The Use of Translation Techniques in Translating Sarcasm in the English-Indonesian Translation of Dialogues in *Mean Girls* (2004)

Santi Rahayu [1]
Thohiriyah [2]
[12]Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia

[1] santirahayuu84@gmail.com
[2] thohiriyah@mail.unnes.ac.id

Abstract

This study aims to analyze how sarcasm is translated in the Indonesian subtitles of the film Mean Girls (2004), focusing on the official version available on HBO. Sarcasm, as a form of expression that relies heavily on context, tone, and cultural understanding, presents particular challenges in the translation process. Specifically, this research seeks to identify the various types of sarcasm appearing in the film and to evaluate the translation methods used to represent these sarcastic expressions in the target language. The method employed is a qualitative descriptive approach. Data were collected by identifying and categorizing sarcastic utterances within the film. Subsequently, the data were analyzed using the translation techniques framework by (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) to classify the applied translation methods. The analysis involved an in-depth examination of the utterances' contexts and a comparison between the source text and its translation. The findings reveal that literal translation is the most frequently used technique, accounting for 56.8%, followed by reduction (16.2%), generalization (8.1%), and discursive creation (8.1%). Other techniques such as modulation, amplification, equivalence, and borrowing were each applied 2.7% of the time to address specific challenges like ambiguity and idiomatic expressions. While literal translation tends to maintain formal equivalence between the source text and the translation, it often fails to fully convey the sarcastic meaning, resulting in a loss of nuance and humor. Conversely, more creative and context-sensitive techniques, although used less frequently, prove to be more effective in preserving the pragmatic force of sarcasm. This study concludes that successful sarcasm translation largely depends on the translator's creativity and awareness of linguistic and cultural differences.

Keywords: *Sarcasm translation, Translation technique, Subtitles, Mean Girls*

Introduction

Translation has long been recognized as both a science and an art. It involves rendering meaning from one language to another, incorporating the structural aspects of language and the cultural and pragmatic frameworks inherent to diverse contexts. (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) define translation as a complex procedure that shifts meaning from the Source Language (SL) to the Target Language (TL). In other words, the translation process is not just about looking up equivalent words in a dictionary; it is about expressing meaning in its broadest sense. These challenges become even more significant when dealing with linguistic aspects that rely mainly on context and cultural knowledge.

In such cases, applying appropriate translation techniques becomes essential to ensure the intended meaning is accurately preserved within languages. Sarcasm, in

particular, stands out as a complex and challenging element to translate since it conveys meanings that contradict the literal words and is dependent on context, tone, and social cues. (Syamsinar et al., 2023). It involves implicit forms of communication that are often difficult for even humans to interpret. (Utama et al., 2023). Sarcasm can also be defined as a form of verbal irony, where the speaker intentionally says something that contradicts their true intent, often to deride or critique others. (Kreuz, 2020). Unlike simple irony, sarcasm has a sharper and stronger emotional impact, as (Syamsinar et al., 2023) describes, in which the speaker seems to express a literal meaning while intending the reverse.

To fully understand sarcasm, it is essential to identify its fundamental characteristics. Camp categorizes sarcasm into four distinct types: (1) Propositional Sarcasm, a type of sarcasm that is expressed at the level of an entire sentence. This kind of sarcasm usually conveys a tone of sincerity when delivered, yet its intended meaning is fundamentally contrary to the literal interpretation. For example, a speaker may say, "Your clothes look stunning," when the quality of the attire is subpar. This example shows how Propositional sarcasm works by delivering a seemingly sincere statement on the surface while having a critical meaning in a hidden way; (2) Lexical sarcasm; functions at the word level, as opposed to propositional sarcasm, which involves the entire sentence. It typically has a single word with a sarcastic tone, often achieved by exaggerated word choice. For example, when a speaker says "Great!" when receiving unpleasant news, such as being assigned extra tasks during a holiday. Although the word "Great" carries a positive meaning, the speaker's frustration is revealed by the sarcastic tone and the dire situation. (3) Like-prefixed sarcasm, a type of sarcasm that is characterized by sentences beginning with the word "Like," such as "Like I care." or "Like that's going to happen." This type of sarcasm is commonly used to reject a dismissive attitude towards a person or statement. Although the statement may appear to imply agreement or concern, it indicates mockery or scorn; (4) Illocutionary sarcasm is distinguished by its use of speech acts that appear sincere on the surface, such as thanking, congratulating, or complimenting someone or something, but are designed to convey the opposite feeling. For example, someone says "Thanks a lot" to someone after clearly being useless. While the illocutionary force of these words shows politeness or thanks, their true goal is to criticize, blame, or express dissatisfaction through sarcasm. Each of these types of sarcasm presents different challenges for translation because it depends heavily on nuanced linguistic and contextual cues that cannot be translated literally. The technique chosen by the translator can significantly affect the quality and impact of the translation (Suhertian Poyungi et al., 2021). Therefore, cultural knowledge of both the source and target languages is essential for an effective translation process (Thohiriyah, 2023). Given these complexities, translating sarcasm requires careful adaptation to preserve both wit and the underlying message across languages.

Numerous scholars have proposed various theories and approaches to address translation challenges, ranging from general strategies to those specifically targeting cultural and pragmatic nuances. Among the most influential frameworks is the taxonomy of 18 translation techniques developed by Nuriah and Khoirunnisa (2024), which has been widely referenced in translation studies for its systematic and adaptable nature (Volf, 2020). Techniques such as adaptation, literal translation, modulation, and discursive creation enable translators to convey meaning beyond the literal sense, particularly in complex texts like audiovisual dialogues. In translating sarcasm, translators must select the most appropriate techniques to effectively communicate the

implied meaning while preserving the original context and accuracy of the dialogue, rather than relying solely on literal interpretations.

Several recent studies have investigated strategies for translating sarcasm in audiovisual texts, frequently highlighting the limitations of literal translation and the crucial role of contextual understanding. For instance, Al-Mutairi and Al-Qahtani (2022) observed that translators often struggle to accurately convey the sarcastic intent, resulting in divergent interpretations influenced by their grasp of the source material. Similarly, Zhang and Li (2021) noted that the absence of direct equivalents for sarcastic expressions in the target language poses significant challenges, often diminishing the intended humorous effect. Other researchers, such as Kurniawan and Hidayat (2023) and Sari and Putra (2020), have also underscored the complexities of translating sarcasm and emphasized the necessity of contextual awareness in choosing appropriate translation strategies. However, many of these studies primarily focus on translation outcomes rather than the cognitive decision-making processes of translators, and few incorporate established theoretical frameworks of sarcasm. Notably, Rahman et al. (2024) pointed out that Camp's (2011) four-type typology of sarcasm—propositional, lexical, like-prefixed, and illocutionary—remains underutilized in translation studies.

To bridge this gap, the present study integrates Camp's sarcasm typology with the taxonomy of translation techniques proposed by Nuriah and Khoirunnisa (2024) to analyze sarcastic dialogues in the film Mean Girls (2004). This combined approach seeks to illustrate how different types of sarcasm influence the choice of translation techniques, providing deeper insights and practical guidance for audiovisual translation.

Method

This study employs a qualitative descriptive analytical framework to methodically examine the translation of sarcasm within audiovisual media, specifically concentrating on the film *Mean Girls* (2004), directed by Mark Waters. The research analyzes the translation process from English (Source Language/SL) to Indonesian (Target Language/TL), using data consisting of sarcastic utterances from the film and their corresponding translations. Each instance of sarcasm is identified and classified according to (Syamsinar et al., 2023) Four-type sarcasm typology. The translation techniques applied to each utterance are analyzed using (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) Framework. Primary data sources are the original English script of *Mean Girls* (2004) and its Indonesian subtitle translation, which is provided by HBO. Units of analysis are utterances containing sarcasm, which are systematically identified and categorized based on Camp's typology. Each sarcastic utterance and its translation are treated as paired data, enabling a comparative analysis of the translation technique employed. According to (Miles et al., 2014) Descriptive qualitative research provides holistic, in-depth descriptions and interpretations of data, essential for understanding complex linguistic and pragmatic features such as sarcasm. The process of collecting data involves: 1) Carefully watching *Mean Girls* and reading both the English script and Indonesian subtitles to identify instances of sarcasm, 2) Selecting utterances that exhibit sarcastic intent, guided by Camp's typology: propositional, lexical, like-prefixed, and illocutionary sarcasm, along with their subtitle translations for further analysis. 3) Organizing the data into a structured table, categorizing each instance by sarcasm type and translation technique. 4) Interpreting the data to reveal patterns and insights regarding translating sarcasm from English to Indonesian. The analysis focuses on

interpreting the collected data to gain a deeper understanding of how sarcasm is translated in audiovisual texts, particularly in *Mean Girls*

Results

The distribution of sarcasm types identified in the dataset is analyzed based on established theoretical frameworks of sarcasm. According to (Syamsinar et al., 2023) typology, sarcasm can be classified into several distinct types, each characterized by specific linguistic and pragmatic features. Following this theoretical foundation, the present analysis categorizes sarcasm instances in the dataset and arranges them in descending order of frequency, starting from the most prevalent type to the least frequent. This approach enables a systematic understanding of how different sarcasm types manifest within the audiovisual material. The detailed distribution is summarized in the table below:

Table 1 The Frequency and distribution of sarcasm in the film Mean Girls (2004)

No.	Type of sarcasm	Number of Instances	Percentage
1	Propositional Sarcasm	14	37.8%
2	Illocutionary Sarcasm	13	35.1%
3	Lexical Sarcasm	8	21.6%
4	Like-Prefixed Sarcasm	2	5.4%
	Total	**37**	**100%**

Based on the table above, 37 different types of sarcasm were identified in *Mean Girls* (2004). Of all the data, propositional sarcasm is the most frequent type, with 14 occurrences or around 37.8%. This type of sarcasm is followed by illocutionary, which appears 13 times (35.1%). Meanwhile, lexical sarcasm was found 8 times (21.6%), and like-prefixed sarcasm was the least frequent type, only recorded 2 times (5.4%).

These findings show that propositional sarcasm is the dominant form of sarcasm in the movie, while like-prefixed sarcasm is the least common. The distribution indicates that the characters in *Mean Girls* use sarcasm related to the statement's content more often than sarcasm based on changes in lexical form or the use of specific prefixes.

The identified sarcastic utterances were further analyzed to determine the translation techniques used in rendering each type of sarcasm into Indonesian. The classification follows the translation technique taxonomy proposed by (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024).

The distribution of translation techniques applied to the dataset is presented in the following table:

Table 2 The translation technique used for translating sarcasm in Mean Girls (2004)

No.	Translation Techniques	Number of Instances	Percentage
1	Literal	21	56.8%
2	Reduction	6	16.2%
3	Generalization	3	8.1%
4	Discursive Creation	3	8.1%
5	Modulation	1	2.7%
6	Amplification	1	2.7%
7	Equivalence	1	2.7%
8	Borrowing	1	2.7%
	Total	**37**	**100%**

Based on this data, a total of 37 instances of translation techniques were identified in the translation of sarcastic expressions in Mean Girls (2004). The most frequently employed technique is literal translation, with 21 occurrences, accounting for

56.8% of the total. This suggests that translators predominantly rely on a direct, word-for-word approach when rendering sarcasm into Indonesian subtitles.

The reduction technique ranks second, with 6 instances (16.2%). This technique involves omitting or simplifying elements of the source text, likely to make the sarcastic utterances more concise or clearer for the target audience. Following this, both generalization and discursive creation appear three times each (8.1%). Generalization refers to the use of broader or more general terms in the translation, whereas discursive creation involves adding or modifying content creatively to preserve the rhetorical impact.

In contrast, techniques such as modulation, amplification, equivalence, and borrowing were each used only once, representing 2.7% each of the total instances. These less frequent techniques are typically applied to handle specific challenges, such as cultural differences, idiomatic expressions, or to enhance the pragmatic meaning of the sarcasm.

This distribution indicates a clear preference for literal translation, which may reflect the translators' aim to maintain formal accuracy and lexical fidelity. However, the presence of alternative techniques especially reduction, generalization, and discursive creation demonstrates an effort to adapt the sarcasm's meaning and contextual nuances so that the target audience can still grasp the intended humor and rhetorical effect. These adaptive techniques are essential because sarcasm often depends on subtle cues that may not be directly translatable through literal methods alone.

Discussion

After presenting the findings on the types and distribution of sarcasm in *Mean Girls* (2004) and the translation techniques used, the following discussion will elaborate on how each type of sarcasm functions in the interactions between characters and how the sarcastic nuances and meanings are transferred into Indonesian through subtitles. By analyzing the illustrative instances from each classification, this section not only highlights the prevalence of sarcasm occurrences but also evaluates the effectiveness of the translation in conveying the underlying message and impression of sarcasm to the target audience.

Sarcasm

To better understand how sarcasm operates in the film *Mean Girls* (2004), this discussion explores selected examples categorized according to Camp's four-type framework. Rather than simply measuring frequency, the analysis focuses on how each type of sarcasm reflects the film's underlying social dynamics and character relationships by examining each category, from the most frequently occurring to the least. This section emphasizes how sarcasm functions within specific interactions. Furthermore, it evaluates the Indonesian subtitle translations and assesses how effectively they convey the original sarcastic tone and intent to the target audience.

Propositional Sarcasm

Propositional sarcasm is the most common type of sarcasm in the film, making up 37.8% of all sarcastic utterances with 14 occurrences. This type involves a direct contradiction between the literal meaning and the intended message, often found in full-sentence remarks that appear sincere but convey a negative or mocking implication (Prastiwi & Munandar, 2024). The film uses propositional sarcasm to express criticism,

mock praise, and disdain, often through seemingly polite compliments that, in context, belittle or disapprove of other characters (Dinari, 2015). Several examples from the film illustrate how this sarcasm is employed to highlight the dynamics of teenage interactions.

To provide a clearer understanding of how propositional sarcasm functions within the film *Mean Girls*, the following example is analyzed:

Extract 1 (Timestamp: 01:26:41 – 01:26:47):

Language	Utterance
SL (Source Language)	Mr. Duval: "OK, good. I just wanted to say that you're all winners. And I could not be happier that this school year's ending."
TL (Target Language - Indonesian Subtitle)	"Dan aku sangat senang sekolah tahun ini akan berakhir." Mr. Duval: "OK, good. I just wanted to say that you're all winners. And I could not be happier that this school year ending."

In this excerpt, Principal Duval's statement, *"I could not be happier that this school year's ending,"* represents propositional sarcasm. Although the phrase superficially expresses happiness, it actually communicates his frustration and relief due to the turmoil experienced throughout the school year.

The Indonesian subtitle, *"Dan aku sangat senang sekolah tahun ini akan berakhir,"* successfully translates the literal content of the sentence. However, it fails to convey the sarcastic tone and the speaker's underlying exasperation present in the original utterance. As a result, the pragmatic force of sarcasm is diminished, potentially reducing the emotional impact and humor intended by the original dialogue.

The expression "could not be happier" is commonly used sarcastically, often to imply the opposite of what is stated. To better convey this sarcasm, pragmatic markers such as specific intonation, sighs, or interjections like "wah" or "syukurlah" could be employed in the translation to signal the intended sarcasm more clearly to the audience. This remark not only emphasizes Duval's frustration but also reinforces his character as someone who tries to maintain a professional demeanor, despite feeling utterly exhausted by the school year.

Extract 2: (01:20:33-01:20:39)
SL : Mrs. Norbury: "**I gotta say, watching the police search my house really was the cherry on top of a fantastic year.**"
TL : Harus kuakui, melihat polisi menggeledah rumahku merupakan hal terbaik sepanjang tahun ini.

Mrs. Norbury's sarcastic remark occurs after she is falsely accused of selling drugs by Cady. Although the statement superficially appears as a positive comment, it exemplifies propositional sarcasm, which is characterized by a contrast between the literal meaning and the speaker's intended negative attitude (Ray et al., 2022). In this instance, Mrs. Norbury refers to the police search as "the best part of the year," a literal phrase that conventionally conveys praise, but here it sharply contrasts with her actual feelings of disappointment and frustration caused by the distressing event.

The expression "The cherry on top of a fantastic year" is typically employed to highlight an additional positive element enhancing an already good situation. However, Mrs. Norbury subverts this idiomatic phrase to ironically describe the traumatic police

search, emphasizing the absurdity and injustice of her experience rather than celebrating it. This use of sarcasm effectively exposes the unfairness of the accusation.

Moreover, the effectiveness of this sarcasm relies on the shared knowledge between Mrs. Norbury, Cady, and the audience about the false accusation and humiliating search. This mutual understanding enables the sarcastic remark to evoke empathy and dark humor, as it contrasts the superficial praise with the underlying injustice, engaging the audience emotionally and cognitively.

Illocutionary Sarcasm

The second most frequently used sarcasm type in the film is Illocutionary sarcasm, accounting for 13 instances or 35.1% of all sarcastic utterances. Illocutionary sarcasm is distinguished by its use of speech acts that appear genuine on the surface, such as thanking, congratulating, or complimenting someone, but are actually intended to convey the opposite feeling (Camp, 2011; Silitonga, 2018). While these utterances seem polite or positive, their proper function is to criticize or express dissatisfaction in a subtler, indirect way.

Illocutionary sarcasm involves the use of sincere language—such as compliments, thanks, or praise—that, on the surface, appears to express genuine appreciation or admiration but is actually intended to subtly criticize or belittle the recipient (Attardo, 2000). This type of sarcasm relies heavily on contextual cues and the speaker's intention, where the literal utterance masks an ironic or mocking subtext.

The following excerpt from the film illustrates the use of illocutionary sarcasm:
Extract 3: (00:11:13–00:11:16)
SL: Regina: "Oh, my God, I love your bracelet. Where did you get it?"
TL: Astaga, aku suka gelangmu, darimana kau mendapatkannya?

On the surface, Regina's statement appears to be a sincere compliment. However, within the contextual framework, it functions as a mockery directed at Cady's outdated bracelet. Regina's pattern of delivering superficial praise, only to ridicule the subject once they are out of earshot, exemplifies illocutionary sarcasm—a form of sarcastic remark that outwardly seems genuine but is intended to demean others (Ali, 2018). This sarcastic strategy serves to reinforce social hierarchies and assert dominance within interpersonal interactions.

Audiences are familiar with Regina's behavior recognize her compliments as insincere, a sarcastic code that only makes sense with contextual awareness. However, in written form, without visual cues or intonation, the sarcasm can be lost, as the Indonesian translation lacks explicit markers of sarcasm, potentially misleading those unfamiliar with Regina's character or the social context.

Extract 4: 00:05:51-00:05:54
SL   : The boy: "**Nice wig, Janis**. What's it made of?"
TL   : Wig yang bagus Janis, dibuat dari apa?

In this extract, the boy's remark superficially resembles a compliment or an innocent question but functions as a sarcastic jab intended to mock Janis's wig by implying it looks fake or unattractive. This use of illocutionary sarcasm depends on shared contextual knowledge, allowing the audience to discern the incongruity between the literal utterance and the speaker's actual intention, recognizing it as mockery rather than genuine praise (Kumar et al., 2022).

Janis's retort, "Your mom's chest hair!" intensifies the insult by reversing the mockery toward the boy, showcasing a dialogic function of illocutionary sarcasm in which both interlocutors engage in indirect insults disguised as casual conversation. This exchange illustrates a common pattern identified in the study, where out of 13 illocutionary sarcasm instances analyzed, the majority involve polite-sounding compliments or inquiries that conceal biting insults.

Such findings underscore sarcasm's prevalence as a communicative strategy in the film, particularly among characters who employ humor and politeness as veils for hostility. This pattern aligns with prior research that emphasizes sarcasm's dual role in social interaction: softening the delivery of criticism while simultaneously reinforcing social tensions (Wilson & Sperber, 2019; Kumar et al., 2022).

Lexical Sarcasm

Lexical sarcasm is the second least frequently used type of sarcasm after illocutionary sarcasm, appearing 8 times throughout the film and accounting for 21.6% of the total occurrences. As defined by (Syamsinar et al., 2023)lexical sarcasm involves the reversal of meaning in specific words or phrases, particularly evaluative terms. Unlike propositional sarcasm, which operates at the level of an entire sentence, lexical sarcasm targets individual words, allowing the speaker to express criticism in a more localized and nuanced way (D'Arcey & Fox Tree, 2022)

In the film, lexical sarcasm is employed to express dissatisfaction through indirect mockery. (Azis & Marlina, 2020) argue that lexical sarcasm is also used to ridicule people or situations by ironically using typically positive words. This type of sarcasm serves as a tool for delivering brief yet sharp, ironic remarks, often conveying negative judgments without direct confrontation (Frenda et al., 2022). In essence, the director utilizes lexical sarcasm as a subtle yet pointed means of expressing disapproval or criticism while maintaining a humorous or dramatic tone.

SL:
Extract 5: (00:03:07-00:03:11)
Mrs. Norbury: "My T-shirt's stuck to my sweater, isn't it?
Mr. Duval: "Yeah"
Mrs. Norbury: "**Fantastic.**"

TL:
Mrs. Norbury: "Kaosku tertarik bersama sweaterku, kan?"
Cady: "Iya."
Mrs. Norbury: "**fantastik**."

In Extract 5, Mrs. Norbury's use of the word "fantastic" seems like a genuine expression of joy, but is, in fact, an ironic remark highlighting her discomfort and mild embarrassment as her T-shirt sticks to her sweater.The sarcastic tone is conveyed through Mrs. Norbury's flat intonation and slight sigh. Without these prosodic cues, the sarcasm could be easily missed, and the word "fantastic" might be interpreted literally. In the Indonesian translation, "fantastik," the sarcastic nuance is at risk of being lost, as it lacks the necessary vocal and facial cues to indicate irony. This illustrates how lexical sarcasm can be ambiguous or lost in translation when not supported by the proper audiovisual context.

Extract 6: (00:37:22-00:37:25)
SL   : MC: "**That was something.**"
TL   **:** Tadi itu hebat

In this scene, the Master of Ceremonies (MC) responds to Kevin G's cringeworthy rap performance during the school talent show with the phrase, "That was something." This remark exemplifies lexical sarcasm; even though his expression might literally suggest that the performance was notable or impressive, the context and tone imply the opposite. Given the awkwardness and inappropriateness of the rap, the MC's remark is not intended as genuine praise to Kevin G.

In Extract 6, the word "something" is ordinarily a neutral term that does not carry a strong positive or negative connotation. However, within the context of Kevin G's awkward performance, the MC's use of "something" becomes sarcastic, subtly conveying disapproval or disappointment instead of genuine praise. This contrasts with Extract 5, where the word "fantastic" is overtly positive but is similarly used sarcastically to express frustration. This adaptability is further supported by (Riandika et al., 2025), who found that sarcasm in film scripts is shaped by genre and narrative needs, allowing for dynamic shifts in meaning through context and delivery.

When rendered in Indonesian as "*Tadi itu hebat*," the intended sarcasm is likely to be diluted or even completely missed, particularly if the audience only reads the text. The word "*hebat*" in Indonesian carries a clear positive meaning, so without the supporting context of the MC's unimpressed tone or body language, viewers might perceive the comment as genuine admiration.

Like-Prefixed Sarcasm

The least commonly found type of sarcasm in *Mean Girls* is Like-prefixed sarcasm, which appears only twice, accounting for just 5.4% of the identified sarcastic expressions. According to (Syamsinar et al., 2023), like-prefixed sarcasm is characterized by using the word "like" or similar expressions such as "as if" at the beginning of a sentence, typically delivered with a sneering or exaggerated tone to convey mockery or scorn. This form of sarcasm is often employed to express rejection, disbelief, or a dismissive attitude toward a person or statement (Sitanggang & Ningsih, 2022).

In *Mean Girls*, like-prefixed sarcasm creates irony by having the speaker feign sincerity or acceptance while actually intending to mock or criticize. The sarcastic intent is made clear through the context and the character's tone.

Extract 7: (01:01:05-01:01:10)
SL   : Janis: "You try to act like you're so innocent. **Like**, "Oh, I used to live in Africa with all the little birdies and the little monkeys."
TL   : Kau pura-pura seperti gadis lugu. "Aku dulu tinggal di afrika dengan burung-burung dan monyet" yang kecil."

This dialogue occurs during a crucial confrontation between Cady Heron, Janis Ian, and Damian. After Cady throws a party and excludes Janis and Damian, her original friends, Janis confronts her about the changes in her behavior since joining "The Plastics," the school's popular clique. In this scene, Janis employs like-prefixed sarcasm, which uses mimicry and performative language to ridicule by ironically imitating Cady's attempt to appear innocent or naïve. Through this exaggerated mimicry, Janis not only mocks Cady's self-presentation but also underscores the dramatic shift in their friendship dynamics (Banasik-Jemielniak, 2021).

This sarcastic strategy is heavily reliant on performance, especially Janis's tone, facial expressions, and deliberate exaggeration, all of which signal to the audience that her words are not meant to be taken literally (Farabi et al., 2024). Instead, they serve to expose and ridicule the contrast between Cady's current actions and her former identity. When translated into Indonesian, Janis's lines' sarcastic intent can still be understood, especially if accompanied by the original audiovisual cues. However, in written form alone, the nuance may be less apparent, as the mimicry and performative elements are not fully conveyed through text.

Extract 8: (00:27:29-00:27:32)
SL   : Regina: "She's like a little girl. She, like, writes all over her notebook, "Mrs. Aaron Samuels."
TL   : Dia seperti anak kecil dan menulis semua di bukunya, "Ny. Aaron Samuels."
In this scene, Regina George uses the phrase "she's like a little girl" while talking to Aaron Samuels about Cady. On the surface, the statement compares Cady to a child, but Regina's intent is not to compliment Cady's innocence or sweetness. Instead, she employs sarcasm to paint Cady as immature and naïve, subtly undermining Cady's credibility and trying to embarrass her in front of Aaron.

Regina's sarcasm is effective due to her tone, facial expressions, and exaggerated mimicry of childish behavior, using it to assert power and mockery (Walderzak, 2019). This aligns with the film's broader use of like-prefixed sarcasm for social dominance and exclusion. In the Indonesian translation, "Dia seperti anak kecil dan menulis semua di bukunya, Ny. Aaron Samuels," the sarcastic nuance may be lost without Regina's vocal inflection and body language, making it potentially misinterpreted as a simple observation.

Translation Technique

Translation techniques play a crucial role in the process of rendering sarcasm from one language to another, particularly in audiovisual translation such as film subtitles. Sarcasm, with its reliance on tone, context, and cultural nuance, presents unique challenges for translators who must not only transfer meaning but also preserve the intended effect and subtlety of the original expression (Du et al., 2024). The choice of translation technique directly influences how the target audience perceives and understands the sarcastic intent, and can determine whether the sarcasm, irony, or social commentary embedded in the source text is successfully conveyed (Zawawi & Maghfiroh, 2020)

Translation techniques proposed by (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) provide a comprehensive framework for analyzing and categorizing translators' strategies to address these challenges. Their approach, widely adopted in translation studies, identifies a range of techniques, including established literal, modulation, adaptation, transposition, and others, that can be applied depending on the linguistic and cultural context of both the source and target languages.

Literal

Literal translation is the most frequently used technique by translators to translate sarcastic utterances in the subtitles of *Mean Girls* (2004). As shown in Table 2, this technique was used 21 times, accounting for approximately 56.8% of the 37 sarcastic expressions analyzed. The literal translation technique is done by translating each word or phrase directly from the source language to the target language without

performing a lot of changes in structure and meaning (Baker, 2012). In other words, the translator maintains the original form and word order, so the translation results tend to be very close to the source text both lexically and syntactically.

The use of literal translation in sarcasm cases can be found in almost all types of sarcasm identified in this movie, whether propositional, lexical, like-prefixed, or illocutionary sarcasm. This shows the translators' tendency to choose a safe and straightforward approach, especially in the context of subtitles that have time and space limitations (Saputra et al., 2022).

However, when literal translation is applied to sarcasm, there is often a shift in meaning or loss of sarcastic effect on the utterances. This is because sarcasm heavily relies on tone, context, and cultural cues that are not always evident in written form.
A clear example of literal translation can be found in the following dialogue:

Extract 9: 00:04:05-00:04:08
SL: "Thanks. Maybe some other time, when my shirt isn't see-through."
TL: "*Terima kasih, mungkin lain kali saat bajuku tidak tembus pandang.*"
BT: "Thanks, maybe next time when my T-shirt isn't see-through."

The utterance above is an example of illocutionary sarcasm, in which the speaker's literal words convey politeness, but the underlying meaning is sarcastic, implying the speaker's annoyance. The translator uses a literal translation by directly rendering the sentence into Indonesian without altering the structure or adding any markers of sarcasm.

The sentence structure in the SL and TL is maintained, where the word order and grammatical patterns do not have significant changes. Each word or phrase is translated directly without any idiomatic adjustments or the addition of sarcasm markers. This can be clearly seen through the back translation (BT) process, which is when the target language translation is translated back to the source language; the result is almost identical to the original sentence, both in terms of word choice and sentence structure (Larson, 1998).

While the translation accurately conveys the surface meaning, it fails to capture the sarcastic tone embedded in the original utterance (Peled & Reichart, 2017). This demonstrates a slight difference in the sense perceived by the target audience compared to the source language. When literal translation is applied, the sarcastic nuance present in the original may not be fully conveyed, resulting in a subtle shift or even loss of the intended sarcastic effect. The literal translation renders the utterance as a straightforward statement so that the target audience might interpret it as a sincere rather than a sarcastic utterance.

Extract 10: 01:17:17-01:17:19
SL: "Great. All my friends hate me."
TL: "*Hebat, semua temanku membenciku.*"
BT: "Great, all my friends hate me."

In Extract 10, the sentence is an example of lexical sarcasm in the film *Mean Girls* (2004). The word "Great" does not carry its literal (positive) meaning of excellence; instead, it is used ironically by the speaker to express disappointment or frustration. In this context, Cady utters it because she feels betrayed by her friends. The utterance thus

becomes paradoxical: a verbal expression of praise ("Great") contrasts with a negative reality ("All my friends hate me").

When translated literally as "*Hebat, semua temanku membenciku*," the translator retains the original word choice and sentence structure without making idiomatic adjustments or adding sarcasm markers. A back translation of this translation also shows almost identical results to the source sentence, both lexically and syntactically.

By applying literal translation, which preserves the original lexical choices and structure, the translator omits the ironic nuance embedded in the original dialogue (Linder, 2010). When the literal translation technique is used to translate sarcasm, it shows a shift in meaning or pragmatic effect. The nuances of sarcasm that should appear are blurred or lost, so the target audience does not fully receive the character's sarcastic message.

Reduction

Reduction is the most frequently employed technique following literal translation, appearing in 6 instances (16.2%) of sarcasm translation in the film. According to (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024), reduction involves omitting some aspects of the source text that are considered redundant, repetitive, or less relevant in the target language to achieve a more concise and natural translation.

Reduction is often used when the full content of the original expression may not be necessary to convey the intended meaning or when cultural differences make some information less significant for the target audience (Hasior, 2024). In the context of translating sarcasm, reduction can help maintain the sarcastic tone by focusing on the core message and eliminating unnecessary details that might dilute or obscure the sarcastic effect.

As (Putranti, 2018) explains, reduction allows translators to streamline expressions, which can be especially useful when direct translation would result in awkwardness or over-explanation, potentially diminishing the impact of the sarcasm. This technique is particularly effective in cases where brevity enhances the sarcastic tone or when the target audience does not easily understand specific cultural references in the original (Alwazna, 2022).

This technique is very commonly used in the translation of movie subtitles, mainly due to space (number of characters per line) and screen time constraints (Suratno & Wijaya, 2018). In addition, reduction is also often chosen to avoid unnecessary repetition, simplify sentences that are too long, or remove content that is deemed irrelevant or too sensitive for the target audience.

For example, in the following line:

Extract 11: 00:16:43-00:16:46
SL: "So you can go shave your back now."
TL: "*Kau bisa pergi sekarang.*"
BT: "You can go now."

In this example, the sarcastic and evaluative tone of the original language is significantly reduced by removing the specific mention of "shaving your back.". This reduction not only helps maintain subtitle brevity and avoids potentially offensive content, but it also results in a substantial loss of the original's sharpness and humorous insult (Eljazouli & Azmi, 2024).

Although the speaker's dismissive intent is still conveyed, much of the original sarcasm and its impact are lost in the translation (Anggraini et al., 2020) Thus, reduction ensures that subtitles remain concise and accessible, but this often comes at the expense of fully preserving the original meaning and tone. The target audience may still understand the speaker's dismissive intent, but the playful or biting nature of the sarcasm is largely lost.

While reduction can be effective for technical reasons, it often comes at the expense of fully preserving the original's meaning, tone, and communicative effect. In this case, the reduction ensures accessibility and appropriateness, but the sarcastic nuance of the sarcasm does not fully reach the target audience.

Extract 12: 01:15:42-01:15:50
SL: I guess it's probably because I've got a big lesbian crush on you.
TL: *Mungkin karena aku lesbian yang jatuh cinta padamu*
BT: Maybe because I'm a lesbian who fell in love with you.

In Extract 12, the reduction technique is applied in the translation process. The original line, "I guess it's probably because I've got a big lesbian crush on you," is translated into Indonesian as "*Mungkin karena aku lesbian yang jatuh cinta padamu*," which back-translates to "Maybe because I am a lesbian who fell in love with you." The reduction is evident in the way the hedging expressions "I guess" and "it's probably" are both condensed into a single word, "*Mungkin*" ("Maybe"), in the target language. This streamlining omits the layered uncertainty and casual tone conveyed by the original, resulting in a more direct and less nuanced statement.

Additionally, the phrase "a big lesbian crush on you," which carries a playful, exaggerated, and somewhat humorous tone, is translated more literally as "*lesbian yang jatuh cinta padamu*" ("a lesbian who fell in love with you"). This translation loses the informal and hyperbolic sense of "crush," making the statement sound more serious and less sarcastic. As a result, while the main message remains intact, much of the original sarcasm and humor is diminished. The sarcastic nuance, which relies on exaggeration and a casual delivery, is not fully preserved in the translation, demonstrating how reduction can impact the communicative effect and tone of sarcasm in subtitle translation.

Generalization

The third most frequently used translation technique identified in this case is generalization, which appears three times, accounting for 8.1% of the total translation strategies employed. According to (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) generalization involves translating a term or phrase from the source language (SL) into a more general or broader term in the target language (TL). (Baker, 2012) further explains that generalization serves as a form of neutralization, whereby language that is highly specific, culturally loaded, or stylistically marked in the SL is rendered into a more neutral and accessible expression in the TL.

In this context, generalization was likely chosen to deal with expressions in the SL that were too detailed, culturally bound, or gender-specific for a direct translation into Indonesian. (ÜNSAL, 2018) argues that by opting for broader equivalents, the translator ensures that the subtitles remain concise, culturally appropriate, and easily understood by the audience.

This technique is particularly effective in audiovisual translation, where screen space and viewer reading time are limited. Through generalization, the translator simplifies complex or nuanced expressions without distorting the overall message, thus enhancing the readability and naturalness of the subtitles.

Extract 13: 00:27:31-00:27:32
SL: "She's like a little girl."
TL: "*Dia seperti anak kecil*,"
BT: She is like a child.

In the example above, the source language (SL) phrase "a little girl" carries a more specific meaning, referring to a young female child, both in terms of age and gender. However, in the target language (TL), the translator chooses the phrase "*anak kecil*," which in Indonesian is more general, as it does not indicate gender and conveys the idea of youth in a broader sense without specifying gender or visual characteristics.

In this case, the term "*anak kecil*" is sufficient to represent childlike behavior without emphasizing gender. Furthermore, due to the spatial limitations inherent in subtitles, using a more general and concise phrase is clearly more space-efficient. This reflects one of the practical motivations behind the use of generalization in audiovisual translation—ensuring clarity, brevity, and naturalness while preserving the intended meaning.

When examined through the lens of the BT ("She is like a child"), it becomes evident that the essential message of youth or immaturity is retained, albeit in a more neutral or generalized form. Without additional cues in the subtitle, the sarcastic tone may be weakened or lost in the Target Language.

Another example from the film that further illustrates the use of generalization can be found in the following example:

Extract 14: 00:11:52-00:11:53
SL: Coolness
TL: *Bagus*
BT: Good

In Extract 14 above, the use of generalization is evident in the translation of the word "Coolness" from the source language (SL) into "*Bagus*" in the target language (TL), which back-translates to "Good." The original term "coolness" in English carries a specific connotation of being stylish, impressive, or socially desirable, often associated with a sense of admiration or approval that goes beyond mere adequacy. However, the Indonesian translation "Bagus" is a more general and neutral term that means "good," lacking the stylistic nuance and cultural resonance of "coolness." This choice reflects the translator's decision to neutralize the expression, making it more accessible and broadly understandable for the target audience.

By opting for a general term, the translator ensures that the subtitle remains concise and clear, which is crucial given the space and time constraints of audiovisual translation. However, this generalization also results in the loss of the original's specific tone and cultural flavor. The back translation, "Good," demonstrates how the unique sense of admiration or trendiness implied by "coolness" is replaced by a more basic, positive evaluation. As a result, while the core message of approval is maintained, the original stylistic impact and any underlying sarcasm or emphasis are significantly diminished in the target language. This example highlights how generalization, while

effective for clarity and brevity, can lead to a neutralization of meaning and tone in subtitle translation.

Discursive Creation

The translator's most frequently used translation technique is discursive creation, which is employed three times (8.1%) of the total sarcasm translation techniques. According to (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) discursive creation involves establishing a temporary equivalence that is completely unpredictable outside of the context.

In the context of translating sarcasm, discursive creation is used to generate new expressions or reformulate the original message creatively, in order to capture the sarcastic intent when a direct or literal translation would fail to convey the same effect (Saputra et al., 2022). This technique allows the translator to adapt the sarcasm to the cultural and linguistic norms of the target audience, often producing a target text that is contextually relevant and pragmatically effective despite diverging from the source text's wording.

Extract 15: 00:09:03-00:09:06
SL: Damian, you've truly out-gayed yourself.
TL: Damian, kau menjadi makin homo
BT: Damian, you are becoming more and more gay.

In Extract 15, the original English line, "Damian, you've truly out-gayed yourself," is a sarcastic and playful way to say that Damian has acted even "gayer" than before, almost as if he has outdone himself. This kind of expression uses wordplay and humor that fits well in Western contexts, especially among friends.

The Indonesian translation, "Damian, kau menjadi makin homo" (Damian, you are becoming more and more gay), does not directly copy the original's wordplay or sarcasm. Instead, it creates a new phrase that is easier for the Indonesian audience to understand, even though it does not have the same clever twist. This is an example of discursive creation, a translation technique where the translator invents a new expression in the target language that fits the situation, rather than translating word-for-word or using a more general term. This shows how discursive creation helps translators adapt jokes or sarcasm so they work in a different language and culture, even if some of the original utterances is lost.

Less Frequent Translation Techniques

In addition to the dominant techniques of literal translation, reduction, generalization, and discursive creation, the analysis of sarcasm translation in *Mean Girls* (2004) also identified the use of several other techniques, namely modulation, amplification, equivalence, and borrowing. Each of these techniques appears only once in the dataset, accounting for 2.7% of the total translation strategies identified.

Due to their very low frequency and supplementary function, these techniques are grouped under the category of "other techniques used." This categorization aims to highlight the presence of minor techniques that nevertheless contribute to addressing more specific or challenging instances of sarcasm and to demonstrate the translator's flexibility in adapting strategies to the cultural and pragmatic context of the target language.

Modulation

Following literal translation, reduction, generalization, and discursive creation as the dominant techniques, modulation appears as one of the minor strategies, with only a single instance (2.7%) identified in the translation of sarcasm in *Mean Girls* (2004). According to Molina & Albir (2002), modulation involves changing the point of view, semantics, or perspective of the source text to produce a translation that is more natural or contextually appropriate in the target language. As explained by (Putranti, 2018) modulation enables translators to adapt the original meaning, often by altering grammatical structures, idiomatic expressions, or shifting from positive to negative formulations, to better convey the intended sarcastic effect.

The use of modulation is particularly valuable in situations where a literal translation would result in awkwardness, misunderstanding, or a loss of sarcasm (Alwazna, 2022). Although this technique is employed infrequently in the dataset, its application demonstrates the translator's awareness of the need to bridge linguistic and cultural gaps that literal approaches may fail to address.

The following example illustrates the use of modulation in the translation of sarcasm:

Extract 16: 01:29:04-01:29:06
SL: Most people just take the crown and go.
TL: Kau tidak diwajibkan untuk melakukan pidato
BT: You are not required to make a speech

In Extract 16, the original English line, "Most people just take the crown and go," is a sarcastic remark suggesting that the usual behavior is to simply accept the prize and leave, without making a big deal out of it. The sarcasm here is subtle, hinting that the current situation is unusual because Cady is doing more than expected.

In the Indonesian translation, "Kau tidak diwajibkan untuk melakukan pidato" (BT: "You are not required to make a speech"), the translator uses modulation technique. Instead of translating the sentence literally, the translator shifts the perspective and changes the focus from what "most people" do to what the person is "not required" to do. This shift in perspective is characteristic of modulation, as described by (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024), where the translator alters the semantic or structural focus to produce a more natural or contextually appropriate expression in the target language.

By using modulation, the translator adapts the sarcasm to fit the cultural and linguistic norms of the target audience. The sarcastic tone is preserved, but the structure and emphasis are changed to make the meaning clear and relatable for Indonesian viewers. This example shows how modulation can help maintain the intent and effect of sarcasm, even when a literal translation would not work as well.

Amplification

Amplification is a translation technique in which additional information or clarification is provided in the target language to make the meaning of the source text more explicit. According to (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) Amplification involves introducing details that are not present in the source text, often to resolve ambiguity, clarify ellipsis, or adapt to the cultural and linguistic expectations of the target audience. This technique is particularly useful when the source expression is vague, ambiguous or relies heavily on contextual cues that may not be accessible to the target audience.

This technique is especially valuable when translating texts that rely on shared background knowledge, idiomatic expressions, or culturally specific references. In such

cases, literal translation may lead to confusion, loss of meaning, or misinterpretation. Amplification allows the translator to bridge these gaps by ensuring that the message is fully conveyed and understood by the target audience.

Extract 17: 00:37:21-00:37:23
SL: That was something.
TL: *itu luar biasa*
BT: That was amazing.

In Extract 17, the source line "That was something" is translated as "*Itu luar biasa*," which back-translates as "That was great." The original phrase "That was something" is deliberately ambiguous and can carry a range of meanings depending on tone and context, especially in sarcastic exchanges. By translating it as "*Itu luar biasa*," the translator adds explicit detail, making the meaning more direct and less open to interpretation. This addition helps the target audience understand the intended message, especially in the absence of visual cues that might otherwise signal sarcasm or irony.

This technique aligns with (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024) explanation that amplification is often used to clarify elliptical or ambiguous expressions and prevent misunderstanding in the target language. Through amplification, the translator ensures that the intended nuance—whether sincere or sarcastic—is more readily accessible to viewers, even if it means sacrificing some of the original ambiguity.

Equivalence

Equivalence is a translation technique used when the translator finds an established, culturally and functionally appropriate expression in the target language that conveys the same meaning, nuance, and pragmatic effect as the original (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024). According to the data, in the context of sarcasm translation in *Mean Girls* (2004), equivalence was applied in only 1 out of 37 instances (2.7%).

Equivalence is more than a word-for-word translation. It aims to recontextualize the pragmatic achievement of the original utterance into a natural, familiar linguistic environment for the target audience. According to (Rosida et al., 2023),equivalence is a translation technique used to render idioms, proverbs, or fixed expressions by finding a culturally and functionally appropriate counterpart in the target language that produces the same effect, even though the form may be quite different. The primary aim is to transfer the equivalent content and function of the source.

Extract 18: 01:20:34-01:20:39
SL: I gotta say, watching the police search my house really was the cherry on top of a fantastic   year.
TL: Harus kuakui, melihat polisi menggeledah rumahku merupakan hal terbaik sepanjang tahun ini.
BT: I have to admit, seeing the police search my house was the best thing this year.

In the example above, "the cherry on top" is an idiom whose figurative meaning cannot be captured through a literal, word-for-word translation, primarily since it is used ironically in the source text. The translator, therefore, selects the phrase "*hal terbaik sepanjang tahun ini*" ("the best thing this year") in Indonesian, which, in this ironic context, can produce a similar effect and meaning as the original idiom. This approach preserves the original line's communicative function and sarcastic undertone

while ensuring the translation sounds natural and is easily understood by the target audience.

By focusing on conveying the idiomatic meaning in a way that feels authentic in Indonesian, the translator successfully applies the equivalence technique, transforming the English idiom into a phrase that resonates similarly with Indonesian viewers, both in terms of irony and overall impact.

Borrowing

Borrowing, as described by (Nuriah & Khoirunnisa, 2024), is a translation technique where a word or phrase is taken directly from the source language and used in the target language without translation. This often happens when there is no suitable equivalent in the target language, or when the translator wants to keep the original cultural nuance or meaning. Borrowing can be divided into two types: pure borrowing, where the word is used exactly as it appears in the source language, and naturalized borrowing, where the word is adapted to fit the spelling or pronunciation rules of the target language.

Extract: 00:33:57-00:34:03

SL: Vintage, so adorable

TL: Vintage. sangat menawan.

BT: Vintage, so adorable.

In this example, the translator chooses to keep the word "vintage" in its original English form within the Indonesian subtitle, rather than searching for a local equivalent such as "klasik" or "antik." This is a textbook case of pure borrowing, where the source language term is directly inserted into the target language text without any modification.

The decision to use "vintage" as-is is significant for several reasons. First, the word "vintage" has become a popular loanword in Indonesian, especially among younger generations and in contexts related to fashion, lifestyle, and design. It carries specific connotations something that is not just old, but also stylish, unique, and desirable because of its age and history. Local terms like "klasik" or "antik" might capture the sense of "old" or "classic," but they often lack the trendy, fashionable nuance that "vintage" implies in modern usage.

The translator preserves the original dialogue's sense of style and modernity by borrowing "Vintage". This choice also reflects how the Indonesian language and pop culture have embraced certain English words, making them part of everyday conversation, especially in urban settings. For viewers, seeing "vintage" in the subtitle feels natural and instantly understandable, maintaining the authenticity and contemporary feel of the scene.

Implication

The findings of this study indicate that the choice of translation techniques plays a pivotal role in the success or failure of translators in rendering messages in films, particularly when dealing with sarcastic expressions whose intended meanings often contradict their literal utterances. The results show that literal translation is the most dominant technique used by translator, appearing 21 times and accounting for 56.8% of all translation techniques identified. This suggests that translator opts for a direct and formal approach, likely due to technical constraints such as space and time in subtitling. However, translating sarcasm using literal techniques often fails to capture the intended sarcastic nuance, resulting in the loss or reduction of humor or satire in the original dialogue for Indonesian audiences. This is in line with the findings of (Peled & Reichart,

2017) and (Linder, 2010)which shows that literal translations often fail to capture sarcasm's pragmatic and emotional aspects in audiovisual texts.

Conversely, although the frequency of more creative and adaptive techniques such as reduction, generalisation, and discursive creation is lower, these strategies have proven to be more effective in preserving the pragmatic meaning and communicative intent of sarcasm. The use of equivalence and amplification, albeit rare, also indicates that translators are capable of bridging idiomatic and cultural gaps when communicative effect is prioritized over lexical meaning (Baker, 2012). This supports the argument that a translator's creativity and sensitivity to context are essential for maintaining the pragmatic force of sarcasm in the translation process.

Another implication is the importance of cultural knowledge and contextual awareness for translators. Sarcasm heavily relies on shared understanding, non-verbal cues, and social norms that may not have direct equivalents in the target language or culture. Therefore, the successful translation of sarcasm is highly influenced by the translator's creativity and competence in recognizing the underlying intent and selecting appropriate equivalents in the target language. In the context of subtitles, where non-verbal cues such as intonation and facial expressions are not always accessible to viewers, translators must compensate by using linguistic markers or restructuring sentences to ensure the sarcastic effect is still conveyed.

These findings emphasize that relying solely on literal translation can diminish film subtitles' entertainment value and communicative accuracy. Subtitle translators should be encouraged to employ more adaptive alternative techniques, especially when dealing with highly contextual or culturally rooted sarcasm. Translator training should also highlight the importance of identifying sarcasm and employing creative strategies to effectively communicate humor and social criticism in the target language.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that translating sarcasm in *Mean Girls* (2004) requires balancing technical constraints with cultural and pragmatic sensitivity. The prevalence of literal translation (56.8%) highlights the translators' reliance on direct strategies, often due to subtitling limitations such as space and time. However, this approach often fails to convey the sarcastic nuances, resulting in a loss of humor or irony in the Indonesian subtitles. In contrast, although less frequent, adaptive techniques like discursive creation prove more effective in preserving sarcasm's communicative intent by prioritizing cultural equivalence over lexical fidelity. The results show that translators' role in understanding the context and creativity is crucial, especially when translating utterances with a lack of non-verbal elements like intonation and facial expressions. Future studies are encouraged to explore how different translation techniques influence the audience's understanding of sarcasm, with the goal of improving subtitle quality and ensuring the intended message is effectively delivered across cultures.

Acknowledgment

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