32	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله بتروحي على المانيا بتتبسطي هونيك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:43:44	Hopefully you will get to Germany and will be happy.	Allah willing, you will get to Germany and will be happy there.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

33	Arabic ST: والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:44:48	I swear	I swear to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

34	Arabic ST: بليل ما بيحيني نوم من شان ابني بحلب بليل ما يحيني نوم والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:44:56	I wasn't able to sleep at night thinking about my son in Aleppo.	I wasn't able to sleep at night thinking about my son in Aleppo. I can't sleep. I swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

35	Arabic ST:		
36	ان شاء الله نروح نشوف بدر وعبدو وولاده وولاد أخوي كلهم ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:55:45	God willing , we will be in Germany Ten days, in my son Badrs' place. Abdo be with there as well with his children. I hope so.	Allah willing , we will see Bader, Abdo and his sons, and my brother's sons, all, Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Transposition		

37	Arabic ST:		
38	الحمد لله على السلامة - الله يسلمك -		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:10:20	- Thank God you are good. - Thank you.	- Thanks Allah , you are safe. - May Allah protect you too.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition+ Transposition		

39	Arabic ST: الحمد لله على السلامة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:20:34	Thank God you are safe!	Thanks Allah , you are safe.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

40	Arabic ST: الحمد لله على السلامة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:21:19	Thank God you are safe!	Thanks Allah , you are safe.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

41	Arabic ST: الحمد لله على السلامة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	01:24:14	Thank God you are safe!	Thanks Allah , you are safe.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

Appendix 7: Data Collected from The Ruins of Raqqa (2018), Directed by Matt Brown (Broadcast on Amazon Prime)

1 2	Arabic ST: اسمه دوار النعيم صار اسمه دوار الجحيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:01:17	It was called Square of Heaven , now it's Square of Hell .	It was called Square of Heaven , now it's Square of Hell .
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + Literal translation		

3	Arabic ST: حياتنا هيك صارت. الحياة عندها جحيم صارت		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:02:37	That was our life, it was hell .	Our life becomes like this, it is hell .
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

4	Arabic ST:		
5	ايش اوصفلك يعني حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل كل اللي وصلولناه اياه حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:03:38	What can I more? they mistreated us what can I say? Only God can help us. -	What to describe? I mean that Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs of All what they did.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation + Omission		

6	Arabic ST:		
	لابسات لباسهن اللباس الشرعي الكامل وما اخليهن يشوفن وجوهن لحدنا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:07:25	They would be in full Sharia outfit and they wouldn't let anyone see their faces.	They would be in full required religious outfit , and they wouldn't let anyone see their faces.
	Subtitling Strategies: Subtitling couplet (Loan + literal translation)		

7	Arabic ST:		
	واجى من مصدر انه داعشي وقوي وما بعد اخره ودولة اسلامية اجاني		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:20:29	He was playing it big, being IS executive, the Islamic state and so on.	He was playing it big, being IS executive, the Islamic state and so on.
	Subtitling Strategies: Loan		

8	Arabic ST: شهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:23:48	To be martyred	A martyr.
	Subtitling Strategies: literal translation		

9	Arabic ST: هون عندك راسمين سيارة على انه استشهادي عندهن واحد هيك يركب السيارة ويفجر حاله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:31:16	Here you have a drawing of a car, it's a suicide bomber . He wants to drive a car and explode himself.	Here you have a drawing of a car, as an istishadi/a person who works to get martyred , for them, a person who gets to ride a car and explodes himself.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

10	Arabic ST:		
11	ثلاث بيوت هنا ثلاث بيوت ادمروا تحت الطيران الحمد لله الكل طيبين الصغار الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:38:04	And here I had a three flats that were destroyed by airstrikes, but thank God the children are safe.	And here I had three houses that were destroyed by airstrikes but thank Allah the children are safe. Thank Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Omission		

12	Arabic ST: الحمد لله على انه الاولاد طيبين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:38:27	Thank God the children are fine.	Thank Allah , the children are fine.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

13	Arabic ST: الدمار يتعوض يتعوض والحمدالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:38:33	What was damaged, will be replaced. Thanks to God.	What was damaged, will be replaced. Thanks to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

14	Arabic ST:		
15	يعني كل اظفر من الاولاد يسوى كثير الحمدالله طيبين وعايشين الحمدالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:38:38	Thanks to God. Each child is priceless and we are fine. Thanks to God.	Thanks to Allah. Each nail of the children's nails is priceless. We are fine and living. Thanks to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + Transposition		

16	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:38:48	-	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

17	Arabic ST: بس تا يتعلموا القراءة والكتابة الحمدالله انهم تعلموا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:39:46	I just wanted them to learn how to write and read and thanks to God they learned.	I just wanted them to learn how to write and read and thanks to Allah they learned.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

Appendix 8: Data Collected from For Sama (2019), Directed by Waad al-Kateab and Edwar (Broadcast on All4)

1	Arabic ST: والله العظيم ما هو حكي هاد كل يوم هيك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.02:05.0	This is insane. We're getting this every day	I swear by Allah, Almighty , this is unreasonable. We are getting this every day.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

2	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.03:34.0	Oh, God!	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

3	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.03:36.0	Oh, God!	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

4	Arabic ST: يعني كانت نائمة ه ه ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.03:50.0	-She was asleep when	It means that she was asleep ... O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

5	Arabic ST: لك اسكت كرمال الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	0.04:04.0	Oh shut up for God's sake!	Shut up, for the sake of Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

6	Arabic ST: والله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.04:20.0	-	I swear by Allah.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

7	Arabic ST: يا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.05:53.0	-	O' Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

8	Arabic ST: سلمية سلمية اسلام ومسيحية		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.08:36.0	Our revolution is peaceful! Muslims and Christians together!	Our revolution is peaceful! Islam and Christianity together!
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

9	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.09:09.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

10	Arabic ST: كل شهيد جديد مارح ندفنه اليوم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.11:50.0	No reason to rush The new bodies won't be buried today	Every new martyr will not be buried today.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

11 12	Arabic ST: شهيدينا راح. على الجنة راح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:22.0	Our dead have gone to paradise	Our martyr has gone to paradise .
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Literal translation		

13	Arabic ST: وبشار قتل الشهيد ابن السفاح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:26.0	Bashar has killed our people . That son of a killer.	Bashar has killed the martyr . That son of a killer.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

14 15	Arabic ST: شهيدنا راح الى الجنة راح		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:37.0	Our dead have gone to paradise	Our martyr has gone to paradise.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution + Literal translation		

16	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:40.0	-	Allah is the greater.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

17	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.13:46.0	-	Allah is the greater.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

18	Arabic ST: بس الله يخلي لنا بشار الأسد يلي خانا نشغل كل شيء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.16:03.0	We have to thank Bashar Assad for forcing us to do everything from scratch	However, May Allah keep Bashar Al-Assad who forced us to do everything.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

19	Arabic ST: الله يوفقك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.17:27.0	-	May Allah enable you to succeed.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

20	Arabic ST: الله معك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.18:40.0	-	May Allah be with you.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

21	Arabic ST: ياالله تعيش		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:28.0	May he rest in peace, pray for him	O' Allah . Long life for you. He is dead.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

22	Arabic ST:		
23	صلي على النبي صلي على النبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.26:50.0	-	-Pray for the prophet “peace be upon him”. -Pray for the prophet “peace be upon him”.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

24	Arabic ST:		
	يعني الصغار، والله مالهن ذنب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.28:15.0	Children nothing to do with this, nothing	Children do not have a sin; I swear by Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

25	Arabic ST:		
26	مو حرام يعني الله اعطانا هالجمال وانتو لتقصوه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.30:42.0	God created this beauty, and you just want to cut it back?	It is a sin to cut this beauty that Allah created, isn't it?
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + transposition		

27	Arabic ST: يا ربي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.32:38.0	Oh my God	O' my God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

28	Arabic ST: اسلاميين متشددين يحاولون السيطرة على المناطق المحررة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:35.0	Islamic extremists were trying to take over the rebellion.	Islamic extremists were trying to take over the free regions.
Subtitling Strategies: Loan			

29	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:46.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

30	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.33:57.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

31	Arabic ST: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.34:30.0	In the name of God	In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

32	Arabic ST: يا رب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.34:37.0	Oh God	O' God!
Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation			

33	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله ما يكون راح كل شيء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.35:20.0	I hope they're not all dead.	Allah willing, not all things have gone.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

34	Arabic ST: يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.35:57.0	Oh God	O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

35	Arabic ST: بس لا تختبرني بابني وبحمزة يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.36:00.0	Please God , don't let anything happen to my baby or to Hamza	O' God! Do not test me by making bad things happen to my son and Hamza.
	Subtitling Strategies: literal translation		

36	Arabic ST: يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.36:08.0	Please God	O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: literal translation		

37	Arabic ST: الله الله الله		
38			
39			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	0.36:20.0	Wow, It looks delicious	O' Allah! O' Allah! O' Allah!
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + transposition)			

40	Arabic ST: والله ما حد رح يطلع ايش بيك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.38:00.0	No one's leaving, come on	I swear by Allah that no one will get out, come on.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

41	Arabic ST: صلي على محمد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.40:08.0	-	Pray for the prophet peace be upon him.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

42 43	Arabic ST: الله لا يوفقه حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.42:03.0	-	- May Allah not enable him to succeed. Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission			

44	Arabic ST: يمكن استشهدوا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.42:30.0	Killed, I think	I think they martyred .
Subtitling Strategies: Substitution			

45	Arabic ST: اشهد ان لا إله الا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.42:50.0	-	I testify that there is no God but Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

46	Arabic ST: الله يلعنه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.43:40.0	-	May Allah expel him from His mercy.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

47	Arabic ST: ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.44:44.0	Good Girl.	O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

48 49	Arabic ST: ياالله ياالله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.46:43.0	Please God , Please God	O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition + transposition		

50	Arabic ST: يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.48:18.0	Oh God	O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: literal translation		

51	Arabic ST: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.48:40.0	-	In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

52	Arabic ST:		
53	الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.48:58.0	-God be praised	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + compensation)		

54	Arabic ST: يا الله يا الله		
55			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.49:00.0	-	O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

56	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.49:07.0	-	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

57	Arabic ST: يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.50:50.0	Oh God	O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

58	Arabic ST:		
59	الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.51:09.0	- -	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

60	Arabic ST:		
	ان شاء الله بس حدا بالتفصيل يحكي ايش الوضع؟		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:08.0	Can anyone give me details? What's the situation?	Allah willing. But can anyone give me details? What's the situation?
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

61	Arabic ST:		
	دكتور تبع الصيانة اعطاك عمره إسماعيل كمان استشهد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.52:18.0	Doctor, Ismail the maintenance guy's been killed	Doctor, Ismail the maintenance guy, has died. He martyred too.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

62 63	Arabic ST: يارب بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.54:48.0	Here we go, in the name of God	O' God! In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Transposition		

64 65	Arabic ST: حمدو ربهم شكرو ربهم مبسوطين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.57:23.0	They happily thanked God	They praised their God. They thanked their God. They are happy.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + literal translation)		

66	Arabic ST: حسيتي حالك بالجنة اما لا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.57:58.0	-	I felt that I am in heaven , aren't I?
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

67	Arabic ST: الحمد لله على سلامتک		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.58:04.0	-	Thanks Allah, you are safe.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

68	Arabic ST: قلت يا ربي مين قلب علي كاسة شاي فنجان قهوة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	0.58:17.0	I was like, “Has someone spilled their tea or coffee on me?”	I said O’ God! Who spilled a cup of tea or coffee on me?
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

69	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.00:50.0	I’m alright	Praise be to Allah.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

70	Arabic ST: والله مكيفين بس في ناقص رفاقنا ماضل ولا واحد منهم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.01:39.0	It’s cool but we miss our friends they’re all gone.	I sweat by Allah; we are happy. But, there is something missing, our colleagues, they are all gone.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

71	Arabic ST: بس في بيستشهد واحد ورا الثاني		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.01:48.0	But they’re getting killed one after another	But they are getting martyred one after another.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

72	Arabic ST: الله يسامحكم تركتوني هون لحالي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.02:11.0	May God forgive you for leaving me here alone	May Allah forgive you for leaving me here alone
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

73	Arabic ST: يا ربي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.03:40.0	Oh God	O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

74 75	Arabic ST: يا الله يا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.05:05.0	-	O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

76	Arabic ST: صلي على النبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.05:58.0	Contain yourself!	Pray for the prophet peace be upon him.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

77	Arabic ST: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:16.0	-	Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

78	Arabic ST: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:18.0	-	Sufficient for us is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

79	Arabic ST: حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.06:20.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

80	Arabic ST: عائلة كاملة شيء عشر شهداء		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.09:24.0	A whole family, around ten dead	A whole family, around ten martyrs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Substitution		

81	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.10:05.0	-	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

82	Arabic ST:		
83			
84	يا رب		
85	دخيل اسمك يا رب		
	يا رب		
	دخيل اسمك يا رب		

Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
1.10:08.0	Oh god, please!	O' God! For the sake of your name, O' God! O' God! For the sake of your name, O' God!
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Omission + literal translation)		

86 87	Arabic ST: والله كرمالك روحه والله	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
1.10:35.0	We only tried to escape for you Only for you	I swear by Allah , I went only for you, I swear by Allah.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Transposition		

88	Arabic ST: يارب	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
1.11:53.0	Oh God	O' God!
Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation		

89	Arabic ST: والله شفته جاي على الطريق من الفتحة	
Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
1.13:18.0	Seriously , I saw one coming	I swear by Allah , I saw him coming from the hole.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

90	Arabic ST: هاد كان قبل الثورة الله تاب علينا هلا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.16:27.0	That was before the revolution! Now I don't have to do that, thank God	That was before the revolution! Now Allah forgave us.
	Subtitling Strategies: Compensation		

91	Arabic ST: اوكيه ان شاء الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.18:56.0	Ok, God willing	Okay, Allah willing.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

92 93	Arabic ST: الله يسير طريقنا مثل الصلاة على النبي		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.22:04.0	May God make this journey go safety	May Allah make our journey go safely like the ease of saying peace be upon the prophet.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (transposition + Omission)		

94 95	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.22:06.0	God willing	Allah willing. O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Transposition + Omission)		

96	Arabic ST: ان شاء الله تفتح الفرغ على العباد كلها		
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	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.22:08.0	Let it be good for all of us	May Allah dispel worries of all people.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

97	Arabic ST:		
98	ان شاء الله		
99	يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.22:10.0	-	Allah willing O' God! O' God!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission		

100	Arabic ST: الحمد لله شكلها منيحة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.24:33.0	Thank God, she seems fine	Thank Allah, she seems fine.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

101	Arabic ST: ايه لترجه والله لترجع		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.27:33.0	We will return, I promise you	We will return, I swear by Allah, we will return.
	Subtitling Strategies: omission		

102	Arabic ST: والله لترجع والله		
103			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	1.27:36.0	We will return, we will	I swear by Allah, we will return, Allah willing.
Subtitling Strategies: transposition + omission			

104 105	Arabic ST: والله لنرجع بأذن الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.27:42.0	We will return, we will	I swear by Allah, we will return, Allah willing.
Subtitling Strategies: transposition + Omission			

106 107 108 109	Arabic ST: -الحمد لله على السلامة -الله يسلمك -الحمد لله على السلامة -الله يسلمك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.29:32.0	I'm glad you're safe! You too!	Thank Allah for your safe. May Allah protect you too. Thank Allah for your safe. May Allah protect you too.
Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Transposition + Omission +transposition)			

110	Arabic ST: الحمد لله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.29:40.0	Thanks to God	Thanks to Allah.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

111	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	1.29:42.0	-	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

112	Arabic ST: غير انه الحمد لله احنا عاشرين		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	1.30:10.0	Only thank God we're alive	Only thank Allah we're alive.
Subtitling Strategies: Transposition			

Appendix 9: Data Collected from Syria's Torture Machine (2011, Julie Noon), (Broadcast on All 4)

1	Arabic ST:		
2			
3	الله أكبر		
4	الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:03:38	- - - -	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission + Omission			

5	Arabic ST:		
	من شان شو حرية . شو اسمعت ؟ وهي من شان الشهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:04:42	This is for freedom, and this is for the martyrs .	Freedom, for what? What did you hear? And it is for the martyr .

	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation
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6	Arabic ST: ياالله ياالله		
7	اخ ياالله ياالله		
8			
9			
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:06:00	Oh god! Oh God help me!	O' Allah! O' Allah!
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Omission + Transposition + transposition).		

10	Arabic ST: كذاب- والله صادق-		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:06:57	-you're a liar. -No, I swear I'm being honest.	-you're a liar. -No, I swear by Allah , I'm honest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

11	Arabic ST:		
12	مين يلي كان يحكي تكبير مين قال تكبير		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:09:36	-who was chanting , " god is greater ...? "	-who was saying , " Allah is the greatest "?
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (Omission + Compensation)		

13	Arabic ST: اقسام بالله ما انا		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation

	00:09:44	-	I swear by Allah that I am not.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

14	Arabic ST: الله يوفقك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:10:00	-	May Allah enable you to succeed.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

15	Arabic ST: الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:10:23	-	Allah is the greatest.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

16	Arabic ST: لا إله إلا الله		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:12:05	-	There is no God but Allah.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

17	Arabic ST: الله يحرقك		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:13:35	-	May Allah burn you.
Subtitling Strategies: Omission			

18 19	Arabic ST: الحمد لله الله نجاني		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:20:40	I thank God that I survived	Thanks to Allah who rescue me.
	Subtitling Strategies: condensation (Transposition + Omission)		

20 21 22	Arabic ST: الله أكبر الله أكبر الله أكبر		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:23:43	-	Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest. Allah is the greatest.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission + Omission		

23 24	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:23	- -	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs. O' Lord!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

25	Arabic ST: انا والدة الشهيد		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:25	-	I am the mother of the martyr .
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

26 27	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل يارب بكل طاغي وظالم		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:27	God will punish all those who are unjust and all tyrants	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs. O' Lord, punish everyone who is unjust and a tyrant.
	Subtitling Strategies: condensation (Compensation+ omission)		

28 29	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل يارب		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:30	--	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of affairs. O' Lord!
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission + Omission		

30 31 32	Arabic ST: حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل ببشار واعوانه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:33	I leave it to God to punish Bashar and his aides	Sufficient for me is Allah, and He is the best Disposer of our affairs to punish Bashar and his aides.
	Subtitling Strategies: Condensation (compensation + Omission + omission)		

33	Arabic ST: يارب انتقم منه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:44	-	O' lord! Take revenge from him.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

34	Arabic ST: هذا ما يجري في سوريا يا امة الاسلام		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:29:50	-	O' the Islamic community, this is what is happening in Syria.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

35	Arabic ST: الله لا يعفيلي عنك ولا عنه سلختوا جلدنا. جلدنا انسلخ		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:43:27	May God not pardon you or him. You severely tortured us.	May Allah not forgive you and him. You severely tortured us.
	Subtitling Strategies: Transposition		

36	Arabic ST: حتى الولد الي عمره سنة ما بقى يخاف لا من رئيس ولا من كل شي الله خلقه		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:47:08	Even a child is no longer afraid of the President or anyone else.	Even a one-year-old child is no longer afraid of a president or anything Allah creates.
	Subtitling Strategies: Omission		

37 38	Arabic ST: الانسان الطاغية بده ينلعن تا تقوم الساعة		
	Timestamp	English Subtitles (TT)	English Back Translation
	00:47:20	but a tyrant will be cursed forever	- but a tyrant will be expelled from the mercy of Allah until the day of judgment
	Subtitling Strategies: Literal translation + compensation		