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Audiovisual Translation as a Cultural Counter-Hegemonic Device: A Case Study of English-Persian Dubbed Animations

La traducción audiovisual como instrumento para contrarrestar la hegemonía cultural: un estudio de caso de dibujos animados doblados (inglés-persa)

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ABSTRACT

The investigation of ideology in audiovisual translation (AVT) has recently attracted a lot of attention from researchers in the field. The present study aimed to shed light on the impact of ideology on audiovisual translation with regard to Persian dubbing of three Hollywood animations. First, the concept of ideology and hegemony within Hollywood products were discussed. Then, the translations of culture-specific items (CSIs) and taboos were analytically examined and finally discussed according to Venuti's (2008) theory. The results indicated that translators tried to produce highly domesticated versions of the originals. The findings showed that the status of cultures, minor or dominant, could play a key role in translators' decisions. When translators translate from a dominant to a minor culture, some form of resistance may be born. The target community cultural institutions tend to use translation as their last cultural fortress.

Keywords: audiovisual translation (AVT), hegemony, Hollywood, dubbing, domestication

RESUMEN

En los últimos años, el estudio del concepto de "ideología" en la traducción audiovisual ha captado la atención de los inves-tigadores en el ámbito de la traducción. El presente estudio tiene como objetivo examinar el impacto de la ideología en la traducción audiovisual de tres películas de animación de Hollywood. En primer lugar, se ha abordado el concepto de ideología y hegemonía en las producciones de Hollywood. En segundo, ha sido evaluada minuciosamente la traducción de elementos culturales, así como los tabúes; finalmente los casos mencionados se han examinado desde la perspectiva de la teoría de Venuti (2008). Los resultados, en síntesis, indican que los traductores hacen todo lo posible para adaptar las películas origi-nales y lograr una versión localizada de las mismas. Asimismo, sugieren que ocupar una posición cultural "subordinada" y "minoritaria" o bien una "hegemónica" desempeña un papel clave en las decisiones de los traductores. Es decir, cuando se está traduciendo de una cultura dominante a una minoritaria, se forma una especie de resistencia, que conlleva que las instituciones culturales de la sociedad de destino utilicen la traducción como su último bastión cultural.

Palabras clave: traducción audiovisual, hegemonía, Hollywood, doblaje, domesticación

1. Introduction

Due to Hollywood's technological superiority and financial superpower, the distribution of Hollywood products all around the world is inevitable. Even in Iran, where foreign films are not allowed to be displayed widely in the country's official theatres, people have immediate and easy access to such products through alternative outlets like Home Entertainment Video (HEV) corporations, video on demand (VOD) systems, or the Islamic Republic of Iran Broad-casting (IRIB) organization. However, the number of individuals who can enjoy the films in the original language is limited; this is why scholars strongly claim that "During the twen-ty-first century, audiovisual translation (AVT) has been the fastest-growing strand of transla-tion studies" (Zhang & Xiong 2017: 1). Additionally, scholars in the field of media research believe that identity (re)formation is an undeniable side of media outlets (Di Giovanni 2017; El-Nawawy & Iskandar 2003). In fact, as El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2003: 1) argue "We are what we watch". As AVT is a medium of conveyance of the original messages and ideas in the films, it can influence the identities of the audiences too. Consequently, AVT can be considered highly influential in identity (re)formation from the ideological perspective.

Previous studies have been successful in investigating AVT from the ideological perspec-tives in the realm of film and TV products (Ávila Cabrera 2015; Di Giovanni 2017; Díaz-Cin-tas 2018; Díaz-Cintas 2012a; Flynn 2016; Khoshsaligheh & Ameri 2016; Khoshsaligheh, Ameri, & Mehdizadkhani, 2018; Santamaria Guinot & Han 2018; Zanotti 2012). Despite such attempts, there is still room for more research studies on the influence of power, ideology, censorship, and manipulation on audiovisual products in translations from one language or culture to another (Díaz- Cintas 2012b). The call for further investigations on different aspects of AVT and/or ideology has been echoed in recent years (Ebrahimzadeh Poustchi & Amirian 2019; Khoshsaligheh & Ameri 2016; Khoshsaligheh et al. 2018; Santaemilia 2019). There-fore, the present study was an attempt to fill the lacunae in the literature by examining the influence of ideology on AVT in a number of dubbed animations. The reason why translations of animations were considered is that animations are normally watched by sensitive groups, i.e., kids, hence they are more likely to go under various forms of alterations by editors in charge (Lathey, 2010; Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009; "Translation Studies Forum: Translation and censorship," 2011).

2. Translation, AVT and Ideology

The theme of the current research was ideology and dubbing. Dubbing could simply be defined as: "inserting a new soundtrack in a different language" (Chaume 2013b: 106) and cancelling out the original one (Chaume 2013b). It is worth mentioning that dubbing itself connotes ideological considerations. Pedersen (2010) touched upon dubbing as a nationalistic and protectionist mode of AVT in contrast to subtitling, which is a foreignizing mode by nature (Danan 1991). Yahiaoui, Hijazi, and Fattah (2020) confirmed the same view in their attempt to study the translators' decisions in rendering satire of famous American animated sitcom '*The Simpsons*' in two translation modes; namely, Modern Standard Arabic's (MSA) subtitled and Egyptian vernacular's dubbed versions. They argued that dubbing "is more open to manipulation because the ST [source text] is absent from the target text" (Yahiaoui et al. 2020: 309). Furthermore, Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) argued that dubbing is the preferable option for countries with strong senses of nationalism, where it is believed that the national language should be protected and supported. They further elaborated that large speaking communities prefer dubbing. Hence, it can be argued, albeit with caution, that nations considering themselves culturally self-sufficient prefer dubbing probably because in these countries, knowledge of a foreign language is not a basic condition of survival (Schjoldager et al. 2010). It can be concluded that even the choice of dubbing as an AVT form is ideologically motivated. To sum up, one of the very important claims about ideology and AVT, in general, was made by Díaz-Cintas (2012a: 281):

> In terms of communication, the prominence given to audiovisual productions in today's society makes them an ideal and powerful vehicle for the transmission, not only of factual information, but also of assumptions, moral values, commonplaces, and stereotypes; one of the many reasons why they stand out as an object deserving of research.

3. Hegemony, Hollywood Invasion and AVT

Hegemony could be defined as indirect imperial dominance (Gramsci 1971; Luqiu 2018). In the article entitled '*The Categories and Characteristics of New International Hegemony*' published in 2003, five types of hegemony are illustrated, namely *Knowledge Hegemony*, *Brand Name Hegemony*, *Financial Hegemony*, *Cultural Hegemony*, and *Systemic Hegemony*. According to the definitions provided for each of the hegemonies, it could be claimed that Hollywood companies are benefiting from almost all of the mentioned advantages. Thus, they are quite likely to establish a hegemonic power within the film industry. Similarly, Feigenbaum (2007) claimed that the US and Hollywood companies have established a continuing dominance in the world's film industry. It might be advocated that most Hollywood productions contain some sort of hegemonic materials, but even if this is not the case, the flowing dominance of Hollywood in the film industry would finally result in some sort of hegemonic effects. De Grazia (2005) even preferred the term "Hollywood invasion" (307) for this case. Crane (2014) examined what she referred to as "Cultural imperialism" (377) in American movies. She stated that American films, especially the ones with controversial topics such as terrorism, are "likely to contain hegemonic devices but the nature of these devices changes over time" (378). Feigenbaum (2007) went even further and claimed that audiovisual industry is so culturally hegemonic that it can be termed "Americanization" (375). All aforementioned

grounds led to the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity by The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in October 2005 (Feigenbaum 2007). All countries except the United States and Israel voted in favour of that (Feigenbaum 2007). They feared that their heritage and cultures will be seriously damaging if the trade in entertainment products and industry remains too one-sided (Feigenbaum 2007).

The translation of the products that are believed to be ideologically motivated is not immune to ideological interventions too. Zanotti (2012) examined how a set of manipulative interventions were employed in Hollywood-translated movies from English to Italian. Zanotti (2012) reiterated the idea of Griffin (1993) about youth and adolescence representation in Britain and the US. Griffin (1993) believes that the special attention to youth in media representation is because youth is "expected to reflect the cycle of booms and troughs in the economy; shifts in cultural values over sexuality, morality, and family life; and changes in class relations, concepts of nationhood, and in occupational structures" (Griffin 1993: 9). She showed that Italian translators generally toned down the disturbing elements of youth films, particularly adolescent sexuality and youth crime. Flynn (2016) examined how political tensions between the US and France resulted in ideologically motivated political ideas in films targeting the French community. She evaluated the hegemonic power of Hollywood, particularly before and after 2003, when two countries' governments disagreed over Iraq invasion. Flynn (2016) referred to the concepts of anti-American sentiment and Francophobia in pre- and post-disagreement movies, and the way they were represented and manipulated in the original and translated versions. Di Giovanni (2017) studied the translations of Disney products for the Arab community. She revealed how the Al Jazeera network and particularly Jazeera Children Channel (JCC) employed (re)translation strategies in their dubbings to fit new power relations and hegemonic stance of MSA within the Arab community.

4. Methodology

4.1. Corpus

The corpus of this study included three blockbuster hit animated movies of 2016, 2017, and 2018. The selected animations were either produced or distributed by Hollywood companies and were broadcast by IRIB or distributed in Iran's market by HEV and VOD corporations that have been licensed by the Islamic Republic of Iran Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.

Table 1. The Corpus of the Study

Films	USA Release date	Distribution/Broadcasting Corporation and Dubbing Studio	Status of Distribution/ Broadcasting Corporation
Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation	2018	*Honar-e-Aval (Soren Studio)*	Private
Despicable Me 3	2017	*Tehran DubShow*	Private
The Angry Birds Movie	2016	*IRIB (Qualima Studio)*	Public

4.2. Research Questions

This study attempted to examine the ideological interventions in the Persian dubbings of CSIs and taboos in three recent famous English Hollywood animated movies. It was also sought to determine the Persian translators' overall strategy in translating animated movies for mostly young Iranian audiences. Therefore, in this research, the following questions were addressed:

1. What procedures were frequently employed to translate the CSIs from English to Persian in the dubbing of animated movies?
2. What procedures were frequently employed to translate taboos from English to Persian in the dubbing of animated movies?
3. What was the overall strategy of Persian translators in translating animated movies from English to Persian to be broadcast by Iran's official studios, according to Venuti (2008)?

The reason why CSIs and taboos were selected for the examination of censorship policies and ideological interventions is presented in the CSIs' and taboos' respective parts in the '*Models of the study*' section.

4.3. Research Design

Considering the research questions of the current study, it can be argued that, inherently, this study was a descriptive, corpus-based research. In fact, this study fell well within the descriptive translation studies (DTS) paradigm that "has now become the mainstream paradigm in the study of translation" (Chaume, 2013a: 292). As Chaume (2013a) suggested, in this paradigm, instead of focusing on quality standards or mistakes, translations are investigated as facts of the target culture. Chaume (2013a) highlighted the important role of ideological interventions, particularly censorship, cultural references, and the exportation of Western stereotypes and American values, in the DTS research.

This study aimed to examine the relationship between ideology and translation; therefore, following the DTS paradigm, translators' decisions were studied and assessed. To do so, first, the original screenplays of the selected animated movies along with their translations were transcribed. The focus of this study was on the dialogues that were altered for ideological reasons. This being so, the CSIs and taboos were recognized in the source text (ST), and the translation procedures adopted by translators in rendering them were identified in the target text (TT) according to the models explained and discussed in the '*Models of the study*' section for both CSIs and taboos. This analytical review helped us to put forward constructive suggestions about the dominant ideology through a bottom-up analysis, and finally discuss the overall translation strategy of Persian dubbed animations based on Venuti's (2008) famous dichotomy, i.e., *domestication* and *foreignization*.

4.4. Models of the study

4.4.1. Culture-Specific Items (CSIs)

Antonini (2007) provided a good definition and broadly claimed that culture-specific items (CSIs) denote different aspects of everyday life. To identify what actually could be classified as a CSI, several classifications have been proposed by scholars in the field. To identify and categorize CSIs in this study, we developed a comprehensive taxonomy (Figure 1) based on

the classifications presented by Newmark (1988: 103), Franco Aixelá (1996: 59), Espindola and Vasconcellos (2006: 49, 50), and Chung-ling (2010: 5).

**Figure 1.** Classification of Culture-Specific Items (CSIs)
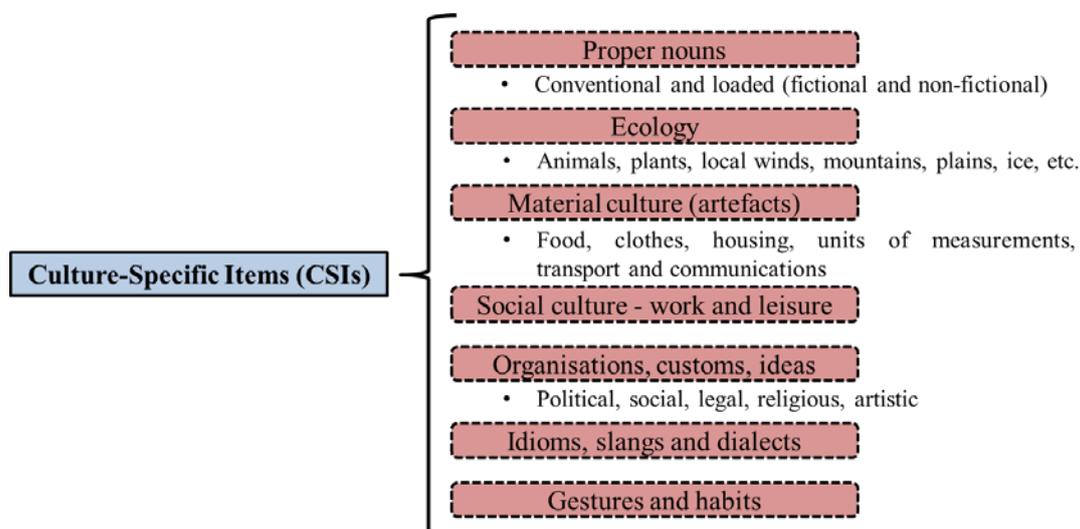
The main purpose of the present study was to examine the conflicts between the source and target cultural values and their relation to ideology and hegemony. For this reason, it was highly important to analyse the translation of CSIs, since as Franco Aixelá (1996) argues, a CSI naturally exists due to the conflict of values between the source and target cultures. In his view, such values that are encouraged "by ideology, usage, frequency, etc." (Franco Aixelá 1996: 57) would result in different conceptions of a given linguistic item in one language or culture compared to the others. Such different or sometimes contradictory conceptions, pose critical challenges for translators to render CSIs from ST to TT.

After identifying CSIs in the source texts according to the taxonomy presented in Figure 1, the translators' decisions in rendering CSIs were analysed according to Davies's (2003) procedures for the translation of CSIs, namely *preservation*, *addition*, *omission*, *globalization*, *localization*, *transformation*, and *creation*. There were major reasons behind the selection of Davies's (2003) classification. First, Davies (2003) case studied the *Harry Potter* series, and the cultural differences between ST and TT played a leading role in her case study. As a result, Davies's (2003) classification was perfectly suited to the needs of the current study. Moreover, the *Harry Potter* series is primarily aimed at children and teenagers. The corpus of this study also included animations that primarily aim at the same age group. Furthermore, Davies's (2003) model is deemed to be consonant with Venuti's (2008) theory owing to its attention to domestication and foreignization of a translation. Although Davies (2003) doubted if her procedures could certainly be ordered from the most exotic to the most domesticated, she considered the significance of domestication and foreignization interpretations as far as the translation of a CSI is concerned. Davies (2003) highlighted the role of the overall textual effect in the domestication and foreignization of a CSI in TT; for instance, she argued that an exotic effect may be achieved through either preservation or creation. She finally suggested that a CSI "may best be assessed, not in isolation, but for its contribution to an overall textual effect" (Davies 2003: 97)[1].

4.4.2. Taboo in Translation

Taboo refers to "unwelcome terms depending on the context, culture and language in which they are uttered" (Ávila Cabrera 2015: 42). This definition clearly shows that taboos are context-oriented (Fromkin et al. 2013) and ideologically bounded. To identify taboo items in the three selected animations in the present study, Sharifi and Darchinian's (2009) model, as cited in Khoshsaligheh and Ameri (2014: 28), for recognition of taboo items in contemporary Iran was utilized.

Figure 2. Taboo in Contemporary Iran (adapted from Sharifi and Darchinian, 2009, as cited in Khoshsaligheh and Ameri 2014: 28)
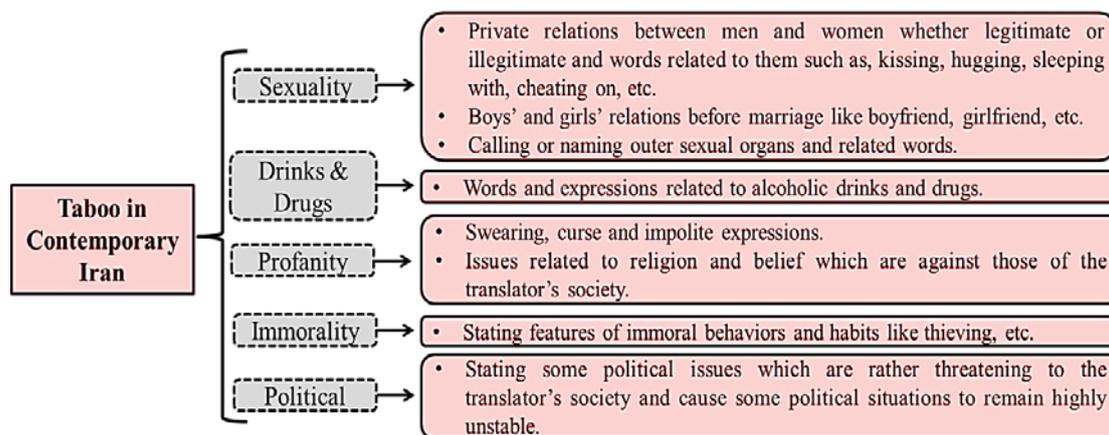
To analyse translators' attitudes towards the items that were classified as taboo in Iranian culture, we drew upon Khoshsaligheh and Ameri's (2014: 37) taxonomy for taboo translation and developed a classification of translation procedures as follows:

• Transfer
• Alteration
• Deletion

Figure 3. Taboo Translation Procedures (adapted from Khoshsaligheh and Ameri 2014: 37)
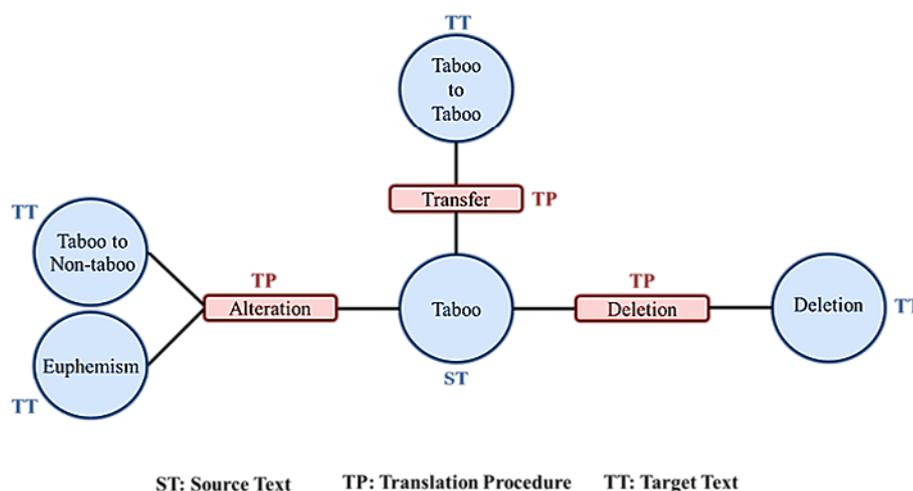
5. Results and Discussion

As Fairclough (2006) discussed, changes in language use are rooted in wider social and cultural phenomena. Thus, he claimed that language could be used as a tool to examine social changes. Similarly, Van Dijk (2006) argued that the (re)production of discourse and language in a society entails dealing with the "functions of 'underlying' ideologies" (115). Therefore, the investigation of ideology in language and translation encompasses a large number of issues. In this study, our concern was limited to the translations of CSIs and taboos from English Hollywood products to Persian authorized dubbings. As mentioned earlier, both CSIs and taboos are rooted in ideological considerations. In the case of a CSI, as a cultural item, Van Dijk (1998) claimed that: "ideologies first of all may be defined in terms of beliefs" (28) and "cultures are typically characterized (also) by such bodies of shared beliefs" (31). Consequently, it could be claimed that the examination of CSIs would provide useful information about the functions of underlying ideologies within a society. The same argument could be true about taboos as well, since taboos are inherently the result of shared beliefs and values of a society that may differ from the ones of another.

5.1. The Analysis of CSIs

In the ideological investigation of translations, especially in case studies, one of the very best ways is to discuss the utilized procedures by referring to examples extracted from the corpus. It can highlight and exemplify the contextual analysis of the study and help better portray the overall textual effects that such procedures could have. Hence, to answer research question 1, the same approach was taken to review the translators' decisions in this study. At first, the findings were discussed while referring to relevant examples from the corpus, and in the end, the exact quantitative results were reported in Table 10 and Figure 4. According to the obtained results, '*localization*' was the most frequent procedure employed by the translators in rendering CSIs in the present study (see Table 2 for an example of '*localization*').

Table 2. An Example of *Localization*

Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation (Murdocca 2018) Context: Dracula is surfing the net to find a partner using his mobile's virtual assistant		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
I'm looking for a *date*. The date is Friday, *July 13*th!	امروز قاطی مرغ‌ها می‌خوام بر م. امروز جمعه 22 تیرماه!	I want to *get hitched today*. Today is Friday, *Tir 22*nd!

In the above example, the term '*date*' was altered to '*get hitched*' since '*date*' was recognized as taboo in Persian, and the calendar date was localized from Gregorian to Persian (Solar Hijri). The word '*today*' was also added to form a semantic link between the two sentences. This example is a good representation of both ideological alteration and cultural localization. Another relevant and interesting example of '*localization*' can be found in the translation of the Jewish CSI '*bar mitzvah*' in Persian (Table 3):

Table 3. An Example of *Localization*

Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation **(Murdocca 2018)** **Context: The DJ Johnny tells Dracula how much he loves his work as a DJ.**		
Once a *bar mitzvah DJ*, always a *bar mitzvah DJ*.	کارت را که دوست داشته باشی، از یه جایی به بعد کارَس که یقت را می چسبه و ولت نمی کنه.	When you love your job, there's a point in time when your job collars you and won't let you go.

In Table 3, the CSI '*bar mitzvah*' made the translators get the basic idea of the dialogue but localize it to delete '*bar mitzvah*'. The usage of '*bar mitzvah*' in the ST might be ideologically motivated since, as film critic Wilson (2018) discussed, such Jewish-related items are used for ideological reasons in this animation, probably to denote ideological beliefs or at least to refer to the director's background. However, its alteration might not be merely ideological since the preservation of such obscure term, for the majority of Persian speakers, would have made the animation so foreignized. The naturalness in children-specific materials such as children's literature or animations is very important. In this regard, Oittinen (1993) suggested that any strangeness should be avoided at all costs when translating for children. Therefore, there are some cases that there exists an element in the ST that is changed in the TT, but such changes may or may not be merely or necessarily ideological; they naturalise the text in the target culture.

'*Transformation*' was the second most frequent procedure. Most of the ideologically motivated and transformed CSIs could be classified as taboo as well. Therefore, the taboo '*alteration*' procedure overlapped the '*transformation*' procedure of Davies's (2003) in many instances. These instances of the overlap between a CSI and a taboo might lead the translators to use a strategy, which is probably best explained by Al-Quinai (2005) under the term '*Attenuation*' for manipulating CSIs, which refers to "the deletion or dilution of taboo or offensive material on religious, ideological or social grounds" (Al-Quinai, 2005: 511). In the following, a number of ideologically motivated transformations and taboo alterations are presented simultaneously:

Table 4. Examples of *Transformation & Alteration*

Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Despicable Me 3 **(Meledandri & Healy 2017)** **Context: Gru was fired from his job and Agnes wants to help him find a new job.**		
Oh, I know! You could *gamble* online! That's what Katie's dad does!	اوه، فهمیدم.بزن تو کار نت و مارکتنیگ! بابای کتی هم می کنه.	Oh, Got it. Start a business in *net and marketing*. Katie's dad does too!
Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation (Murdocca 2018) Context: Dracula is offering his daughter (Mavis) and his son-in-law (Johnny) to spend some time together alone so Dracula can date Ericka privately.		
You know, actually, I was thinking, you and Johnny should spend some time together. What do you call it again? Ehh, *Date night*?	می دونی میویس جون، فکر کنم بهتر باشه تو و جانی یک مقدار با هم وقت بگذرونید. از این چیزهایی که بهش چی میگن؟ آه، شام زن و شوهری؟	You know dear Mavis, I think it's better you and Johnny spend some time together. These things, that you call it what? Ehh, *husband-wife dinner*?

Two examples of '*transformation*' were mentioned above, but the example in Table 5 can also drop a broad hint for the ideological interventions and '*attenuation*' in the Iranian dubbing industry:

Table 5. An Example of *Transformation & Alteration*

The Angry birds **(Cohen & Winder 2016)**		
Context: A police officer is managing traffic and Red is forced to wait by her so that a mum and her countless kids can pass the street safely.		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Hey, how's that nap schedule coming along? Oh, boy. *You guys ever thought about bird control*?	اوه، برنامه خواب جوجه ها در چه حاله؟ ماشالله چقدر بچه دارند.	Oh, how's that hatchlings' nap schedule coming along? *God willing, they have many kids*.

In Table 5, the phrase '*bird control*' was completely altered, and the meaning is totally changed. In the Persian translation, '*God willing*' was used, which connotes surprise, but with positivity and hope; however, in the ST, the bird ironically refers to the population planning programs and pokes fun at the high number of children. The reason behind such alteration is probably the Iranian government's newly implemented policies to encourage population growth and deter birth control in the country's state advertisements. Consequently, the mentioned alteration is a clear example of the cases where either the translators are expected to work under their countries' macro-policies, particularly in the case of working for a public organization like IRIB, or their translations are gone under various forms of alterations by editors in charge.

'*Omission*' was the third most frequent procedure in the corpus. Like transformation, omission could be categorized to: 1- '*ideological omissions or attenuation*' and 2- '*non-ideological omissions*'. In the following, a number of '*ideologically motivated omissions*' and taboo '*deletions*' are illustrated:

Table 6. Examples of *Omission & Deletion*

Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation **(Murdocca 2018)**		
Context: In a wedding ceremony, the DJ Johnny invites everyone to dance.		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
The bride and groom invite everyone to join them on the *dance floor*.	----	----
The Angry birds (Cohen & Winder 2016) Context: In a bar, Chuck says he would pay for everyone.		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Drinks on me, guys!	----	----

Although '*preservation*' was the fourth most frequent procedure in the present study, it had not equally been applied to different types of CSIs by the translators. Most of the preserved CSIs were proper nouns, either conventional or loaded. Therefore, the frequent use of preservation by no means denotes that Persian translators tend to adopt a foreignized approach and maintain the CSIs in their translation. In the following, a loaded proper noun which was preserved in the translation is given:

Table 7. An Example of *Preservation*

The Angry birds (Cohen & Winder 2016) Context: Bomb is reading his poem for the class.		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Or if my name were *Judas*, would you ask me what my mood is?	و اگر اسمم جودیس بود، آیا در مورد احوالاتم از من می پرسیدید؟	And if my name were *Judas*, would you ask me about my mood?

As can be seen, the proper noun '*Judas*' refers to the Christian-bound perception of the name. '*Judas*' was preserved in Persian; hence, the symbolism is defiantly lost since Persian audiences may not get the semantic connection between the name '*Judas*' and the mood.

'*Addition*', '*creation*', and '*globalization*' were among the least frequent procedures. First and in case of '*addition*' and '*creation*'; they were actually expected to be among the least frequent ones due to technical features of dubbing practice such as lip-synchronization and frame-to-frame translation (see Tables 8 and 9 for examples of '*addition*' and '*creation*').

Table 8. An Example of *Addition*

Despicable Me 3 (Meledandri & Healy 2017) Context: Lucy is amazed by the beauty of Dru's house.		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Oh, this is amazing! It's like the Sistine Chapel! But with pigs.	اوه، اینجا شاهکاره! شبیه سیستین چپل، کلیسای جامع است، با تم خوکی.	Oh, here is a masterpiece! It's like the Sistine Chapel, *the Cathedral*, but in a piggy theme.

Table 9. An Example of *Creation*

The Angry birds (Cohen & Winder 2016) Context: Red is having a problem with a scarecrow.		
Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
----	آآه! تنت می‌خاره؟!!!	Ahh! *Are you itching for trouble*?!!!

'*Globalization*' is used for the substitution of an un-known CSI in the ST with a more neutral or general CSI in the TT (Davies 2003). For instance, in the *Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation*, '*Guacamole*' was translated once to '*Bouranee*' and in another sequence to '*Caesar Salad*'. This is due to the fact that the Mexican '*Guacamole*' is not that much known in Iran; thus, it was substituted with two more common foreign dishes for Persian audiences.

In order to have a clear picture of the translators' decisions, the exact frequency, and percentages of each translation procedure are presented in Table 10 and Figure 4.

Table 10. *CSIs Translation Procedures and Their Statistical Indices in the Corpus*

Procedure	Frequency	Percentage
Preservation	26	14.52
Addition	10	5.58
Omission	29	16.20
Globalization	10	5.58
Localization	56	31.28
Transformation	39	21.78
Creation	9	5.02

Figure 4. Percentage of CSIs Translation Procedures Used in the Corpus
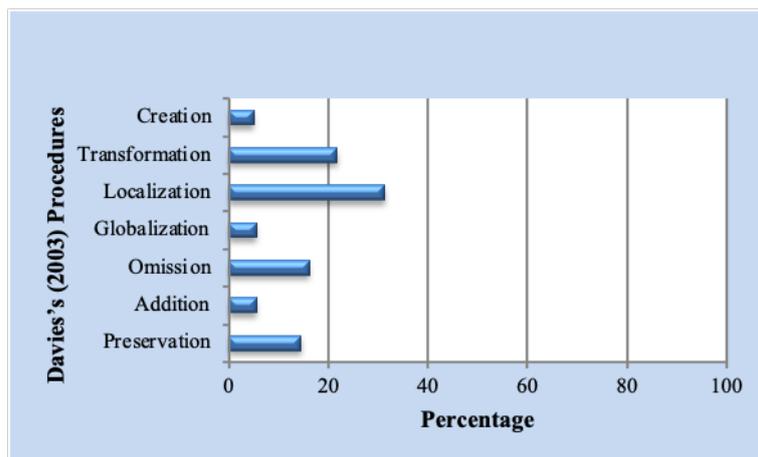
5.2. The Analysis of Taboos

Although a number of taboos along with their translations are already mentioned, in this section, more examples are provided. These taboos may or may not be classified as CSIs, but they do stand out as taboo according to Sharifi and Darchinian's (2009) taxonomy.

Table 11. *Taboo* Examples from the Corpus

| Procedure	Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Transfer	-Will you please *shut up*? -I thought you were going to pee your pants. I did!	میشه لطفاً دهنت را گِل بگیری؟ - من گفتم خودت را الان خیس می - اِکنی. خیس که کردم	-Will you please *keep your trap shut*? -I thought you were going to wet your pants. I wet indeed!
Alteration	-Care to dance? -I run my butt off, literally.	تو فکری؟- راستش کلی زحمت کشیدم.	-You are Thinking? -Honestly, I made a lot of efforts.
Deletion	-They don't have feathers? You know, they're just *walking around naked*, just presenting themselves. *I'm looking at all their business here*. -Wait. Hold on a second. Wait, I know that rear end. That's Bomb.	--- -ایسا، وایسا، وایسا، اوه	--- (The whole scene is deleted). -Hey, wait, wait, wait. …..

In response to research question 2, the results show that about 30 percent of taboo items were deleted in the dubbed versions (see Table 12 and Figure 5). The IRIB's *Angry Birds* with about 60 percent of deletion topped the list. The transfer procedure was mostly employed by private studios since a number of items that are considered problematic or taboo by the Islamic Republic state-owned IRIB are not likely to be recognized as such by its private counterparts. A fairly similar argument was made by Rezvani Sichani and Afrouz (2019) in the case of taboo translation from an English drama. This is also in line with Peimani's (2016) findings, who claimed that private studios adopt a more liberal approach in case of cultural adaptation compared to the IRIB. A very good example in this study would be the word '*dance*'. It was completely deleted or altered by the IRIB in the *Angry Birds* animation, but it was transferred accurately in *Despicable 3*. This does not mean that all private studios adopt such a strategy

since the word '*dance*' was deleted or altered in *Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation* as well. Therefore, it could be argued that one of the very pressing problems of the dubbing industry in Iran is lacking a 'uniform practice' or protocol regarding CSIs and taboos that can lead to the utter confusion of audiovisual translators in the country.

Table 12. *Taboo Translation Procedures and Their Statistical Indices in the Corpus*

Procedure	Frequency	Percentage
Transfer	7	14.28
Alteration	26	53.06
Deletion	16	32.65

Figure 5. Percentage of Taboo Translation Procedures Used in the Corpus
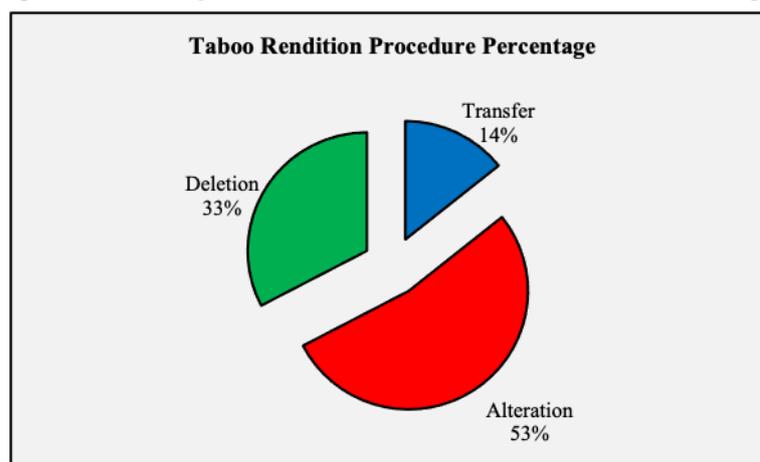
Another worth noting example extracted from the corpus is shown in Table 13. This instance cannot be classified as a taboo as far as Sharifi and Darchinian's (2009) taxonomy is concerned; therefore, it was not counted as such in Table 12. However, it seems that it was identified and treated as a taboo for kids by the translators and/or editors. It is probably the result of social norms or, in other words, the (in)tolerance of a special practice by children in a society.

Table 13. An Example of an *Ideological Alteration*

The Angry birds **(Cohen & Winder 2016)**
Context: Red did not do his homework.

Source Text (ST)	Target Text (TT)	Back translation (BT)
Ah! Red, why don't we hear your poem? I don't have a poem. Uh-huh. Why not? Because I didn't write one. Right, uh-huh. And is there a reason? Well. You know, I was gonna do it, but then I thought about it and I realized, "Oh, this is a huge waste of my time." So I didn't do it.	رد تو چرا شعرت را برامون نمی خونی؟ من شعر ندارم خانم. آه، چرا نداری؟ چون من هیچوقت شعر نمیگیم. که اینطور، خوب، دلیل خاصی داره؟ خب، یکبار سعی کردم ولی بعد به خودم گفتم "داری وقتت را تلف می کنی". بهتره تمرکزت را تو یه کار دیگه بذاری. دیگه شعر نگفتم.	Red, why don't you read your poem for us? I don't have a poem, lady. Uh-huh, Why you don't have (a poem)? Because I never write a poem. So it's like that, well, is there a special reason? Well, once I tried but then I told myself "you are wasting your time". It's better to put your focus on another work so I didn't write a poem anymore.

As shown in Table 13, there is a slight change in one of the character's tone and style from ST to TT. In the original screenplay, the birds are in a class, and one of the members of the class (*Red*) is telling the tutor that he didn't write the assignment (*poem*) in an easy-going fashion. *Red* shows his easy-going style in the class by saying '*huge waste of time*' to indicate that he has been forced to be in the class, and he totally doesn't care about the instructions. Because of such demeanour, both the tutor and the classmates turn against him in the next frames. Nevertheless, in the translation, no trace of that easy-going and disrespectful behaviour towards the tutor and the classmates could be found. On the contrary, in the dubbed version, *Red* actually once '*tried*', but he was not able to '*write a poem*'; therefore, he gave it up (*Careless Red* vs. *Unable Red*) for a better activity. This change might be due to the fact that such behaviour, from the protagonist *Red* in the class, may adversely affect young Iranian kids, as the audiences. This is in line with other investigations of children literature (Lathey, 2010; Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2009; "Translation Studies Forum: Translation and censorship," 2011), arguing that "gatekeeping strategies" ("Translation Studies Forum: Translation and censorship," 2011: 362) are widely implemented in the case of children-specific translations.

## 5.3. Venuti's (2008) Domestication Theory

In general, Venuti theorizes translation according to poststructuralist trends (Venuti 2012). Venuti (2008) introduced one of the most famous dichotomies of translation studies: *Domestication* vs. *Foreignization*. Although Venuti (2012) believed that translation is some form of domestication by nature, he introduced foreignized translations as the ones which deviate "from the values, beliefs, and representations that currently hold sway in the translating language" (Venuti 2012: 278).

To answer the third research question in this study, first, it was needed to report and discuss the findings of the two first research questions to have a clear picture of the translators' decisions. The obtained results and our textual analysis of the translations clearly indicated that in these three animations, the translators tried to produce as domesticated translations as possible. This is also in line with the findings of previous studies in Persian dubbing (Ameri & Ghazizadeh 2014; Khoshsaligheh & Ameri 2014; Khoshsaligheh & Ameri 2016). For example, Khoshsaligheh and Ameri (2016: 246) claimed that "dubbings are more inclined toward the target culture norms". Therefore, it could be concluded, albeit with caution, that '*domestication*' is typically adopted as the translation strategy by Iranian audiovisual translators.

The findings in this study showed that '*localization*' was the most frequent procedure, and if we exclude the preserved proper nouns from our corpus that are not considered that much exotic by Persian audiences, the '*preservation*' would be among the least frequent ones. Although Davies (2003) suggested that "there is not necessarily a clear correlation between the use of a particular procedure and the degree of domestication or foreignization obtained in the target text" (65), it is believed that analysing the procedure while considering the overall textual effect can help to understand if domestication or foreignization was adopted by the translators in case of CSIs' translations. Hence, according to our analyses, it could be claimed that the most and least frequent procedures used by the translators in the present study can, to a great extent, represent domestication and foreignization (see Figure 6). However, as men-

tioned earlier, we should bear in mind that '*localization*' and '*preservation*' may not necessarily represent '*domesticated*' and '*foreignized*' approaches in other cases.

Figure 6. Persian Dubbed Animations
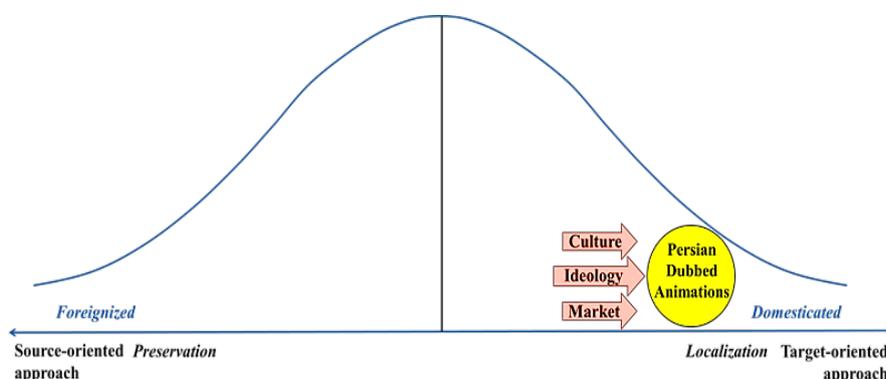
The adoption of '*domestication*' as a translation strategy denotes ideological beliefs since it would dominate translators' decision-making process, and the decisions of the translators reveal prevailing norms of that language community (Baker 2018). Rudvin (1994) touched upon the importance of the status of culture, i.e., *minor* or *dominant*, while translating. She investigated children literature translation in Norwegian and English and argued that the translations are marked by great "freedom" (Rudvin 1994: 201) while translating from minor Norwegian to a dominant language like English, but translators take a "close and hesitant" (Rudvin 1994: 201) attitude when the direction is opposite. In line with the findings of Rudvin (1994), the results of the present study also highlight the importance of the status of culture in translation. However, contrary to Rudvin's (1994) results, the results of this study plainly depicted that in translation from a dominant to a minor culture such 'freedom' was widely exercised[2], particularly as a cultural counter-hegemonic device. Hollywood animated movies have dominated the world's film industry, and dominance, in any form, can lead to some sort of hegemonic effects. Therefore, it could be concluded that the more dominant a culture is, the more alterations may be employed in the translation of its products for the minor culture's community. Finally, it further supports the idea put forth by Kwieciñski (1998) that "conscious adoption of relatively more domesticating strategies could serve as a means of resistance, a 'strategic intervention' against cultural domination" (203). In short, it can be stated that stronger dominance faces stronger resistance.

6. Conclusion

The results of this study highlighted the role of culture and ideological considerations in translators' decision-making process. As Hollywood products are far more popular compared to the target countries' local audiovisual products, the cultural institutions in the target countries might not be able to cope with the authoritarian stance of Hollywood in their film industry. This may cause them to use AVT as a cultural fortress against the hegemonic power of Hollywood. Such an approach in countries like Iran, where the dominant values are far from or even the opposite of those in Hollywood, is more prevalent. Relatedly, Feigenbaum (2007: 375) stated that "countries on the receiving end of American culture fear losing their very own identities,

the essence of who they are". However, and surprisingly, this is not just limited to this group of countries. Such strategies in countries and cultures like France and Italy, which are presupposed to be culturally close to Hollywood, are remarkably common too (Flynn 2016; Zanotti 2012).

In ideological investigations of translations and reporting their findings, ethical issues might be raised. It should be noted that, in translation studies, there is still an ongoing debate about the topic and it has been the subject of different and sometimes opposite views. *Manipulation*, *alteration*, *rewriting*, *retranslation*, and *censorship* are different terms used to refer to the same concept but denote different views. Kuhiwczak (2011) went even further and claimed that translation by its very nature is an alteration of the original text. In this study, it was not aimed to assess and discuss the (il)legitimacy of altering original texts in translations on ideological grounds. However, it can be argued that altering original texts in translations is so common, particularly in the film industry. Ranzato (2009) claimed that "the audiovisual industry takes the public into greater account than the author himself" (46). The alterations of the original screenplays "may affect dialogue exchanges, character profile, storyline, as well as the whole authorial process" (Zanotti 2012: 367). These alterations are sometimes rooted in ideological issues (Fawcett 2003; Zanotti 2012) and sometimes in commercial considerations (Gambier 2002; Zanotti 2012). Thus, it is yet to build broad consensus about the alterations of the ST in translation studies, in general, and in AVT, in particular. Therefore, in this study, the most neutral word in the authors' view, i.e., *alteration*, was employed for the changes of ST on ideological grounds.

Finally, the present study suffered from some limitations as well. The corpus of this study was limited only to the translations of three hit animations, and further studies could be conducted in the future to address other genres and contexts to make stronger claims. Moreover, additional attempts to interview Persian audiovisual translators, editors, and dubbers might prove useful to closely examine their attitudes and ideological biases while dubbing for official studios in Iran.

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Notes

1. While deciding about the overall tendency of Persian translators in this study, as suggested by Davies (2003), the matter of context for each procedure and their contribution to the overall effect of the whole text were cautiously considered. For instance and as provided in the '*The Analysis of CSIs*' section, the frequent use of 'preservation' was not comprehended as the foreignized tendency of the translators due to the high number of preserved proper nouns; on the contrary, it was suggested that the preserved proper nouns were not that much exotic, as far as Iranian context is concerned, that could lead to the production of an exotic version of the originals.

2. It must be emphasized that categorizing cultures as minor and dominant ones by no means tends to offend the categorized cultures. In this paper, the status of culture in the international entertainment industry is meant. In other words, the dominance of a specific culture within the film industry is concerned. Otherwise, different cultures must be referred to and respected on equal terms.