



Manipulation in Dubbing: The Translation of English-language Films into Persian

by Mohammad Sadegh Kenevisi, Hasuria Che Omar and Ali Jalalian Daghigh

Traditionally, linguistic equivalence to the source text (ST) was considered the pivotal quality in the source-oriented approaches in translation theories. However, with the introduction in the 1990s of what has been termed as the “cultural turn” by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990: 1) and the decline of the linguistic-oriented approaches, translation was no longer confined merely to the linguistic dimension, and the socio-cultural context was emphasised. Contrary to the linguistic approaches, the culture-oriented descriptive approach is more directed towards the target culture, the target reader, the context of reception, and the other extratextual factors that shape translation. Under this new paradigm, translation starts being scrutinised as a rewriting practice (Lefevere 1992), in which manipulative forces shape the final texts to varying degrees. The paramount factors and grounds for this rewriting are the dominant poetics, ideology and patronage; of which the latter two are investigated in the dubbing of English-language films into Persian.

1. IDEOLOGY, PATRONAGE, AND MANIPULATION

Numerous studies have looked into the concept of manipulation in translation studies (Bassnet 1980; Hermans 1985; Lefevere 1992). According to Hatim and Mason (1997) and Farahzad (1998), manipulation of a translated text can be conscious or



unconscious. While the former is the corollary of social and cultural forces, unconscious manipulation is primarily induced by psychological factors. The term manipulation is being utilised in these pages in its loose sense to encompass both conscious and unconscious alterations of the ST when transforming into the target text (TT) that are the results of forces outside of language itself. We discuss the influence that socio-cultural forces of an ideological nature, i.e. manipulation, have in the dubbing of English-language films into Persian. This section is focused on the relationships among ideology, patronage, and manipulation.

As stated by Jameson (1972: 107), "ideology would seem to be that grillwork of form, convention, and belief which orders our actions", whilst Lefevere's (1992) understanding is not confined to the social and cultural spheres of society only. Quoting from Eagleton (1985), Lefevere (1988-9: 59) perceives ideology as "a set of discourses which wrestle over interests which are in some way relevant to the maintenance or interrogation of power structures central to a whole form of social and historical life". The more the translated text conforms to this set of discourses, the less difficult will be its publication. Under this perspective, manipulation tends to occur when the ST contains elements that diverge from the reigning ideology of the target culture. Manipulation is further triggered off when ideological nonconformity is proscribed by another influential force in the social context of the translation, known as patronage by Lefevere (1992). According to Lefevere (1984: 92, in Gentzler 2001: 137), patronage is "any kind of force that can be influential in encouraging and propagating, but also in discouraging, [. . .] works of literature". It can be asserted by any individual, religious or administrative bodies or parties, institutions, or school systems. Patronage itself encompasses three basic components: ideological (the focus of the present paper), economic, and status.

As mentioned, such factors as power, ideology, and institutions can lead to acceptance, rejection, canonization, or non-canonization of literary works (Lefevere 1992). Rewritten works are usually crafted to fit the dominant ideological and poetological trends of their time. However, as Lefevere (*ibid.*: 13) argues, manipulation of rewritten texts is not to be construed as carried out by some "ruthless, unprincipled, and excessively cunning band of translators [. . .] snickering as they systematically 'betray' whichever work(s) of literature they are dealing with". He posits the opposite traits for the rewriters and postulates that they are profoundly meticulous and conscientious people who see manipulation as the only choice. This type of manipulation occurs in translating English-language films into Persian and translators, as rewriters, struggle to abide by the constraints that direct translation decisions. In many instances, the system that shapes translation should not be perceived as the political government, and 'system' should be contemplated as a general, neutral, and descriptive term referring to "a set of interrelated elements that happen to share certain characteristics that set them apart from other elements perceived as not belonging to the system" (*ibid.*: 12).

The different systems and subsystems in a society and culture interact in different layers and this interaction generally results in the whole system having a more stable and conservative status. The sub-systems regulate each other up until the



values ascertained by the poetics and the ideology of that particular system in a particular time and place are attained (Lefevere 1992). Therefore, as translators strive to adhere to the system rules, they deem changes as apposite procedures to make the product concur with the dominant poetics and ideologies, thereby meeting the expectations of the patronage so that their works are published, distributed, and read.

As stated by Lefevere (*ibid.*), two sources of power are influential in such condition: one from inside and one from outside. The professionals in the system constitute the inside forces, and the patronage or external powers form the outside forces. Notably, the inside force is itself instigated by the parameters set by the patronage, which resides in such institutions as “academies, bureaus, critical journals, and, by far the most important, the educational establishment” (*ibid.*: 15). Thus, the outside influence sets the rules and values of the system, which—in the context of the present study—is largely the government and governmental bureaus. More to the point, the patronage is more engrossed in the ideology than in the poetics of the literary system, which can be noticed in the conditions and articles stipulated in the recommendations passed in Iran in 1982. Therefore, ideology directly initiates the manipulation and modifications of the rewritten texts or translations. In what follows, the importance and prominence of dubbing—the dominant mode of foreign language film translation in Iran—are reviewed in detail.

2. DUBBING IN IRAN

The instigation of dubbing as the predominant method of film translation in Iran can be traced back to the mid-1940s, when the first talkies arrived in the country. Some years after the invention and use of dubbing as a method of language transfer in the world, particularly in such countries as France and Italy, this method of film translation came to the Iranian cinema and ever since has been the prevailing method of film translation for a number of reasons. From a social perspective, prior to the arrival of talkies in Iran, all foreign language films were screened either in the original language or with Persian intertitles. In some cases, however, a translator was recruited to read the translation of the source text of the movie for the audience. In the case of the intertitles, these were written anew in the target language and filmed between the scenes (Bagherzadeh 2009), appearing in the form of intertitles in Persian. One of the dilemmas with using this method was the inability of the majority of the audience to read the texts because of the high rate of illiteracy in Iran at that time. This challenge led to the need for a literate person to read the intertitles to the audience, a solution that was not particularly fruitful. These difficulties prompted the film distributors to look for another method of screen translation. Thus, dubbing was opted for as the preferred translation method for Persian audiences as soon as it entered the country. Besides the social factors, ideological considerations also incited the selection of dubbing as the favoured mode of screen translation. For example, at some point during the Second World War, England and the Soviet Union occupied Iran and both



nations exploited dubbing to propagate their cultural influence in the country and to publicise news about the victories and achievements of the Allied forces (Omid 2009).

Notably, dubbing has often been a tool for ideological purposes. Danan (1991) contends that dubbing was exploited to express nationalism in such countries as Italy, Spain, and Germany, serving two goals: to propagate a national language in opposition to different regional dialects and to covertly control the ST. Guardini (1998) also asserts the advance of dubbing in Italy and discusses the national laws promulgated in the country, which made dubbing the ideal solution for ideological manipulation, as the original soundtrack was entirely replaced by Italian dialogues. The manipulation options opened by the total removal of the original soundtrack will be investigated in the dubbing of films into Persian.

After the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, cinema in the country entered a new phase. The issuing of Islamic rules, as the basis for the reforms, influenced the Iranian society and films were not an exception. In a sense, cinema was, in Esfandiary's (2012: 71) words, "purified" from so-called "immoral and corrupt" pre-revolutionary elements such as nudity and sexually explicit scenes. The government took control of TV and radio through the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (MCIG) (Tapper 2002). However, Esfandiary (2012: 71) recalls the influential phrase of Ayatollah Khomeini after the revolution: "We are not against cinema, we are against decadence". This declaration led to the supporting of cinema in line with the values of the new government of Iran and a set of new recommendations was ratified in 1982 for screening and distributing films and video clips in the country. According to these recommendations, films, slides, and videos shall not contain prohibited content if they are intended for being screened. As per the guidelines communicated to dubbing agencies by the Iranian Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance in 1983,¹ prohibited content includes such issues as disparaging religious matters; showing racial discrimination; disdaining celebrated values of humanity; spreading and propagating vicious deeds, corruption, or perversion; encouraging or training in addiction and illegal sources of income; assisting cultural, political, and economic dominance of foreigners who oppose Iran's policy of independence; displaying crime, manslaughter, and torture in such a way as to cause emotional harm or to train viewers in practicing them; displaying historic and geographic facts in ways that mislead viewers; and displaying loud and harmful pictures and sounds that may cause physical harm to the viewers. As a result, when an agency decides to translate and distribute a foreign-language film, it should comply with the conditions itemised in the recommendations that act as part of the translation brief.

¹ *Iranian Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 1983, Nezarat Bar Namayesh-e Film va Eslaid va Video va Sodour-e Parvaney-e Namayesh-e Anha [Supervision of Screening of Film and Slides and Video and Issuing Their Screening Permit] <http://aific.ir/?page_id=108> (20 April 2015).*



3. METHODOLOGY

To investigate manipulation in foreign-language film dubbing in Persian, five films have been selected from different genres: (1) the US spy film *Spy Game* (2001), directed by Tony Scott; (2) the German-American war film *Inglourious Basterds* (2009), directed by Quentin Tarantino; (3) the epic science-fiction film *Avatar* (2009), directed by James Cameron; (4) the British-American fantasy adventure film *Clash of the Titans* (2010), directed by Louis Leterrier; and (5) the US political action-thriller *White House Down* (2013), directed by Roland Emmerich. Initially, the Persian-dubbed versions of the films were compared and contrasted with the original English language films. Cases of manipulation were then identified based on the comparisons, looking for issues related to the articles of the recommendations passed by the MCIIG in 1983. After assorting the cases of manipulation, they were classified into general categories and subcategories.

4. ANALYSIS

In the eight movies analysed, the following four types of manipulation have been identified: (a) religion, (b) politics, (c) sexual content, and (d) profanities.

4.1. Religion

Iran has been a Muslim country since Islam entered the country around 1400 years ago, which led to the extinction of the Sassanid Empire and the decline of the Zoroastrian religion. Since then, Islam has been absorbed into the culture and everyday lives of Iranians. According to the Deputy of Planning and Strategic Supervision of Statistical Centre of Iran (2012), 99.4% of Iranians follow Islam. The cultural, scientific, and political aspects of society have been moulded by the Iranians' acceptance of this religion and, as noted by authors like Keyman and Yilmaz (2006), after the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, the country was transformed from a secular monarchy to an Islamic republic. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran indicates that Islam is the official religion of the country and all laws passed in the *Majles-e Shoraye Eslami* [Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran] should observe Islamic rules. Hence, according to an Islamic rule stipulated in the recommendations by the MCIIG, any kind of insult or blasphemy against not only Islam but also other officially recognised religions in Iran, such as Zoroastrianism, Christianity, or Judaism, is condemned and banned. This rule influences the dubbing of foreign films and materialises in the manipulation of source soundtracks that are in opposition to these guidelines. The examples of manipulation associated with religious matters in the corpus of the study include areas related to blasphemies or insults to God and the creation of the world, religious rules and codes, Halal and Haram foods, and religious figures and saints.



In *Clash of the Titans*, humanity is rising against the tyranny of the gods. In the source dialogue, gods are displayed as cruel human-like creatures in need of men's worship. The story is set in the city of Argos, where war is about to break out between humans and gods. As noted in *Movie Review* (2010: online), the film has a humanistic message: "Man is completely capable of achieving heroic things by himself, and God doesn't even really need to be involved". However, this message is in complete conflict with Islamic teachings. Accordingly, this depiction of gods is considered blasphemous by those who believe in the everlasting need of mankind for God, in general, and in Islam, in particular. Manipulation comes thus to the fore in examples like the following one, where the substantive 'gods' has been replaced by the possessive adjective 'their' to evade the impression that gods are tyrants:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Io: I watched over you ever since, waiting for the day when you'll help bring an end to the tyranny of the gods .	منتظر روزی بودم که تو کمک کنی تا به ستمگری او را خاتمه بدیم	I was waiting for the day when you help to put an end to their tyranny .

Example 1

This *modus operandi* can be observed throughout the movie and another example occurs when the hero of the story, Perseus, who is a demigod, fights with Draco and defeats him. The latter admits that the power of a god is inside Perseus:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Draco: There is a god in you!	قدرت زیادی در وجود توست	There is a huge strength in you.

Example 2

Perseus, the child of Zeus, who had raped the king's wife, is part god and part human. However, according to the MCIG's recommendations, the screening of a film that "rejects, weakens, or offends the premise of theism or other premises in religions" (Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance 1983: online) is frowned upon. One solution, then, is the manipulation of those parts considered offensive to religious beliefs.

Other issues are related to the creation of the world. In example 3, at the beginning of the film, the narrator tells the story of the Titans and how they created humans:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Io: It was Zeus who created man and man's prayers fed the gods' immortality.	زئوس انسانها را متقاعد کرد که ناپتان ها را قبول داشته باشند و به آنها احترام بگذارند عبادت انسانها پشتوانه خدایان بود	Zeus persuaded man to accept the titans and respect them. Men's prayer were a support for the gods.

Example 3

The original soundtrack mentions that Zeus created mankind, which is in direct contrast with Abrahamic religions that deem everything was created by God. The



translator, striving to avoid translating the content believed to disparage and cast doubt on the creation of man by God, has changed the English word ‘created’ into the Persian word for ‘persuaded’.

Another religious issue that has triggered manipulation is related to the foods considered Halal (lawful) and Haram (unlawful) in Islamic jurisprudence. The idea of what is lawful and unlawful in Islam is derived from several verses (Salim 2015: 128) in the holy Qu’ran, such as the one forbidding Muslims to perform their prayers while intoxicated (Qu’ran 4: 43), the verse indicating there is some good and some evil in alcoholic drinks but the evil is greater (Quran 2: 219) or references to drinking as the disgraces of Satan’s handiwork (Quran 5: 90-91). According to the recommendations prescribed by MCIIG, a film should not contain a scene that propagates and broadcasts moral decadence and corruption or which encompasses addiction or consumption of alcohol.

In example 4, from *Spy Game* (2001), Tom Bishop, played by Brad Pitt, is shown drinking alcohol in many scenes. In example 5, from *Inglourious Basterds* (2009), Lt. Archie Hicox, played by Michael Fassbender, is also shown telling his fellowmen to drink their whiskey. In both cases, the translators have avoided using the words ‘martinis’, ‘scotch’, and ‘whiskey’:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Tom Bishop: I thought spies drank martinis . Nathan Muir: Scotch . Never less than 12 years old.	جاسوسا نباید ازین چیزا بخورن- چرا بعضی موقع ها - براشون لازمه	- Spies shouldn't drink these stuff . - No, sometimes they need it.

Example 4

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Archie Hicox: She’s right. Just be calm and enjoy your whiskey .	آره. حق با اونه. پس ساکت باشو نوشیدنیت رو بخور	Yeah. She is right. So be quiet and have your drink .

Example 5

In the first dialogue, ‘martinis’ and ‘scotch’ are omitted and translated as ‘these stuff’, to evade directly naming the different types of alcoholic drinks. The second dialogue also shows the use of the superordinate term ‘drink’ to avoid naming ‘whiskey’. This is the approach mostly taken throughout the corpus for translating names of non-Halal food and drinks. However, there are rare exceptions. In *Avatar* (2009), Jake Sully is a paraplegic marine played by Sam Worthington, dispatched to the moon Pandora in human cryo chambers. The journey takes six years and he describes, in voiceover, how it feels like to be placed in one of those chambers for such a long time:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Jake Sully: More like a fifth of tequila and an ass-kicking.	بیشتر شبیه خوردن پنج لیوان تکیلا و گیج شدن بعدش	More like drinking five glasses of tequila and the after dizziness.

Example 6



As noted, the names of Haram food and drinks were indirectly referred or removed in the previous examples. However, the Mexican alcoholic beverage 'tequila' has been directly transferred to the Persian dubbed version of the film, highlighting that manipulation is not applied systematically in Iran. This instance could well be the decision of a translation agent that has decided to act against governmental patronage. As discussed by Milton and Bandia (2009: 1) some actors in the translation process "may go against the grain, challenge commonplaces and contemporary assumptions". Hence, their role as cultural mediators becomes pivotal in the introduction of new literature and cultural concepts to the receptor community through translation.

4.2. Politics

The relationship between Iran and the West, particularly with the US and Britain, has been built on a very shaky and mutually suspicious basis. This climate of suspicion dates back to the 1950s, a time characterised in the eyes of Iranians by the hostile attitudes of the US and British governments toward the Prime Minister of Iran, Mohammad Mosadeq, who was democratically elected in 1951 and ruled until 1953, when he was overthrown in a "coup d'état fomented by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the British secret service, MI6" (Khosrokhavar 2002: 4). This event caused the Iranians to consider the United States and Britain as colonising countries that interfere in the country's internal affairs. The relationship between Iran and the US deteriorated even further after the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, and other political conflicts have occurred more recently between Iran and the West, such as the wars led largely by US and European coalitions in the Middle East, the support of Islamic groups by Iran, and the economic sanctions of Western countries against Iran because of its nuclear programme, alleged to be not for peaceful purposes by the Western world. However, in 2015 Iran and the West finally reached a preliminary framework agreement.

Two articles in the recommendations by MCIIG seem to have specifically influenced translators' manipulation of soundtrack renderings. The first item prohibits the screening of films that "lead to the cultural, political or economic dominance of foreigners in the country", whilst the second bans the showing of issues that are "against the benefits of the country or can be misused by foreign countries against the country". *White House Down* and *Olympus Has Fallen* are two films that deal with terrorist attacks on the White House. The former, in which a paramilitary group assaults the White House, largely focus on proposing a controversial peace treaty aimed at demilitarising the Middle East, particularly Iran. The film shows a retiring Head of the Presidential Detail, Martin Walker, who tries to launch a nuclear attack and targets several cities in Iran. In one scene, the US President discusses the relationship between the US and Iran with his political consultant. Although references to the nuclear conflict are minimal and indirect in the original dialogue, the dubbed version explicitly raises the issue of Iran's nuclear programme and denies its military nature:



Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
US President: I talked to President Al-Sharif again about the discussion we had and he's assuring me that he has proof.	با رئیس جمهور ایران درباره بحث 6 ماه قبل صحبت کردم و بهم اطمینان داد که سلاح هسته ای ندارند	I talked to the president of Iran about the discussion we had 6 months ago and he assured me that they don't have nuclear weapons.

Example 7

In another example, in *Avatar* (2009), the natural resources of the earth have been depleted by humans and they are seeking to retrieve a valuable mineral from another planet in the Alpha Centauri star system. As the planet is inhabited by the Na'vis, three-metre tall sapient humanoids, and other wild creatures, the US Army is heavily deployed to guard the people in the sites. In one of the early scenes, Jake Sully gets on the aircraft in his wheelchair to land on the planet, surrounded by marine soldiers and heavily military equipment:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Jake Sully: Back on Earth, these guys were Army dogs, Marines, fighting for freedom.	این ادما تو زمین سگای ارتشی بودن. تفنگدار بودن. کسانی که مثلاً برای آزادی جنگیدن.	These people were army dogs on Earth. Marines. Those who fought for so-called freedom.

Example 8

The US and its Western allies have engaged in wars in the Middle East and have referred to the expression 'fighting for freedom' as their ultimate goal (Lansford 2012: 58; Neagu 2013: 102). However, countries such as Iran have always impugned the West for attacking the Middle East, arguing that 'freedom' is just exploited as an excuse for sending troops into those countries. The translator has therefore added the Persian phrase for 'so-called' to idiomatically modify the meaning of the source to show that 'freedom' is not the right term to use when referring to the US Army endeavours.

4.3. Sexual Content

After the Islamic Revolution, a battle against the so-called perverted Western cinema took place, leading to the banning of foreign films and the monopolisation of film imports by the government. As mentioned, the passing of Islamic rules also influenced Iranian cinema, which was "purified" and cleansed of the "immoral and corrupt" pre-revolutionary elements, such as nudity and sexually oriented scenes (Esfandiary 2012: 71). The MCIG's recommendations for "supervision on screening films and slides" in Iran also stipulate that no film should contain a scene that "propagates and broadcasts moral decadence and corruption". As foregrounded by Al-Kaysi (2015: 40): "All forms of nudity and exploitation of female form" are forbidden in Islam and relationships between the sexes take place within marriage to secure family relations. Hence, sexually oriented material that shows nudity, exploits the female form, or depicts



relationships considered illegitimate are forbidden and regarded as taboo in Iran. The examples found in the corpus of the study include religiously condemned relationships between different sexes, having Haram (i.e. religiously illegal) affairs, or explicitly talking about or showing issues related to sexual and reproductive organs.

In a scene from *Inglourious Basterds*, at a tavern, Lieutenant Archie Hicox and Sergeant Hugo Stiglitz meet Bridget von Hammersmark, a famous German film star. A Gestapo officer becomes suspicious of them and the real identity of the Basterds is revealed. At two different points, the translator manipulates the content of the original exchanges. First, when von Hammersmark introduces Hicox as her date:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Bridget von Hammersmark: The captain is my date , but all three are my guests.	سروان نامزد من هستند و هر سه نفرشون میهمان منند.	The captain is my fiancé and the three of them are my guests.

Example 9

In Iran, relationships between men and women ought to be portrayed within the limitations of religion and according to Islamic laws. While being engaged is culturally and religiously considered decent, respectable, and moral, having a boyfriend or a girlfriend is deemed immoral and decadent; which is why the translator has changed 'date' into 'fiancé'. In the same scene, Major Dieter Hellstrom pulls out a pistol and points it at Lieutenant Archie Hicox, while they are sitting at the table:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Major Dieter Hellstrom: Did you hear that? That was the sound of my Walther. Pointed right at your testicles .	صدا رو شنیدی؟ صدای تپانچه والتر من بود. که درست وسط پاهاتو نشونه گرفته	Did you hear the sound? It was the sound of my Walther pistol. That is right pointed between your legs .

Example 10

The use of the term 'testicles' is a social taboo in Iran and is banned in the MCIG's recommendations, justifying thus its permutation for the euphemistic expression 'between your legs'.

4.4. Profanities

Most of the manipulation practices observed in this category address the usage of swearwords and invectives. Cursing and insulting others are considered vicious deeds in most societies and religions, including Islam. According to Porterfield (2009: 23), "All actions that are normally considered undesirable—such as fighting, gossiping, cursing, and lying—are strictly forbidden" in Islam, and conscientious Muslims avoid these actions. In the films analysed, the challenges raise when f-words, offensive terms and expressions, and insults referring to bodily functions and sex are uttered by the



characters. In *White House Down*, the Capitol police officer, John Cale, refers to the retiring Head of the Presidential Detail, Martin Walker, in the following terms:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
President James Sawyer: That old son of a bitch his name is Martin Walker.	اون مردک پیر که همه رو کشت مارتین واکره	That little old man who killed everyone is Martin Walker.

Example 11

The swearword ‘son of a bitch’ has been altered into ‘little old man’, where, in an attempt to compensate for the loss, the translator has added the suffix ک [little], often used in Persian when the speaker intends to disparage someone or something.

In another example, fighting over the issue of war in the Middle East, one of the actors uses the f-word to prevent Martin Walker from killing White House personnel, which has been completely obliterated in the translation:

Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
Are you out of your fucking mind?	عقلت رو از دست دادی؟	Have you lost your mind?

Example 12

5. CONCLUSIONS

The results of the study indicate that different areas have been manipulated in the dubbed version of the films under scrutiny, namely: (a) religion, (b) politics, (c) sexual content, and (d) profanities. The religiously motivated manipulation typically occurs when there is a conflict between religious teachings and the source texts. The examples observed concerned references to God and the creation of the world, the downgrading of religious figures and saints, and the mention of alcoholic drinks. In terms of political content, the manipulation takes place when the source dialogue referred to the supremacy of the US in the Middle East, the nuclear programme of Iran, or conflicts between Iran and the West. In the third category of forbidden sexual content, manipulation has been observed when the source text referred to reproductive organs or illegitimate relationships between men and women; whilst the last category includes examples of swearwords and insults that have been changed into non-profane language.

The analysis shows that the translators of Persian-dubbed versions of English-speaking films have resorted to manipulation practices that result in changes of linguistic elements and references that are culturally taboo for the Iranian community. The sociocultural environment of the target community is influenced by different factors, the most significant of which seem to be religious and political, which in turn influence the dubbing of films into Persian.

An important point discerned in this analysis is the fact that, although instances of manipulation in these areas have been observed throughout the corpus, the various



studios in charge of the dubbing of the films are not consistent in their approach. For example, while one agency manipulated food and drinks that appeared to be in conflict with the ideology of the patronage, another agency did not manipulate the same type of content and, instead, decided to convey it in the dubbed version. In other cases, where illegitimate relationships between men and women were manipulated by one agency to conceal this taboo, the same issue was conveyed with no manipulation by another dubbing studio. Thus, although the MCIIG's recommendations spell out the contents to be avoided, dubbing studios in Iran seem to have their own policies and rules when dubbing ideological content and may not adhere strictly to the MCIIG rules. The nonconformity of the source text with the values of the target patronage is not the only reason for manipulation and the ideology of the dubbing studios and the translators themselves can also be seen as a catalyst in the manipulation of the source dialogues in dubbed films.

When it comes to regulations in the area of media distribution in Iran, film agencies and translators are expected to observe the rules within the hierarchy of power and the sociocultural context of the Iranian community, usually enforced by the government. Ideological manipulation (Díaz Cintas 2012) thus becomes an approach that allows translators to render the content of the original dialogue in a way that is acceptable for the target culture.

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Mohammad Sadegh Kenevisi is a PhD research fellow of Translation Studies at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). He is currently doing an audience-based research project on English subtitling of cultural elements in Iranian films in international film festivals. His areas of interest are Audiovisual Translation and Cultural Studies.

kenevisi.sadegh@gmail.com

Hasuria Che Omar is an Associate Professor of Translation and Interpreting studies at the School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). Her areas of research are Translation Theory and Practice; Translation Evaluation; Translation Linguistics, Audiovisual Translation, and Sign Language Interpreting.

hasuria@usm.my

Ali Jalalian Daghigh has currently completed his doctorate in Translation Studies at Universiti Sains Malaysia. He holds his B.A and M.A in Translation and TEFL respectively from IAU, Iran. His research areas are Ideology in Translation, Critical Discourse Analysis, Journalistic and News Translation as well as manipulation in Translation.

alee_jalalian@yahoo.com