Translation of the Idiomatic Expressions in Suits (2011-2019) into Arabic: An Emic-Etic Approach

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Abstract

Culture-bound items play an important role in movies as they reflect cultures; hence subtitlers seek to navigate linguistic and cultural barriers altogether. This qualitative-quantitative study functionally examines how idiomatic expressions, across two distinct languages and cultures, are handled by the translator within the framework of David Katan's model of Intercultural Meditation (IM) (2013). This paper uses selected Suits episodes and their Arabic translation, sourced from Netflix, as its corpus. The strategies used to employ the expressions in the subtitles are classified using Baker's (2018) strategies for translating idiomatic expressions. The findings indicate that the translator plays the role of the insider as per Pike's Emic-Etic Approach (1990) to translation. It also indicates that the frequently chosen strategy adopted to render idiomatic expressions in a way that conveys the underlying meaning of the target text is 'translation by paraphrase'.

Keywords: Audio-visual translation, idiomatic expressions, subtitling, David Katan, Intercultural Mediation, Emic-Etic Approach, Mona Baker

مستخلص

تلعب العناصر ذات الصبغة الثقافية دورًا هامًا في صناعة الأفلام حيث تعكس الثقافات المختلفة؛ ومن ثم، فإن مترجمي الشاشة يهدفون إلى اجتياز حواجز اللغة والثقافة معًا. يتناول هذه البحث النوعي الكمي كيفية تعامل المترجم مع التعبيرات الاصطلاحية عبر لغتين وثقافتين مختلفتين، وذلك في إطار نموذج الوساطة بين

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الثقافات لكاتان (2013) ومنهج المقاربة الداخلية والخارجية للترجمة لبايك (1990). تتألف المادة العلمية لهذا البحث من حلقات مختارة من المسلسل الأمريكي "سوتس" وترجمتها العربية على منصة نتفليكس. تُصنف التعبيرات وفقًا لاستراتيجيات بيكر (2018) لترجمة التعبيرات الاصطلاحية. يُظهر البحث أن المترجم يلعب دور "المُطلع" الداخلي في كلتا الثقافتين وفقًا لمنهج المقاربة الداخلية والخارجية للترجمة لبايك (1990). ويتضح أيضًا أن استراتيجيات الترجمة المختارة بشكل متكرر لترجمة التعبيرات الاصطلاحية والتي تساهم في نقل المعنى الصحيح هي "الترجمة عن طريق إعادة الصياغة".

الكلمات المفتاحية: الترجمة السمع بصرية، التعبيرات الاصطلاحية، ترجمة الشاشة، دافيد كاتان، الوساطة بين الثقافات، منهج المقاربة الداخلية والخارجية، منى بيكر

1. Introduction

Language is typically viewed as a system of communication that serves various purposes, rather than just a collection of forms (Liddicoat and Scarino, 2013, p. 13). It is considered "the main human communication system," encompassing linguistic, cultural, social, and historical dimensions. While some argue that language separates people, Saussure believed it unites them—both perspectives have validity (Davies, 2016, p. 69). Translation, therefore, is seen as a "complex negotiation between two cultures" (Trivedi, 2007, p. 280) rather than merely a tool for linguistic substitution. Trivedi asserts that "the unit of translation is not just a word, sentence, paragraph, page, or text, but the entire language and culture in which the text is rooted" (Trivedi, 2007, p. 280). This perspective shift led to what Bassnett and Lefevere termed "The Cultural Turn in Translation Studies" in 1990. This means translations have extratextual social functions determined by the situational context, with the purpose (skopos) of intercultural communication being the guiding factor (Robinson, 2003, p. 173). In this framework, the translator's role extends beyond linguistic tasks. Given the disparities among cultural systems, translators must immerse themselves in both source and target cultures, delving into the deep symbolic meanings of texts. In this view, translation is a process of recreation, ensuring the target audience experiences the same effect as the source audience and prioritizing the equivalent effect above all.

This study focuses primarily on exploring the purpose rather than the form of the text. Thus, the translation process necessitates studying culture to understand the functional purpose of the text. The American legal drama "Suits" and its Arabic subtitles on Netflix serve as an illustrative example that abounds in idiomatic expressions. For this paper, the top-rated episode of each of the nine seasons (2011-2019), according to the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) (Suits, n.d.), was selected. This study primarily examines how idiomatic expressions are conveyed across two different cultures and languages.

2. Research Questions

- What strategies did Netflix employ in the subtitles to convey idiomatic expressions, based on Baker's (2018) strategies for translating idiomatic expressions?
- Which strategies are used most and least frequently?
- To what extent do the chosen strategies contribute to the success of Intercultural Mediation?
- According to Pike's Emic-Etic Approach (1990) to translation, does the translator, as an intercultural mediator, effectively play the role of the 'insider' in both cultures and complete the emic-etic-emic cycle?

3. Significance of the Study

This study, based on Katan's Intercultural Meditation (2013), primarily examines the idiomatic expressions in the American legal drama "Suits" from an Emic-Etic perspective—an anthropological and linguistic approach that is rarely integrated into translation studies. After identifying these elements, the strategies used to convey them into Arabic subtitles on Netflix are analyzed using Baker's (2018) strategies for translating idiomatic expressions. The study aims to functionally examine how these idiomatic expressions are handled by the translator across two distinct languages and cultures, following Pike's Emic-Etic Approach (1990) to translation, which is seldom adopted by researchers in this field. This descriptive analysis highlights the extent to which the frequently chosen strategies contribute to the functional adequacy of the target culture. Building on Katan's Intercultural Meditation (2013) and Pike's Emic-Etic Approach (1990), the paper offers commentary and recommendations on handling certain idiomatic expressions. Throughout this process, various cultural differences emerge in terms of the expression of concepts and ideas from both perspectives- American and Arab. This will greatly benefit translators, in their role as 'intercultural mediators,' when they encounter such elements, as the study aims to establish an inventory of English idiomatic expressions along with their Arabic translations.

4. Review of Literature

4.1Subtitling

The focus of this study is subtitling, defined as the practice of presenting written text on the lower part of the screen to convey the original dialogue, discursive elements in the image, and soundtrack information (Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 8). Subtitling, acting as a cultural carrier, serves as a contact and cultural exchange where diverse social practices converge (Altahri, 2013, p. 2), presenting numerous challenges to translators. One such challenge involves translating source language items with no direct equivalent in the target language due to cultural disparities, often termed "culture-specific" concepts (Baker, 2018, p. 19). This study focuses on American idiomatic expressions, which carry

connotative meanings requiring interpretation at the pragmatic level. As Hilan (2001) asserts, meanings are intertwined with their cultural context, varying across cultures and languages, making translation crucial for effective communication (p. 21). The examination primarily delves into the subtitling of idiomatic expressions, highlighting challenges in conveying connotative meanings and finding appropriate equivalents. Translating idiomatic expressions poses significant hurdles, compounded by the need to recognize idiomatic expressions in the first place (Baker, 2018, p. 71).

4.1.1 Idiomatic **Expressions.** Cultural competency is for translating idiomatic indispensable expressions, necessitating an understanding of both cultures involved. Idiomaticity is inherent in all languages, including multimedia contexts. Detecting idiomatic expressions is the primary task for translators, as Ghazala (2008) defines them as fixed phrases with metaphorical rather than literal meanings (p. 128). Also, Ghazala's (2003) classification of comprehensive idioms is among the most and straightforward. The categories include full and pure idioms, semi-idioms, proverbs, popular sayings, semiproverbial expressions, phrasal verbs, and metaphorical catchphrases and popular expressions (p. 208).

5. Theoretical Framework

5.1 Intercultural Mediation

Intercultural Mediation (IM), as outlined by Katan (2013, p. 84), involves translatorial interventions that consider cultural disparities to improve access through rewriting, recreating, or transcreating texts. Translation, thus, becomes a process of mediation, particularly intercultural when translators adjust the source text to reveal hidden cultural nuances, preventing misinterpretation by the target audience imposing their cultural perspectives (Katan, 2013, p.84). Regarding mediators' role, Hatim and Mason (1997) view it as an ideological process where translators embed their beliefs into the text (p. 119). Conversely, Katan (2013, p. 88) argues for impartiality, advocating for mediation devoid of the translator's ideologies. However, Hatim and Mason's second view highlights mediation's role in navigating socio-cultural norms to convey meaning, aligned with Katan's stance on purposeful distortions (Hatim & Mason, 1997, p. 134).

Hence, translators, as cultural mediators, must master both source and target languages while being cognizant of sociocultural contexts (Kardiansyah and Salam, 2020, p. 414). Consequently, translation becomes a form of cultural mediation, intertwining culture and language (Katan, 2003, p. 7). Katan's Intercultural Mediation aims to ensure successful cross-cultural communication and support marginalized cultural groups (Katan, 2013, p. 84), primarily focusing on language and communication in this study.

5.2 Emic-Etic Approach

In 1954, American linguist Pike introduced the terms 'Emics' and 'Etics'. Derived from "phonetic", 'etic' refers to analyzing language sounds, while 'emic', from "phonemic", addresses culture or language-specific units (Al-Masri, 2009, p. 13). By the 1980s, these terms extended beyond linguistics and anthropology (Pike, 1990, p. 15), signifying a connection between two aspects, commonly understood as insider versus outsider views (Pike, 1990, p. 22). In Translation Studies, the emic-etic approach aligns with the 'cultural turn'. Here, translators, acting as intercultural mediators, must immerse themselves in both source and target cultures. Culturally charged expressions should not be translated literally but rather adapted to fit the mold of the target culture. This involves exploring cultural systems from insider and outsider perspectives. Pike (1990) defines 'Emic' as items treated relevant by insiders, and 'Etic' as an outsider's approach imposing their observations on the inside view (pp. 28 and 49). Similarly, Mason, as cited in Almanna and Farghal (2008), distinguishes etic analysis from emic investigation (p. 152). Translating culturally loaded items requires the translator to embody the insider role in the source text and convey it accurately to the target culture, acting as an insider there too (Rosa & Orey, 2012, p.865).

In cultural translation, translators must understand the symbolic meaning of the source text to convey it effectively (Hilan, 2021, p.3). Leong (1997) advocates for using both emic

and etic concepts in cross-cultural translation (Banville, Desrosiers & Genet-Volet, 2000, p. 375). To complete the Emic-Etic-Emic cycle, translators must: 1) understand the source text culturally; 2) perceive it from the perspective of the target audience; and 3) convey it appropriately to the target culture. Hence, in a cross-cultural translation process, the resulting product should align with the target audience's worldview and experiences. For a translation to carry significance, it necessitates finding common ground between the source and target cultures. Achieving mutual comprehension between both cultures requires the mediator's attention to both emics and etics.

6. Methodological Framework

6.1 Data Collection

This paper analyzes a sample of idiomatic expressions from the Arabic subtitles of 'Suits' (2011-2019). The corpus under examination is sourced from Netflix. Each season from 2011 to 2019 is represented by its top-ranking episode according to the rating list on the Internet Movie Database (IMDb).

6.2 Tools

Katan's Intercultural Mediation (2013) forms the foundational framework for the English source text, while Pike's Emic-Etic approach (1990) guides the analysis of idiomatic expressions in Arabic translation. Strategies for conveying idiomatic expressions are categorized within the framework of Baker's (2018) strategies for translating idiomatic expressions.

6.2.2 Baker's (2018) Strategies for Translating Idiomatic Expressions. Idiomatic expressions are integral to intercultural communication, varying across cultures, languages, and dialects. Understanding them is vital for effective communication, yet they pose a significant challenge, particularly in subtitling. Translators often encounter colloquial idioms on screen, which can be opaque, transparent, or misleading (Baker, 2018, p. 71).

Baker (2018) identifies six strategies for translating idioms, each serving different needs (pp. 77-87). These strategies guide the translation of idioms in the analysis of idiomatic expressions from 'Suits'. These strategies are as follows:

1. 'Using an idiom of similar meaning and form'

This strategy depends on mirroring the source-language expression. For example, 'the calm before the storm' can be translated as 'الهدوء الذي سبق العاصفة'. However, this approach is not always feasible due to lacking a direct equivalent in the target culture.

2. 'Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar in form'

This strategy involves using an idiomatic expression in the target language that has the same meaning or function as that in the source language but it is different in form or the way it is expressed. An example is translating 'like father, like son' as 'إن هذا الشبل من ذلك الأسد'.

3. 'Borrowing the source language idiom'

This strategy is rarely used since it is based on retaining the source-text idiom as is in the target text. Therefore, it brings about misunderstanding and confusion on the part of the target audience.

4. 'Translation by paraphrase'

This strategy is commonly adopted when idioms lack equivalents in the target language. For instance, 'let the chips fall where they may' might become 'وليحدث ما يحدث'.

5. 'Translation by omission of a play on idiom'

This strategy is about rendering the literal meaning of the expression, as seen in translating 'I have a lot on my plate' as الدي الكثير على صحني' (Baker, 2018, p. 85).

6. 'Translation by omission of entire idiom'

This is used either due to a lack of close matches or for stylistic reasons. For example, '...and added a pre-dated bonus for good measure' could be translated as '..... وأن (Jaker, 2018, pp. 86-87).

7. Analysis

The analysis is conducted in two steps. First, the idiomatic expressions are identified and then categorized according to the strategies proposed by Baker (2018). Then, an analysis of these expressions is made according to Katan's Intercultural Mediation (2013) and within the framework of Pike's Emic-Etic approach (1990) to translation. These steps aim to figure out the most and least used strategies, whether the changes made by the translator in the target text result in translational loss or convey the implicatures of the expressions in hand and achieve Intercultural Mediation.

7.1 Categorization and Analysis of the Idiomatic Expression References in *Suits* according to Baker's (2018) Strategies

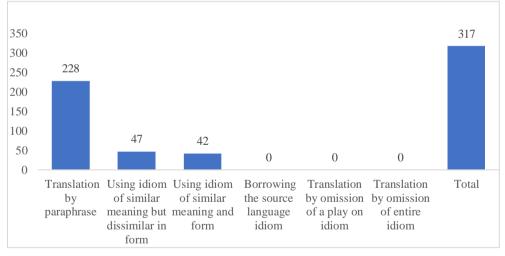


Figure (1)

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Chosen examples from the data are categorized in tables according to the strategies adopted to render them into Arabic, based on Baker's (2018) strategies to translate idiomatic expressions, from the most to the least frequently adopted. In total, there are 317 examples of idiomatic expressions extracted. According to the data, 228 out of the 317 idiomatic expressions are rendered in Arabic through the 'translation by paraphrase' strategy. Meanwhile, 47 are rendered through the 'using idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar in form' strategy, and 42 are rendered through the 'using idiom of similar meaning and form' strategy stands at 72%, 'using idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar in form' strategy stands at 15%, and 'using idiom of similar meaning and form' strategy stands at 13%.

7.1.1 Translation by Paraphrase

Translation by paraphrase is a strategy that requires explaining the source-text idiomatic expressions in the target text. Therefore, paraphrasing becomes the optimal solution to expressions that do not have direct equivalents in the target culture, where literalism would not be appropriate. Analyzing the data, it is shown that this is the most used strategy whose usage frequency stands at 72%. Translation of the Idiomatic Expressions into Arabic

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No.	Source Text			Time
1	I am gonna beat the shit out of one of those guys and get him to rat on the other one .		S1/E12	9:15
2	So, get off your high horse.	اذا، توقف عن التعالي.	S1/E12	30:49
3	What about the fact that it was eating you up?	ماذا عن حقيقة الأمر أنها كانت تنهكك؟	\$3/E16	42:54
4	-	يجب علي أن أدرك كل هذه الأمور بشكل واضح قبل أن أرفع دعواي.	S3/E16	37:22
5		لأننا بمجرد أن نحضر "هارولد"، سيشير إلى "مايك".	S3/E16	37:19

Table (1)

The previous table includes examples in which the translator achieves Intercultural Mediation through the adoption of the 'translation by paraphrase strategy'. The underlying meaning

of each idiomatic expression is conveyed by completing the emicetic-emic cycle. This means that the translator acts as an 'insider' in the source text since he/she identifies the idiomatic expressions, then acts as an 'outsider' to the source text by examining the text, if literally translated, by the target audience perspective, and finally acts as an 'insider' in the target text by paraphrasing the underlying meanings of the expressions in a way that resonates with the target audience.

'To rat on someone' means to give information to someone or authorities about someone's illegal activity (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In Arabic, the translator renders this expression using the verb 'بشى ب' (i.e., snitch/rat on). As for example 2, 'high horse' is an expression that refers to being arrogant. Avoiding literalism in Arabic by translating 'get off your high horse' into ' اترك حصانك or 'انزل عن ظهر الفرس' or 'انزل عن ظهر الفرس' or 'العالى the expression and puts it as 'توقف عن التعالى) 'i.e., stop being' snobby/arrogant). When 'something eats someone up', in example 3, this means that someone experiences a negative emotion in a strong way (Cambridge University Press, n.d.). The translator, accordingly, puts it as 'ینهکاف' (i.e., wears you down). Regarding example 4, 'to get something straight' refers to understanding something truly and clearly (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The translator, in Arabic, conveys it using the verb 'أدرك' which literally means to 'understand' or 'be aware of'. Example 5 includes the expression 'to point the finger at someone' means to blame or accuse someone (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The Arabic

rendition of this expression is 'يشير إلى' which means 'to point at'. Although other renditions could be more elaborate, this one does not compromise the meaning since it still conveys the underlying meaning and is used in its figurative sense in Arabic. A more explicit and elaborative translation, instead, can be 'يشير بإصبع يشير بإصبع ', or 'يلوم', 'الاتهام إلى translator renders the functions of the expressions by intervening at the lingua-cultural and intercultural levels in the source texts.

7.1.2 Using an Idiom of Similar Meaning but Dissimilar in Form

Given that translation deals with two different languages and cultures, it becomes clear that both languages and cultures use different ways of expression to communicate one concept or idea. Therefore, this strategy helps convey the given concept in a way that sounds familiar and reasonable to the target audience. The rendered expressions in Arabic are sentences or phrases that are commonly used in the Arab culture. The findings show that this is the second most used strategy to translate idiomatic expressions in this data. According to the statistics, it is shown that the frequency of its usage stands at 15%.

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No.	Source Text	Target Text	S/E	Time
1	-	أقبل الخسارة بروح	S2/E10	37:41
	grace, Harvey.	رياضية يا "هارفي".		
2	You and Louis	أنت و"لويس" تدبرتما	S3/E16	3:10
	really came	الأمر حقًا.		
	through.			
3		انتهيت من تضيع وقتي	S6/E16	19:13
	my breath on	معك		
	you.			
4	•	وتسنح لك الأن الفرصة	S6/E16	15:13
	chance to put	إقران القول بالفعل		
	your money			
	where your			
	mouth is.			

Table (2)

This previous table includes expressions that are translated in a way that resonates with the target audience. The cultural mediator successfully harmonizes both texts by employing cultural equivalence for colloquial expressions that differ in form but share similar meanings. The translator first acts as an insider to the source text by identifying the expression. Then, as an outsider to the target text, they consider how the audience would perceive a literal translation. Finally, they become an insider to the target text by selecting the most suitable translation strategy, which involves choosing an expression that matches the meaning but differs in form. This method ensures that cultural patterns are explained from the perspective of someone within the culture (Mason, 2014, p. 1). Accordingly, Intercultural Mediation is achieved using this strategy.

To accept something 'with grace', in example 1, means to accept a situation or outcome politely (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In Arabic, this is expressed as 'أقبل الخسارة بروح رياضية' which literally translates to 'accept the loss in the spirit of sportsmanship'. This translation captures the essence of the original expression, maintaining the same cultural connotation and preserving the emics and etics of the target text. As for example 2, 'to come through' means to manage to overcome a difficult situation (Cambridge University Press, n.d.). The translator, therefore, renders it using 'تدبر الأمر' which literally means 'to handle the matter'. Thus, the meaning of the source-text phrasal verb is successfully conveyed in Arabic using a common way of expressing the related concept. 'To waste your breath' is an idiomatic expression that refers to wasting your time and energy trying to advise someone who is probably not listening to you (Cambridge University Press, n.d.). To communicate this concept in Arabic, 'أضيع وقتى معك' (i.e., waste my time on you) is usually used. Since the translator uses this common expression in Arabic which carries the same function. Intercultural Mediation is achieved. 'To put your money where your mouth is', in example

4, is an informal idiom which means to support what you have been talking about by taking some action (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In Arabic, to express this idea, the translator puts it as ' إقران القول', a commonly used phrase, and it literally translates to 'putting words into action'. Using this strategy, the translator manages to achieve Intercultural Mediation since it helps convey the underlying meanings of each idiomatic expression in a way that resonates with the culture and language of the target audience.

7.2.3 Using an Idiom of Similar Meaning and Form

The ideal scenario when it comes to conveying idiomatic expression is that there would be a direct equivalent of the same meaning and form for the source-text expression in the target text. With their lack of cultural knowledge, however, translators sometimes misuse this strategy rendering the expression in a literal manner not knowing that it does not similarly exist in the target culture. This strategy is a double-edged sword that if used correctly brings about the most proper equivalence in the target text and if incompetently used results in inappropriate, meaningless renditions. The data shows that this is the third adopted strategy, whose frequency stands at 13%, as presented in Figure (1).

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No.	Source Text	Target Text	S/E	Time
1	I got him a job in a silver platter.	دبرت له وظيفة على طبق من فضة .	S4/E10	33:56
2	If this is you asking me for	إذا كنت ستطلب مني يد	S4/E10	26:14
	Rachel's hand in marriage,			
3	And grown men keep their words .	والرجال الناضجون يحافظون على كلامه م.	S5/E10	33:40
4		ولكن، لم يكن الضىعف الذي جعلك تكسر كلمتك .	S5/E10	33:36

Table (3)

In this table, it is demonstrated that the translator sometimes successfully conveys the cultural experience and sometimes fails. The following examples show idiomatic expressions that bear the same meaning and use the same form in the target language. These instances illustrate how the translator effectively employs an 'eticemic' approach, harmonizing both cultures by considering the conceptual and symbolic meanings of the expressions (Nazzal, 2022, p. 4). Conversely, examples of mistranslations are also included, highlighting that the translators' over-familiarity with the source language leads them to assume that target readers share the same familiarity with the expressions (Al-Masri, 2009, p. 37).

When someone receives something 'on a silver platter,' it means they get it very easily without effort (Cambridge University Press, n.d.). In Arabic, the expression 'على طبق من فضة' conveys the same concept. Similarly, the idiom 'to ask someone for someone's hand in marriage' is used in both English and Arabic to indicate a marriage proposal. The translator's choice here is successful, as the same idiom with the same form and meaning exists in the Arab culture, thus achieving intercultural mediation. These examples show that the translator completes the 'emic-etic-emic' cycle, thus effectively mediating between the two language systems. Conversely, the translator fails to achieve mediation in examples 3 and 4. If someone 'keeps their word,' it means they fulfill their promises, and if they 'break their word,' it means they fail to keep their promises. In Arabic, these can be translated as 'تفى بو عدك' and espectively. However, the translator calques these ,أخلفت وعدك expressions into Arabic. Using an idiom with the same meaning and form is inappropriate here, as the translations are not proper equivalents in Arabic. The translator, therefore, fails to account for the emics of both the source and target texts and the etics of the target culture, resulting in inappropriate renditions.

8. Conclusion

Answering the first two research questions, the findings indicate that for idiomatic expressions, the 'translation by

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paraphrase' strategy is the most used and the most efficient for Intercultural Mediation, accounting for 72% of the rendered expressions. This strategy also completes the 'emic-etic-emic' cycle. Similarly, the strategy of 'using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form' plays a significant role, despite being less frequently used, comprising 15% of the rendered expressions. This strategy ensures that both the emics of the source and target texts and the etics of the target text are considered. Accounting for only 13% of the rendered expressions, 'using an idiom of similar meaning and form' is effective but in highly limited instances. It requires a careful application to avoid meaning loss and literalism, necessitating the mediator's thorough understanding of both the source text's emics and the target text's etics and emics for utmost accuracy. Other strategies, such as 'borrowing the source language idiom,' 'translation by omission of a play on idiom,' and 'translation by omission of the entire idiom,' are not used in the given data.

The third question addresses how effectively the chosen strategies facilitate Intercultural Mediation. The analysis reveals that the primary strategy, 'translation by paraphrase,' is highly effective in achieving Intercultural Mediation by accurately conveying the function of the source text expression. The second most used strategy, 'using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form,' also proves efficient in fostering cultural interaction and serves as a valuable tool for Intercultural Mediation. However, the strategy of 'using an idiom of similar meaning and form' is less effective for two reasons. Firstly, it is likely to be misused, which can result in meaning loss and literalism. Secondly, it is challenging to find exact equivalents for colloquial expressions used in media, unlike in written literature.

Finally, by answering the last research question and by looking at the previously mentioned figures of the strategies' frequency of usage, it is concluded that the translator, acting as an intercultural mediator, fulfills the role of an insider in both cultures, completing the 'emic-etic-emic' cycle.

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