

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective: A Case of Persian Films

Saleh Sanatifar *

Section of Translation and Interpreting, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia

Ziba Ghamsarian

Department of English Language, Imam Reza International University, Iran

Received on: 7-7-2022

Accepted on: 20-2-2023

Abstract

A matter of great concern in audiovisual translation is considering how the emotion words can be conveyed. Creating emotional adaptability, in addition to language proficiency, cultural sensitivity, and technical aptitude is a necessary skill for every subtitler. This study analyzed, through the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) method, the compatibility of the corresponding emotion words/concepts in the original (English) and subtitled versions (Persian) of ten Persian films based on Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) coherent categories and basic emotions, as well as the semantic explications. According to the results, the subtitles into Persian of the English emotion words/concepts were categorized into eleven categories, with 'same source and target emotions' as the most frequent category. This confirmed the efficiency of the NSM method and deemed it an efficient toolkit for subtitling emotion words/concepts, particularly the culture-specific ones. Accordingly, a three-level model was proposed for analyzing the 'emotional adaptability' of emotional pairs across languages.

Keywords: Audiovisual Translation, Emotion words/Concepts, Natural Semantic Metalanguage, Subtitling.

1. Introduction

There are terms in many cultures and languages whose meanings seem so specific and nuanced that there's no way to translate them. Consider the Persian word اندوه [anduh], which is used to express the English-conceptualized emotions of 'grief' and 'regret.' In contrast, the Dargwa dialect employs the word درد [dard] to convey both 'grief' and 'anxiety'. Persian speakers may think of grief as more related to regret while Dargwa speakers see it as more similar to anxiety. These cross-cultural findings mean that even though emotion words are frequently equated in translation dictionaries, they vary in meaning across languages (Jackson et al. 2019). The present study aimed at examining how these emotion words/concepts are transferred between English and Persian in the context of audiovisual translation and subtitling.

© 2023 JJMLL Publishers/Yarmouk University. All Rights Reserved,

* Doi: <https://doi.org/10.47012/jjml.15.4.13>

* Corresponding Author: s.sanatifar@yahoo.com

Subtitling, as an established and widespread form of audiovisual translation, enables universal viewers to access, understand, enjoy, interpret and remember an audiovisual product if it is carried out properly, but it can at times limit the viewer's interpretative options or achieve a decorative function (Perego and Bruti 2015), leading to the loss of many linguistic, literary or aesthetic features of the original dialogues in the subtitled version of the products. One such feature that may be lost in translation is 'emotion'. As Davis (2019) wrote in *The Guardian*, the true meaning of words of emotion may be lost in translation. Notably, emotion is part and parcel of films, especially horror, drama, or romantic ones. Although Lindquist (2021) believed that the relationship between language and emotion deals with the fact that language conveys emotion, Wierzbicka (1999) stated that emotion language is culture-bound and a major part of the emotional burden of words cannot be transferred appropriately via language. As such, films loaded with emotion-carrying words/concepts may not achieve their universal purpose unless subtitled in the most efficient way possible. The question, however, is how to get the emotion words/concepts subtitled to have the most equivalent impact on viewers. The main purpose of the present study was to cast a spotlight on the efficiency of using NSM as a necessary skill for subtitling emotion words/concepts in Persian films for creating emotional adaptability. NSM was applied to break the emotion words/concepts down by using a small collection of semantic primes to make their meanings clear in the target language.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Natural Semantic Metalanguage

The idea lying under the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach is that complex meanings should be described in terms of simpler concepts or a paraphrase composed of words that are easier to understand than the original one. NSM was originally developed as a linguistic theory (semantic analysis), aimed at identifying the language of thought and the shared core of the lexicon and grammar of all natural languages; however, it has been shown to have important practical applications in many areas, including cross-cultural communication and the pursuit of knowledge in the globalized world dominated by English (Wierzbicka 2015).

NSM method is also called 'reductive paraphrase' and the products are called 'explications.' Reductive paraphrasing prevents us from getting stuck in circular and obscure definitions. No technical terms, neologisms, logical symbols, or abbreviations are allowed in reductive paraphrase explications, except plain words from ordinary natural languages. Assuming that reductive paraphrase is a method of analyzing meanings, it follows that every language has an irreducible 'semantic core' that would be left after all. This semantic core must have a language-like structure, with a lexicon of indefinable expressions, called semantic primes, and a grammar, i.e., some principles governing how the lexical elements can be combined.

All languages have irreducible semantic cores which can be found by experimentation, i.e., by attempting to explicate many different kinds of meanings from many different languages, aiming always to reduce the terms of the explications to the smallest possible set. This is exactly what Wierzbicka and

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

her colleagues have been doing for more than thirty years. The set of 65 semantic primes (Wierzbicka 1986, 1992, 1996, 1999, 2015; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002; Goddard 2008, 2010; Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014) is the result of their research which is not yet regarded as complete (Table 1). For example, when Wierzbicka (1992) claims that DO, BECAUSE, and GOOD are semantic primes in terms of which all areas of meaning, in all languages, can be rigorously and revealingly portrayed, she is claiming that (i) these words are essential for explicating the meanings of numerous other words and grammatical constructions, and (ii) they cannot themselves be explicated in a non-circular fashion, i.e., their meanings are conceptually simple.

Table 1: Semantic primes (English exponents)

I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING~THING, PEOPLE, BODY	Substantives
KIND, PART	Relational substantives
THIS, THE SAME, OTHER~ELSE	Determiners
ONE, TWO, MUCH~MANY, LITTLE~FEW, SOME, ALL	Quantifiers
GOOD, BAD	Evaluators
BIG, SMALL	Descriptors
THINK, KNOW, WANT, DON'T WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	Mental predicates
SAY, WORDS, TRUE	Speech
DO, HAPPEN, MOVE	Actions, events, movement
BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)	Location, existence, Specification
BE (MINE)	Possession
LIVE, DIE	Life and death
WHEN~TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT	Time
WHERE~PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE, TOUCH	Space
NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	Logical concepts
VERY, MORE	Augmenter, Intensifier
LIKE	Similarity

2.2 The concept of 'emotion'

Emotion is defined as “internal mechanisms for a small set of reactions [...] that, once triggered, can be measured clearly and objectively” (Barrett 2006:20). Emotions play a crucial role in human lives, and it has been studied from a variety of perspectives, all falling into two culture-specific and universal camps. In a study on the accuracy of emotion recognition, Elfenbein and Ambady (2002, 204) attributed cultural variability to differences in language, and maintained that “the words used to translate emotional concepts and labels may convey somewhat different meanings to cultures other than that from which the experiment originated.” By studying the concepts encoded in English words such as disappointment, relief, distress, or anger from a universal, language-independent perspective, we can learn a lot about a system of thought internalized by the speakers of English, and also, how to go beyond that system and free ourselves of the confusion between human emotions and English emotion concepts, which has plagued and still plagues, a good deal of the literature on emotions. By studying English emotions, we can prepare the ground for a cross-cultural comparative study of emotion concepts: a task vital for the understanding of both human culture and human cognition (Wierzbicka 1992, 557-8).

To arrive at a definition of emotion, all we need is one general emotion concept ‘feel’ and a set of non-emotion basic concepts, such as ‘want’, ‘say’, ‘think’, ‘know’, ‘good’, ‘bad’, and so on, which have been independently justified as plausible candidates for the status of irreducible elements of the “alphabet of human thoughts” (Wierzbicka, 1972, 1980, 1989a, 1989b cited in Wierzbicka 1992). The use of such primitives frees our analysis from obvious or hidden circularity and it provides a framework in terms of which all emotion concepts can be portrayed and compared.

2.3 Johnson-Laird and Oatley’s list of English emotion words

In pursuit of emotion words in the world dominated by English, Johnson-Laird and Oatley’s (1989) study shows that emotion words in English are organized in the semantic field, encompassing coherent categories including generic emotions, basic emotions, emotional relations, caused emotions, causatives, emotional goals, and complex emotions. According to them, all emotions are based on five emotional modes, namely happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and disgust. Hence, their linguistic analysis of emotions confirms Ekman et al.’s (1969 cited in Elasri and Boubekri 2020) hypothesis of the universality of basic emotions. All emotions are derived from the five basic emotions except two categories that denote a lack of basic mode: ‘lack of an emotion’ and ‘precursor emotion’. The emotion words related to these two categories are placed in some corresponding categories in Table 2. These categories denote emotional concepts with different basic and even non-basic emotions.

Table 2: Johnson-Laird and Oatley’s (1989) coherent categories

Coherent Categories	Features
Generic Emotion	Do not relate to any of the basic emotions
Basic Emotion	Comprised of the moods and some other emotions with an unknown cause
Emotional Relation	Express the relationships between the experiencer and the object of the emotion
Caused Emotion	Emotion words that have known causes
Causative Emotion	Verbs that denote the cause of emotions
Emotional Goal	Words considered as achieving a goal
Complex Emotion	Combination of a basic emotion with a feeling of a self-evaluation

Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989) offered the English list in a study on cognition and emotion, aiming to check if it is possible to order English emotion concepts based on semantics. Their final list consisted of 590 English emotion words. Based on their theory, there are five basic signals which are called five semantically unanalyzable emotions of happiness, sadness, fear, anger, and disgust. These basic emotions have signals which comprised of no internal structure which is interpreted within the system. Hence, basic emotions are unable to be analyzed semantically. All emotions are extracted from the five-set of emotional modes.

3. Literature Review

Elasri (2018) conducted corpus-based research to conceptualize sympathy, empathy, compassion, and pity in English with their equivalents in Moroccan Arabic through the theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). He showed that these concepts are not quite equivalent in the two languages. He

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective: A Case of Persian Films

noted that emotion words are not single concrete entities to refer to, rather are partially, or sometimes totally different in various cultures (Elasri 2018). Hanczakowski (2017) applied the theory of NSM in a lexical-semantic analysis of the translation of five emotion words from a language-independent perspective. She concluded that, unlike the Italian language which uses a single word in various contexts, English requires different terms in different contexts. In the Japanese-English context, Hasada (2001) carried out a study on the method of NSM and its explication for emotion words/concepts. He remarked on the strength of the NSM method with the help of universal semantic primitives. Suzanne (2016) revealed that the translator/subtitler used the strategies of literal translation, transposition, modulation, and adaptation to improve understanding of emotions in the English subtitles of the film *Paris a tout prix* and thereby facilitating communication issues in the target viewers.

The absence of the Persian language among these languages is a gap that rationalizes the conduct of the present research as a prerequisite. The authors were inspired by and built upon the existing list of emotion words in English for that purpose. In the Persian-English context, it is assumed that some emotion words/concepts do not exist in the English language, thus no exact translation is usually presented. The emotions are denoted or even connoted through dialogues in the form of words/concepts. They are even sometimes merged by a specific local accent. That accent which is an indicator of a symbol in a specific culture is so much transferable to a native person. However, translating the same concept from the original dialogue to the target one requires a sort of text rendering which possesses the utmost reliability in translation. The linguistic or translational aspects of emotion words/concepts have rarely been addressed in Persian. On the cultural aspect, Noie and Jafarpour (2018) investigated, on a lexical analysis, the strategies used by Iranian subtitlers in the process of translating Persian into English. They stated that the main concern of the translators must be culture rather than text, otherwise, misinterpretations will occur in translation. From the cultural aspect, Afrashi (2006) applied NSM in translation theory on interlingual and intercultural translatability. She claimed that the descriptions of culture-bound concepts are the most difficult concept types in translation. They could be first carried out by the NSM system and then transferred to the target language by creating equivalents or conceptual translations. She finally suggested NSM as an acceptable toolkit for translating culture-specific words. Marashi and Poursoltani (2009) conducted a study identifying the common subtitling strategies from Persian to English. This corpus-based study chose twelve Persian films and their subtitles in English. The researchers used Gottlieb's classifications of subtitling strategies and confirmed their applicability for Persian to English translation. They concluded that the most frequent strategy is transfer and the total elimination of the dialogues, which means semantic reduction, is the least frequent strategy.

4. Methods

4.1 Materials

To collect the data (emotion words/expressions), the study made use of Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) English list. Ten Persian films produced between 2015-2018, the golden period of active Iranian filmmakers producing and directing high-quality films, were selected and analyzed for their English

subtitles regarding the emotion words/concepts. These included *A Life and a Day*, *Nahid*, *Breath*, *Lantoury*, *My Brother Khosrow*, *21 Days Later*, *I'm not Angry*, *Blockage*, *The Dark Room*, and *Bomb: A Love Story* (see Appendix) which were selected through a purposeful sampling procedure. The reason behind selecting such films was that they were nominated for international film festivals and also their high IMDB ranking. Such films are normally subtitled by professional, authorized international translation agencies. The primary viewers of the subtitled versions of these films are always the board of referees, and the experts who are attending the event for technical evaluations, and the secondary viewers are the public and international film fans.

4.2 Data collection and analysis procedure

Following Wierzbicka (1992), the format of analysis adopted in this article, for the selected emotion words/concepts in both English and Persian, focuses on 'feel', rather than on any other aspect of emotional experience. The choice of "X feels..." rather than "X is..." frame in this article was motivated by the main purpose of this article, which aims at comparing emotion words/concepts, and revealing similarities and differences between them.

Using Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) list of English emotion words/concepts, the dialogues in the selected films were thoroughly analyzed to prepare the list of emotion words/concepts. Inspired by Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) list, the Persian list of emotion words/concepts was then used while searching for emotions in films to examine if the ST and TT emotion words/concepts were equal entities, shared the same category, and had the same basic emotions. This list was prepared under the supervision of a linguist and the confirmation of a professional translator.

Based on the principles of Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), the Persian emotion words/concepts that included a passive verb were categorized in the 'Caused Emotions' category. The emotion words/concepts with known subjects that included active verbs were categorized in the 'Causative Emotions' category. In the case of 'Emotional Relations', the prepositional features were kept in mind when assigning the ST emotions to their corresponding tables. Each emotional word/concept in a pair was concerned to examine by the researchers to see if the source emotion words/concepts were transferred to TT. If so, the next step was checking the translation of the emotional word/concept in TT, and whether they were translated as emotion words, non-emotion words, or idioms. Then, the first two levels of analysis were applied: checking the coherent categories, and checking the basic emotions they shared. Following the details of each pair of emotion words/concepts in the selected films, the NSM qualitative analysis was conducted. For this purpose, Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) categories and basic emotion words/concepts were used to analyze the emotions in both Persian and English. Hence, the first two criteria were borrowed from the work of Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), and were applied before using NSM analysis to examine the extent to which an emotional word/concept in TT could be considered equivalent to that of ST:

- 1) Emotion words in both the original and subtitled versions should refer to the same basic emotion.

- 2) Emotion words in both the original and subtitled versions should belong to the same coherent category developed by Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989).
- 3) Emotion words in both the original and subtitled versions should share the same semantic explication through the NSM method.

To examine how emotion words/concepts were transferred in film subtitles, the words/concepts uttered in source dialogues and their corresponding subtitles were inductively categorized, drawing on how the above three mentioned criteria were applied to each emotion pair. The most suitable English exponents aligned with the Persian emotion words/concepts were distinguished in the dialogues. The differences were pinpointed by analyzing the semantic explications of emotion pairs through the NSM method to see what commonality they shared. To run the NSM analysis, those emotion pairs were chosen which 1) were available in the list of emotion words/concepts and 2) were denoted on the word level. Based on this method, each word/concept and its translation were semantically explicated.

The application of the NSM method confirmed the compatibility of emotion classifications into various translation categories which took place through the two previously done levels. Therefore, the efficiency of this method could be proven.

5. Results and discussion

All emotion words/concepts of the selected films that belonged to specific coherent categories of Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989) were identified, collected, and tabulated. To run the NSM analysis for 94 emotion pairs (a total of 188 ST-TT pairs), the ST and TT words/concepts were presented using Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) emotion list. The point section in the tables explains how these emotion words/concepts are transferred to TT. In the following, 14 examples are demonstrated.

5.1 Basic Emotion

Example 1

Film	ST	TT	Points
I'm not Angry	بدبخت /badbaxt/	Miserable	- Same TT and ST emotions - Same basic category

The Persian word بدبخت [badbaxt] is a Persian emotion adjective that belongs to the category of basic emotions which refers to the concept of 'sadness'. The NSM semantic explication of this word follows:

X feels 'بدبخت'

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I feel bad inside

Many bad things happen as I don't want

Things are not good as I want

I can't do something Y.

- because of this, X feels something bad

- X feels like this

According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), the English word ‘miserable’ is an English adjective that belongs to the category of basic emotions referring to the concept of ‘sadness’. The NSM semantic explication of this word follows:

X feels ‘miserable’

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I feel bad inside

Many bad things happen as I don’t want

Things are not good as I want

I can’t do something Y.

- because of this, X feels very bad

- X feels like this

The subtitle has chosen the right corresponding concept in English because, according to the NSM method, both ‘miserable’ and بدبخت share the same semantic explication, the same coherent category, and the same basic emotion of ‘sadness’. Hence, this pair of emotion words were categorized in the ‘Same ST-TT emotions’.

Example 2

Film	ST	TT	Suggestion	Points
Lantoury	و هیچکس ندانست نام آن پرنده غمگینی که از دلها گریخت ایمان بود. /va hich kas nadanest nam-e an parande qamgini ke az delha gorixt, iman bood/	(And nobody knew the name of the) mournful (pigeon that flew away from the hearts was faith)	Sorrowful	- Different ST and TT emotions - Same category Same basic emotion

The Persian word ‘غمگین’ [qamgin] belongs to the coherent category of basic emotions. This word refers to the basic emotion of ‘sadness’. The lines below show the NSM semantic explication of this concept.

Someone X is ‘غمگین’

someone X thinks like this:

‘Something bad happened

I would want: this didn’t happen

If I could, I would want to do something because of this

I can’t do anything’

- because of this, this someone x feels very bad inside

- like often people feel when they think like this

‘Mournful’ belongs to the coherent category of basic emotions. The basic emotion it refers to is ‘sadness’, and the lines below show the semantic explication based on the NSM method.

Someone X is ‘mournful’

someone X thinks like this:

‘Something bad happened to someone I love

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

I don't want this

I want to do something for this

I can't do something'

- because of this, this someone X feels very bad inside

- like often people feel when they think like this

The words 'mournful' and 'غمگین' share the same basic emotion and category; yet, they are different in details semantically. Based on NSM analysis, the authors believe that the English word 'sorrowful' is semantically closer or more equivalent to the Persian word غمگین.

5.2 Emotional Relation

Example 3

Film	ST	TT	Suggestion	Points
Bomb	من جنگ رو دوست دارم. /man jang ro doost daram/	Love (war)	Like	- Different ST and TT emotions - Same category - Same basic emotion

The Persian word دوست داشتن [doost dashtan] is a Persian emotion verb that belongs to the category of emotional relations referring to the basic emotion of 'happiness'. Below shows the NSM semantic explication of this concept.

X feels دوست دارد Y/Z

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I feel good about this something/someone Y

I want to be near this something/someone Y.

- because of this, X feels good

- X feels like this

According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), the English word 'love' belongs to the category of emotional relations. It refers to the basic emotion of 'happiness'. The NSM semantic explication of this emotional word follows:

X feels 'love' someone/something Y

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

X thinks of someone/something Y all the time

X feels very good when X sees this someone/something Y

X feels very good when X thinks of this someone/something Y

X wants to be near this someone/something Y all the time.

- because of this, X feels very good

- X feels like this

The English word 'love' and the Persian verb دوست داشتن [doost dashtan] are similarly categorized as a basic emotion and often come in place of each other in the selected database. However, the NSM semantic explication shows that these two concepts are different in detail. Here, the subtitler had better

use the English word 'like' as an equivalent for the ST word دوست داشتن. Based on the assessment of dialogues, some English emotion words have been used as equivalents for the majority of Persian emotions in our database; 'Love' has been repeatedly used as a translation for دوست داشتن [doost dashtan: like]. 'Like' has been used instead of خوش آمدن [xosh amadan: take to] and خواستن [xastan: want]. 'Want' was also repeatedly substituted as a translation for دوست داشتن [doost dashtan: like], and 'embarrass' was used several times as an equivalence for آبروداری 'aberou bordan: disgrace' in Persian. According to Goddard (2022), using NSM, as a toolkit for analyzing various emotions, reveals their factual differences and that is because it has attention to meta-language issues. In this case, this substitution of emotion words/concepts for each other got attested using the NSM framework.

Example 4

Film	ST	TT	Points
My Brother Khosrow	اون موقع که زن اقا ناصر ما بودی خیلی شجاع تر از اینا بودی ها. /oon moqe ke zan-e aqa Naser-e ma boodi, xeili shoja'tar azina boodi ha/	(When you married Naser you were much) braver	- Same ST and TT emotions - Same category

The Persian word 'شجاع' belongs to the category of emotional relations. This word according to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), is a lack of an emotion related to fear. The semantic explication of this word is brought in the lines below.

Someone X feels 'شجاع'

someone X thinks like this:

'There is something

People can't do this something

I want to do that something

Other people say don't do this

I know I can do this

I say: I do this'

- because of this, this someone X feels 'شجاع'

- like often people feel when they think like this

'Brave' belongs to the category of emotional relations. This word lacks an emotion related to fear. The lines below show the semantic explication of 'brave'

Someone X feels 'Brave'

This someone X thinks like this:

'There is something

People can't do this something

I want to do that something

Other people say don't do this

I know I can do this

I say: I do this'

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

- because of this, this someone X feels 'brave'
- like people often feel when they think like this

The words 'brave' and 'شجاع' are two emotion concepts that share the same semantic explication in ST and TT. Both words belong to the same coherent category and basic emotion either. Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989) considered 'courage' as an emotional state which bears a lack of fear and positioned this word with none of the five basic modes of emotion, labeling it and similar words as "lack of an emotion". It seems that these scholars disengaged these emotions from basic modes to avoid any error-making and also vagueness in language analysis since attributing the word 'courage' to the basic emotion of "fear" would make research results invalid.

5.3 Caused Emotion

Example 5

Film	ST	TT	Suggestion	Points
21 Days	میدونی چقدر از دستت عصبانیم؟	Do you know how mad I'm	Angry	- Different ST and TT emotions
Later	/midooni cheqadr az dastet asabaniam?	at you?		- Different categories - Same basic emotion

The Persian word *عصبانی* [asabani] belongs to the category of basic emotions. It is a Persian emotion concept that relates to the basic emotion of 'anger'. The NSM semantic analysis follows.

X feels عصبانی

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

Person Y did something bad

X wants: this someone Y didn't do something bad

X wants to do something bad because of this

People say: don't do something bad now

People also say: sometimes, do something after you feel good.

- because of this, X feels very bad

- X feels when like this

The English word 'mad' belongs to the category of basic emotions. It refers to the basic emotion of 'anger'. The semantic explication of this emotion is explained in the lines below.

X feels 'mad'

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

Something happened

X doesn't want this something to happen

X feels bad.

- because of this, X feels very bad

- X feels like this

The English word 'mad' and the Persian word *عصبانی* [asabani] are two emotions with a somehow different semantic analysis according to the NSM method. Although the basic emotion of 'mad' is the

same as the Persian emotion in the dialogue, the coherent category of this pair is not the same mainly because of the preposition 'at', and hence the study categorized the pair in the 'Different ST and TT emotion' code. These prepositional features mentioned earlier assumes important when identifying the category of emotion words. As in this case, the preposition included the emotion 'mad' in the 'Emotional Relation' category. While the word *عصبانی* [asabani] in ST belongs to the basic category. It is more advisable if the subtitler chose the English word 'furious.' Based on NSM analysis, 'furious' is a basic emotion that belongs to the basic mode of 'anger', which is totally the same as 'عصبانی'.

Example 6

Film	ST	TT	Points
A Life and a Day	مامان من خجالت میکشم. /maman, man xejalat mikesham/	(Mom, I would be) embarrassed	- Same TT and ST emotions - Same category

The Persian verb 'خجالت میکشم' [xejalat mikesham] belongs to the category of caused emotion. This Persian emotion word relates to the basic emotion of 'fear'. The semantic explication is explained below.

Someone X says 'خجالت میکشم'

someone X thinks like this:

'Something happened to me not because I want it

Someone Y knows about it

This someone Y is thinking about me

I don't want people to think about me like this'

- because of this, this someone X feels bad

- like often people feel when they think like this

'*Embarrassed*' belongs to the category of caused emotions. This concept refers to the basic emotion of 'fear' The NSM semantic explication of this emotion is in the lines below.

Someone X is '*Embarrassed*'

someone X thinks like this:

'Something happened to me not because I want it

Someone Y knows about it

This someone Y is thinking about me

I don't want people to think about me like this'

- because of this, this someone X feels bad

- like often people feel when they think like this

'*Embarrassed*' and 'خجالت میکشم' are two emotions with the same coherent category, basic emotion, and semantic explications. Therefore, based on the NSM analysis and, according to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), these two emotions are assumed equivalent.

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

5.4 Causative Emotion

Example 7

Film	ST	TT	Points
A life and a Day	مگه تو واسه ترسوندن اینا میخوای شوهر کنی؟ /mage to vase tarsoondan ina mixai shohar koni?/	Are you getting married just to scare (them)?	- Same TT and ST emotions - Same category

The Persian verb ترساندن [tarsandan] belongs to the category of causative emotions. This Persian emotional word relates to the basic emotion of 'fear'. The NSM semantic analysis follows.

X does ترساندن to someone Y

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I want to do something to someone Y

This someone Y does not know what I want to do

Someone Y doesn't want this.

- because of this, Y feels very bad

- Y feels like this

According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), the English word 'scare' belongs to the category of causative emotions. It refers to the basic emotion of 'fear'. The lines below demonstrate the semantic explication.

X 'scare' someone Y

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I want to do something to someone Y

This someone Y does not know what I want to do

Someone Y doesn't want this.

- because of this, someone Y feels very bad

- X feels like this

The Persian verb ترساندن [tarsandan] and the English word 'scare' are two words with the same basic emotion, and same category, and their semantic explication of them are alike. Various English emotion concepts are denoting the basic emotion of 'fear'. Using each requires its proper context. Compared to the Italian language in which Hanzakowski (2017) concluded that Italian uses one emotion word for various English emotion words, in Persian, the emotion word/concept ترس [tars] is used most frequently.

Example 8

Film	ST	TT	Points
Breathe	ننه آقا رو اذیت نکن /nan-e aqa ro aziat nakon/	(Don't) tease (your granny)	- Same ST and TT emotions - Same category

The Persian word 'اذیت کردن' belongs to the category of causative emotion. The basic emotion that this word refers to is 'anger'. The NSM semantic explication is brought in the lines below.

Someone X does this to someone Y: 'اذیت کردن'

someone X thinks like this:

'I did something bad to someone Y

Someone Y doesn't want this

Someone Y wants to do something because of it'

- because of this, this someone Y feels bad

- like often people feel when this happens

'Tease' belongs to the category of causative emotion. This concept refers to the basic emotion of 'anger'. The lines below show the NSM semantic explication.

Someone X 'tease' someone Y

someone X thinks like this:

'Sometimes I say something to someone Y

Sometimes I do something bad to someone Y

Someone Y doesn't want this'

- because of these things, someone Y feels bad

- like often people feel when it happens

The words 'Tease' and 'لذیت کردن' are two causative emotions and share the same basic emotion. The semantic explications among these two words are almost the same. The subtitler made a correct choice by bringing the word 'tease' since the character of the film wants the kid, who annoys her nanny with jokes, to stop. Hence, these two emotion words are assumed equivalent semantically based on NSM analysis.

5.5 Emotional Goal

Example 9

Film	ST	TT	Points
A Life and a Day	(از سر دلتنگی تهران) یک وقت هایی بهونه میگیره /(az sare deltangi Tehran) yek vaqtaha'ee bahoone migureh/	She just gets homesick	- Same TT and ST emotions - Same category

The Persian word دلتنگ [deltang] is a Persian emotion concept that belongs to the category of emotional goal. This word also belongs to the basic mode of 'sadness'. The lines below demonstrate the semantic analysis.

X feels دلتنگ

sometimes, a person X loves someone Y

- This someone X thinks like this:

Someone Y is far

I think of this someone Y all the time

I want this someone Y near me

I feel bad.

- because of this, X feels bad inside

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

- X feels like this

According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), the English word ‘homesick’ belongs to the category of emotional goal. It refers to the basic emotion of ‘sadness’. The semantic explication of ‘homesick’:

X feels ‘homesick’

sometimes, person X thinks like this;

I love the place where I live

I am far from that place

I don’t want this

I think of this place all the time

I want to be in that place.

- because of this, X feels very bad inside

- X feels like this

The Persian word دل‌تنگ [deltang] and the English word ‘homesick’ are two emotion words that share the same coherent category, and basic emotion, however, their semantic explication shows that these concepts are different in some aspects, hence, they are two different emotion words. The English emotional word ‘homesick’ has no equivalence in Persian. Just as Persian speakers use the word دل‌تنگ [deltang: miss someone/something] when they get far away from home, the translators substitute this Persian word as well in translating the word ‘homesick’. As stated by Elasri (2018), there is no equivalence for the word ‘empathy’. Elasri (2018) claimed that words are not single concrete entities in societies to refer to, but rather depend on the culture of those societies.

Example 10

Film	ST	TT	Points
The Dark Room	حسرت یک روز آرامش مونده به دل من /hasrat-e yek rooz aramesh moonde be del-e man/	(I long for a moment of) calm	- Same ST and TT emotions - Same category - Same basic emotion

The Persian word ‘حسرت’ [hasrat] belongs to the category of emotional goal. This emotion refers to the basic emotion of ‘sadness’ The semantic explication is brought by the lines below.

Someone X feels ‘حسرت’

someone X thinks like this:

‘I want many things very much

I know these things can’t happen

I think of these things at all times’

- because of this, this someone X feels very very bad

- like often people feel when they think like this

‘Long for’ belongs to the category of emotional goals. This emotion relates to the basic emotion of ‘sadness’ The lines below show the NSM analysis.

Someone X ‘long for’ many things

someone X thinks like this:

'I want many things very much

I know these things can't happen

I think of these things at all times'

- because of this, this someone X feels very very bad

- like often people feel when they think like this

'Long for' and 'حسرت' share a same basic emotion and category. The same semantic explication also demonstrates 'long for' as a proper emotion word for ST.

5.6 Complex Emotion

Example 11

Film	ST	TT	Suggestion	Points
Blockage	عذاب وجدان نداشته باش /azab-e vojdan nadashte bash/	Stop feeling guilty	Conscience-stricken	- Different ST and TT emotions - Same category - Same basic emotion

The Persian word عذاب وجدان [azab-e vojdan] belongs to the category of complex emotion. This Persian concept relates to the basic mode of 'Disgust'. The lines below show the NSM semantic explication of this emotion concept.

X feels عذاب وجدان

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I did something very bad to someone

Now when I think of this something bad, I can't think good of me

Something inside me feels bad

I want: I didn't do this something bad

Sometimes, I don't want to think of what I did.

- because of this, X feels very bad inside

- X feels like this

The English word 'guilty' belongs to the category of complex emotion, and the basic emotion it refers to is 'disgust'. The semantic analysis of this emotion follows.

X feels 'guilty'

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

I did something

Because of this, something bad happened

I didn't know this something is bad

Now I know this something was bad

I want: this didn't happen.

- because of this, X feels very bad

- X feels like this

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

The subtitler chose the English word ‘guilty’ for the Persian emotional word عذاب وجدان [azab-e vojdan: conscience-stricken]. According to the list of Persian emotions and the list presented by Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), these two words are two different emotions. Although they share the same basic emotions and categories, the NSM explication, which determines the originality of a word shows that they are not equal semantically. Hence, they were categorized under the code ‘Different ST and TT emotions’. As it is shown, the subtitler could use the English word ‘conscience-stricken’ as it is semantically more equivalent to the ST word عذاب وجدان based on NSM analysis.

Example 12

Film	ST	TT	Points
The Dark Room	برات افت داره که به دیگران بگی همچین مسئله ای برای بچت اتفاق افتاد /barat oft dareh keh beh digaran begi hamchin mas'ale-ee barayeh bachat etefaq oftad/	(You're) ashamed (to tell people this happened to your son)	- Same ST and TT emotions - Same category - Same basic emotion

The Persian word ‘افت’ [oft] belongs to the category of complex emotions. This Persian emotion concept refers to the basic mode of ‘disgust’ Semantic explication of ‘افت’ is shown in the lines below.

Someone X feels ‘افت’

someone X thinks like this:

‘I did something bad

People know I did something bad

Now people think something bad about me

I want this: people didn’t know this something bad’

- because of this, this someone X feels very bad

- like people often feel when they think of this

‘Ashamed’ belongs to the category of complex emotions. It refers to the basic emotion of ‘disgust’.

The semantic explication of this emotion is explained below.

Someone X is ‘Ashamed’

someone X thinks like this:

‘Everybody can know something bad about me

Because of this, everybody can think something bad about me

I don’t want this

Because of this, I would want to do something

I don’t know what I can do

I would want: no-one will know about this’

- because of this, this someone X feels very very bad

- like people often feel when they think like this

The words ‘ashamed’ and ‘افت’ belong to different parts of speech according to the NSM analysis; yet, both of them share the same coherent category, basic emotion, and a somehow similar semantic explication.

Examples 13 and 14 (Persian emotions absent in the English emotion list)

Film	ST	TT	Suggestion	Points
Bomb	آبروداری کردم /aberou dari kardam/	No translation	Respectable	The ST emotion doesn't exist in the list
21 Day Later	آگه غیرت داشتی /age qeyrat dashti/	If you were a real man	_____	The ST emotion doesn't exist in the list

X feels آبروداری

sometimes, person X thinks like this:

X knows someone Y

Someone Y did something very bad

Someone Y doesn't want people to know this

Someone X doesn't say what happened to others

Someone X wants people to think good of someone Y

Someone X says a good thing about someone Y

People don't know what happened

- because of this, people don't think bad of someone Y

-X feels like this

X feels غیرت towards Y

sometimes, person X feels very good about Y

X wants to have someone Y

X doesn't want someone else to have Y

X thinks when X is with Y nothing bad can happen to Y

- because of this, X feels very good

- X feels like this

Examples 13 and 14 contain three Persian emotion concepts that are absent in Johnson-Laird and Oatley's (1989) list of English emotions. In other words, they present some Persian emotions as used in the selected films for which there exist no equivalents in the English list. The examples include two emotional concepts as *آبروداری* [aberou dari] translated as 'real man', and *آگه غیرت* [qeyrat] which was eliminated in the subtitle. The last emotional concept is the opposite of the emotional concept of 'disgrace'. Based on NSM analysis, the subtitler could use the emotion word 'respectable' as it is more equivalent to the ST word *آبروداری*.

According to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), 'Complex Emotions' are concepts that link a basic mode of emotion to a feeling of a self-evaluation. The first and the last Persian emotional concepts, as mentioned above, fit into this coherent category as well. These scholars believed that some complex emotional concepts, especially varying among cultures and societies, refer to transcendental feelings. This transcendentalism holds for these two emotional concepts as well. As Afrashi (2006) maintained, even if equivalence could not be found for the word *آگه غیرت* [qeyrat] in the target language, this word denotes the emotion of 'affection' toward someone through the NSM analysis. The adjective clause of 'real man'

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

chosen by the subtitler does not fit the emotional burden of this culture-specific emotional word/concept as it ought to do. This is what Noie and Jafarpour (2018) concluded in their study; the importance of culture in AVT translations is much higher than in the text. They stated misinterpretations in the translation process result from neglecting cultural elements in text renderings (Noie and Jafarpour 2018). Experiencing a feeling toward the object of the emotion without knowing the reason is an element defining the coherent category of ‘Emotional Relations’, according to Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989), the word غیرت [qeyrat] falls into this category.

In terms of quantitative results, eleven codes of categories were identified in this study using MAXQDA 10 software (Figure 1).

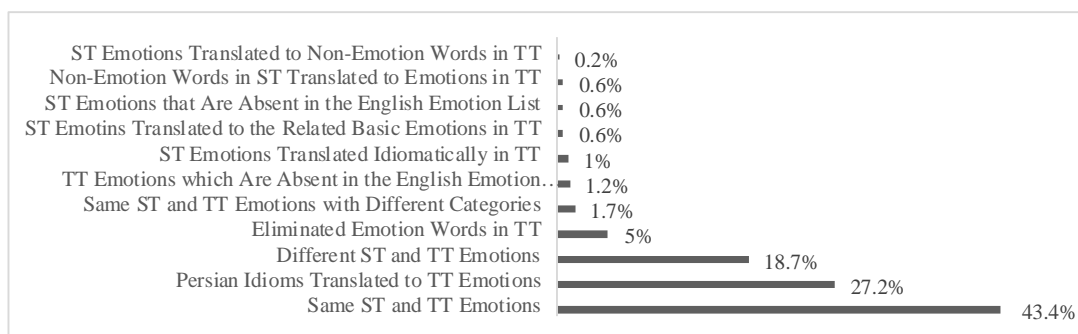


Figure 1: ST-TT identified codes of categories

The two codes ‘Persian Idioms Translated to TT Emotions’ and ‘Different ST and TT Emotions’ consisted of several sub-codes as shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3.



Figure 2: Sub-codes of the code ‘Persian Idioms Translated to TT Emotions’

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, about 69% of the emotional pairs were translated as equivalent to ST regardless of the codes they belonged to. These included the codes ‘Same ST and TT Emotions’ (43.4%), ‘Same ST and TT Emotions with Different Categories’ (1.7%), and two of the sub-codes of ‘Persian Idioms Translated to TT Emotions’, i.e., ‘Related TT Emotions and Categories’ (22.7%), and ‘Related TT Emotions, Non-related Categories’ (1.2%).

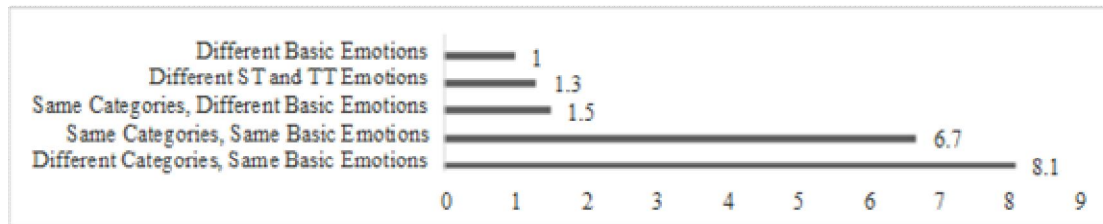


Figure 3: Sub-codes of the code 'Different ST and TT Emotions'

The non-equivalently translated emotion words or even disregarded emotions with a loss of meaning in translation made up 27% of the coded categories. These included 'ST Emotions Translated to Non-emotion words in TT' (0.2%), 'ST Emotions which are absent in the list' (0.6%), 'Eliminated Emotions in TT' (5%) as demonstrated in Figure 1, and two pertaining sub-codes of 'Persian Idioms Translated to TT Emotion' such as 'Non-related TT Emotions, Same Categories' (0.4%) and 'Non-related TT Emotions and Categories' (2.1%), and all the sub-codes of 'Different ST and TT Emotions' (18.7%) as demonstrated in Figure 3.

This loss of meaning (27% of the coded categories) would cause a lack of aesthetic and literary understanding of ST features. The above results confirm Hasada's (2001) claim that there need to be universal and culture-free definitions with no ethnocentric biases, or the true essence of words, in this case, emotion words/concepts, cannot be transferred to the target audience. This loss of meaning, by far, is due to translators' appeal to the dictionary as the only instrument they have relied on, which as the results of this study show, is not a perfect toolkit for subtitling translation. According to Marashi and Poursoltani (2009), who claimed that deletion was the least frequent strategy in their analysis, a translator who deals with audiovisual texts requires to have basic knowledge about breaking down the media text into the compositional parts to analyze the meaning properly. As confirmed by Afrashi (2006), NSM is a necessary toolkit for translating culture-specific words. Another aspect that strengthens the efficiency of NSM was concerned with the sub-codes that carried different ST and TT concepts but shared the same basic emotions. For instance, 'disgrace' and 'embarrass' were extracted from the basic emotion of 'disgust' which makes translators/subtitlers substitute them with equivalent words/concepts as used in the original version. According to Wierzbicka (1992), the presence of synonyms and words with overlapping definitions and different conceptual structures causes an overlapping range of usage.

6. Conclusion

Generally, AVT conveys social categories which are transferred and viewed in various cultures unfamiliar with the original culture. Therefore, it affects the social construct of the target society. Carrying out subtitling properly would make a memorable AVT product for target viewers. The results of this study revealed that the NSM method, due to the universality of semantic primes, can be seen as a useful translation toolkit in addition to using dictionaries for the translation of emotion words/concepts, hence making the AVT product function properly in the target society. The translators' ignorance of the origins of words is the most common cause of a translation error at the word level. When translators rely

Translating Persian Emotion into English Subtitles from a Semantic Perspective:
A Case of Persian Films

solely on a dictionary to identify a word, they make an inefficient judgment, and produce an inequivalent translation, as evidenced by the loss of meaning in 27 percent of cases as subtitled in the films analyzed in this study. As a result, the NSM method and analyzing or interpreting the emotion words/concepts in terms of their semantic primes, coherent categories, and semantic explications is regarded as an efficient toolkit in the process of subtitling emotion words/concepts, particularly the culture-specific ones.

This study examined the concept of ‘emotional adaptability’. The three aspects of analyses carried out in this study, exposing step by step the essence of emotion words/concepts and emotional adaptability are:

- a. Comparing the *basic emotions* of concepts in a language pair
- b. Comparing the *coherent categories* to which they belong
- c. Comparing the NSM *semantic explications* they share

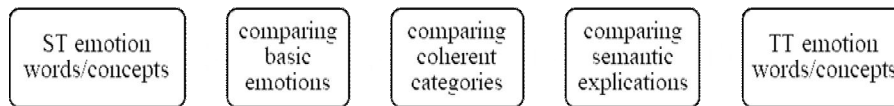


Figure 4: Process of creating emotional adaptability

These steps would present a model for analyzing the burden of emotion words/concepts, or the ‘emotional adaptability’ of them in pairs or different languages of the world. Due to the presence of culture-specific emotion words/concepts, which are opposed to internationally perceived ones, the absolute burden of Persian emotion words/concepts in the selected films would not be communicated to non-native individuals if dictionaries were solely used. While being a translator is necessary, it is not enough for building emotional adaptability. Subtitlers must be aware of the semantics and semantic explication of words/concepts (particularly the emotion words/concepts) in both languages to transfer the greatest number of emotion words/concepts to the subtitled version. The NSM method was found to be an efficient and practical toolkit in the hands of translators and subtitlers in this study. Although this is a good move, a series of studies still need to be conducted to gain a comprehensive understanding of the issues associated with subtitling emotion words to guide future producers of subtitled materials.

ترجمة المشاعر الفارسية إلى ترجمات باللغة الإنجليزية من منظور دلالي:
حالة من عشرة أفلام إيرانية

صالح سناطيفر

قسم الترجمة التحريرية والفورية، جامعة سينز الماليزية، ماليزيا

زيبا قمساريان

قسم اللغة الإنجليزية، جامعة الإمام الرضا العالمية، إيران

الملخص

من الأمور ذات الاهتمام الكبير في الترجمة السمعية البصرية النظر في كيفية نقل الكلمات العاطفية، إذ يعد خلق القدرة على التكيف العاطفي، علاوة على إتقان اللغة، والحساسية الثقافية، والاستعداد الفني مهارة ضرورية لكل مترجم فرعي، حللت هذه الدراسة، من خلال طريقة (NSM) Natural Semantic Metalanguage، توافق الكلمات/المفاهيم العاطفية المقابلة في النسخ الأصلية (الإنجليزية) والإصدارات المترجمة (الفارسية) لعشرة أفلام إيرانية استناداً إلى فيلم Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989) المتماusk، الفئات والعواطف الأساسية، وكذلك التفسيرات الدلالية. ووفقاً للنتائج، صُنفت الترجمات إلى اللغة الفارسية للكلمات/المفاهيم العاطفية الإنجليزية إلى إحدى عشرة فئة، مع "نفس المصدر والعواطف المستهدفة" باعتبارها الفئة الأكثر شيوعاً، وهذا أكد كفاءة طريقة NSM واعتبرها مجموعة أدوات فعالة لترجمة الكلمات/المفاهيم العاطفية، لاسيما تلك الخاصة بالثقافة، ووفقاً لذلك، اقترح نموذج من ثلاثة مستويات لتحليل "التكيف العاطفي" للأزواج العاطفية عبر اللغات. الكلمات المفتاحية: ترجمة سمعية بصرية، كلمات / مفاهيم عاطفية، لغة معدنية دلالية طبيعية، ترجمة فرعية.

References

- Afrashi, Azita. 2006. On the Natural Semantic Metalanguage Theory and the Issues of Translatability. *Translation Studies Quarterly* 4:73-85.
- Barrett, L. Feldman. 2006. Are Emotions Natural Kinds? *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 1: 28-58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6916.2006.00003.x>
- D'Andrade, Roy. 2001. A Cognitivist's View of the Units Debates in Cultural Anthropology. *Cross-Cultural Research* 35: 242–257. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106939710103500>
- Davis, Nicola. 2019. True Meanings of Words of Emotion Get Lost in Translation. *The Guardians*, December 9
- Elasri, Khalid and Abdelhakim Boubekri. 2020. The Universality and Cultural Specificity of Emotions through a Comparative Semantic Analysis of Emotion Terms in English and MA. *Journal of Universal Language* 21: 85-109.
- Elasri, Khalid. 2018. Emotion Categorization in Moroccan Arabic and English: A Prototype Approach. *Studies in Applied Linguistics* 9: 51-64.
- Elfenbein H. Anger and Nalini Ambady. 2002. On the Universality and Cultural Specificity of Emotion Recognition: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychol Bull* 128: 203-35. <http://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.128.2.203>
- Goddard, Cliff, and Anna Wierzbicka. 2014. *Words and Meanings: Lexical Semantics across Domains, Languages, and Cultures*. OUP: Oxford.
- Goddard, Cliff, and Anna Wierzbicka. 2002. *Meaning and universal grammar: theory and empirical findings* (vol 1). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Goddard, Cliff. 2008. *Natural Semantic Metalanguage: The State of the Art*. In *Cross-linguistics semantics* ed. Cliff Goddard, 1-34. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Goddard, Cliff. 2010. "The Natural Semantic Metalanguage Approach". In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, eds. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog, 459-484. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goddard, Cliff. 2022. "24 Vocabulary of emotions and its development in English, German and other languages". In Vol 1 edited by Gesine Lenore Schiewer, Jeanette Altarriba, and Bee Chin Ng, 511-531. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110347524-024>
- Hanczakowski, A. 2017. Translating emotion: A lexical-semantic analysis of translating emotion words from Italian to English in Marco Braico's novel *La festa dei limoni* (2011). Master's diss., University of Western Australia.
- Hasada, Rie. 2001. Meanings of Japanese Sound-Symbolic Emotion Words. In *Emotions in crosslinguistic perspective*, eds. Jean Harkins and Anna Wierzbicka, 217-253. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Johnson-Laird, P. Nicholas, and Keith Oatley. 1989. The Language of Emotions: An Analysis of a Semantic Field. *Cognition and Emotion* 3: 81-123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699938908408075>

- Jackson, J. Conard, Joseph Watts, Teague R. Henry, Johann-Mattis List, Robert Forkel, Peter J. Mucha, Simon J. Greenhill, Russell D. Gray, and Kristen A. Lindquist. 2019. Emotion Semantics Show Both Cultural Variation and Universal Structure. *Science* 366: 1517-1522.
<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaw8160>
- Lindquist, Kristen A. 2021. Language and Emotion: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Affective Science* 2: 91-98. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42761-021-00049-7>
- Marashi, Hamid and Khatereh Poursoltani. 2009. An Analysis of Farsi into English Subtitling Strategies Employed in Iranian Feature Films. *Journal of Teaching English as a Foreign Language and Literature* 1: 15-29.
- Noie, Saber and Fariba Jafarpour. 2018. Lexical Translation in Movies: A Comparative Analysis of Persian Dubs and Subtitles through CDA. *Journal of Language and Translation* 8: 69-79.
- Perego, Elisa, and Silvia Bruti. 2015. *Subtitling Today: Shapes and Their Meanings*. Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Suzanne, Ayonghe Lum. 2016. Translation of Emotions in the Subtitling of the Film Paris À tout prix. *International Journal of English Language & Translation Studies* 4: 177-191.
- Tsai, Jeanne. 2019. "Culture and Emotion". In Jordan a. Cummings and Lee Sanders (Eds.), *Introduction to Psychology*. Saskatoon, SK: University of Saskatchewan Open Press.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1986. Human Emotions: Universal or Culture-Specific? *American Anthropologist* 88:584-594. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1986.88.3.02a00030>
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1996. *Semantics: Primes, and Universals*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1992. Defining Emotion Concepts. *Cognitive Science* 16: 539-581.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1999. *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*. Cambridge University Press
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 2015. Natural Semantic Metalanguage. *The international encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*: 1-17

Appendix: Selected films

Title of the Film	Year of Production	Film Festival
A Life and a Day	2015	Dhaka International Film Festival
Nahid	2015	Chicago International Film Festival
Breathe	2016	Tallinn Black Nights Film Festival
Lantoury	2016	International Human Rights Film Festival
My Brother Khosrow	2016	Fajr International Film Festival
21 Days Later	2017	KINOLUB Film Festival
I'm not Angry	2017	Shanghai International Film Festival
Blockage	2017	Golden Global Film Festival
The Dark Room	2018	Hanoi Film Festival
Bomb: A Love Story	2018	Asia-Pacific Film Festival