| RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Investigation of Ideological Representations in Subtitling: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach

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| **ABSTRACT**

The present study investigates how ideologically-laden words and expressions are subtitled from English into Arabic by taking into account various translation strategies and lexical choices. It also sheds light on the role of the subtitler in this ideologically-constructed transfer. For this purpose, a mixed methods approach is followed to analyze and calculate the occurrence of the selected words and expressions from English movies and their Arabic subtitles by adopting the eclectic model of Farahzad's critical discourse analysis model (2011), and Baker's (2011) and Pedersen's (2011) translation strategies. The results of the study show that the subtitlers try to convey different ideologies from the ones presented in the original dialogues by depicting Muslim characters as negative individuals and American characters as positive individuals who are saviors and defenders. This is revealed through omission, translation by more expressive words, addition, and generalization. The findings further highlight that the subtitlers attempted to match the subtitles to the religious beliefs of the target viewers through cultural substitution. Regarding shifts of agency or participants, the subtitlers employed addition by adding action verbs in the subtitles to change the meaning of the sequence or to alter the focus toward specific agents by using different pronouns. The study thereof shows the role of the subtitler as an unfaithful transmitter of reality in the subtitles.

1. Introduction

Audiovisual translation is concerned with the transfer of verbal elements from the source language into the target language, which are present in audiovisual programs such as movies, series, advertisements, and others, and transmitted via audiovisual means such as radio, DVD, and the internet. In this sense, audiovisual products are made to entertain and transmit cultural values, emotions, and humor to viewers. However, certain film companies transfer their products that are loaded with ideological values in order to serve a certain agenda. In this way, ideology in subtitling has been investigated in relation to censorship, patronage, and manipulation (Scandura, 2004; Gamal, 2008; Kruger, 2012; Diaz Cintas, 2012; Zitawi, 2008). It is viewed as a rewriting of the original dialogue under specific instructions or guidelines that patrons impose on the translators to propagate a particular agenda (Lefevere, 1992a). In some cases, ideological manipulation is used to mitigate swear words or religious items to avoid offending target viewers (Avila-Cabrera, 2023).

Several studies have examined ideological manipulation in subtitling. Kruger (2012) explores the role of patronage in subtitling South African soap operas. The results of the study showed that English is implemented to subtitle non-English original dialogues broadcast on the South African Broadcasting Corporation. This reflects that this corporation as a patron imposes restrictions on the medium of transfer that hinders multiculturalism and multilingualism by representing characters as fluent speakers of English.

Similarly, Borumand et al. (2018) investigate ideologically driven strategies in subtitling the Salesman from Persian into English by deploying Farahzad's (2012) model. The study reveals that the subtitler manipulated social and power relationships by transferring informal expressions into more formal ones; therefore showing Persian as more formal than English. Other grammatical choices were applied such as nominalization, passivization and activization, change in tense, and coordination and subordination. All these strategies falsified religious expressions and manipulated the image of the patriarchal system in Iran, among other aspects.

Thawabteh (2017) scrutinizes the role of censorship in subtitling the movies *Crash* (2004), *John Tucker Must Die* (2006) and *Face Off* (1997) broadcast on MBC 2 and MBC 4 channels from English into Arabic. This study illustrates that censorship of offensive words through omission is necessary to preserve the TL cultural value system. Also, swear words were subtitled into tolerated Arabic clichés such as تبا (perish). Censorship extended in this study to drinks as in the case of transliterating the name of wine 'Bordeaux' into بوردو without adding a specific word to understand the retained word in the subtitle. Therefore, omission may result in a communication breakdown through the asynchrony between the image and the subtitle, and retention may confuse the target viewers' understanding of the plot. In the same vein, Izwaini (2018) highlights that generalization is implemented to subtitle offensive language such as body parts and alcohol and drugs. As for substitution and deletion, they are used to render swearing and religious utterances along with sexual references. In fact, manipulation of the subtitles can cause differences in the pragmatic meaning between the original dialogues and the subtitles as well as shifts in register.

On another note, Belhaj (2020) showcases the relationship between the technical dimension and ideology in subtitling Middle Eastern political speeches. This study demonstrates that Monitor Mideast translation organization opted for expansion, transfer, paraphrase, and imitation which produces longer subtitles of speeches and interviews. As for subtitling debates, the most used translation strategy is condensation, resulting in more shortened subtitles than the original. However, some debates were shortened by deletion, resignation, and decimation. The latter led to a loss in the semantic meaning of the subtitles due to ideological motives (depicting Monitor Mideast adversaries as reactionists).

In another context, Fakharzadeh and Dadkhah (2020) found that the strategy of toning down is used to render swear words that address religious figures who are positive characters in the original dialogues. As for negative characters, swear words are deployed to show aspects of their traits and their emotional connection with the plot. This is ideologically driven to show the role of subtitlers and screenwriters in depicting characters based on a specific religious dogma.

As previously discussed, several studies have analyzed the relationship between censorship, swear words, or political speeches and ideology in subtitling in different language pairs. Nevertheless, the ideological representation of Muslim characters in the movies under investigation and their Arabic subtitles has not been investigated. In this sense, this study examines how subtitling as a form of audiovisual translation can be used to transfer ideological beliefs to the audience. For that matter, ideological discourse which is presented through words and expressions, is highlighted in this study by shedding light on the position of the subtitler in this transfer. To this end, this paper follows the eclectic model of Farahzad's CDA model (2011, as cited in Pirhayati & Haratyan, 2018) along with Baker's (2011) and Pedersen's (2011) translation strategies. Relatedly, the present study answers the following questions:

1) *Do the lexical choices manifested in the selected movies and their subtitled versions reveal different ideologies?*
2) *What are the most and least implemented translation strategies in this ideologically-constructed transfer?*
3) *What is the role of the subtitler in this ideologically-constructed transfer?*

The first section is devoted to the contextualization of the present research within the cultural turn in translation studies whereby ideology and power have emerged. The second section discusses audiovisual translation in general, and subtitling in particular, with a special focus on the notion of ideology within subtitling and the ideological representation of reality in subtitled products. The third section explores this ideological representation in detail by analysing specific English movies and their Arabic subtitles.

2. Literature Review
Translation as Rewriting and Manipulation

Within the realm of translation studies, various paradigms have developed along with the development of this field. Traditionally, the focus was directed towards the linguistic transfer of texts from the source language into the target language, with special consideration of bible translation (see e.g. Nida, 1964). This period was named the linguistic turn, and it was characterized by the literal translation of verbal elements without taking into account the context in which they are produced. However, questions were raised about the necessity to investigate the text by focusing on its context since any text is not constituted of verbal elements only; rather, it is situated within a certain context or setting whereby these elements coherently operate with each other. Indeed, this period was named the cultural turn, and it brought about different aspects of research related to translation studies such as culture, poetics, ideology, power, censorship, and manipulation.

One of the pioneers of the cultural turn is Lefevere (1992b) who puts forward the notion of translation as rewriting to advocate that translation is the reproduction of the original text under certain ideological constraints and beliefs to conform to the beliefs or poetics of the target audience and country through the translated text. In this sense, translation is not only related to the transfer of written texts from SL into TL, but its rendering is influenced by power relations and affected by the target audience's culture (Lefevere, 1992a). Ideological beliefs can be implicitly diffused under the control of patrons who can be one person or a group of translators, publishers, politicians, etc. In this connection, the works of writers and translators should conform to the ideological beliefs within the ideological circle set by their patrons (Lefevere, 1992b). Within audiovisual translation, the development of dubbing and subtitling modes was controlled by governing regimes in certain countries which either allowed or rejected the diffusion of specific AV products in cinema houses and theatres. This can explain the dominance of a specific audiovisual mode in one country and not the other (Bassnett, 1998).

The cultural turn in translation studies has widened the scope of research to encompass the cultural the ideological aspects as well as power relations exerted by certain groups. Indeed, translated audiovisual products in general, and subtitled products, in particular, are influenced by these constraints. It is crucially important to discuss audiovisual translation so as to set the scene towards the investigation of the ideological representations in subtitling.

Audiovisual translation, Subtitling, and Ideology

Audiovisual translation is a type of translation study that investigates the transfer of written texts in audiovisual products within the same language or from one language into another depending on the AV mode employed. Audiovisual translation differs from other types of translation as it takes into account the aural and the visual codes on screen (Chiaro, 2009). In this sense, subtitling is defined as an audiovisual modality which deals with the transfer of ST dialogues into TT written texts placed at the bottom of the screen along with the transfer of verbal and aural information displayed on screen such as posters and songs (Diaz Cintas, 2020).

To understand the relationship between ideology and subtitling, it is crucial to define the term ideology. Throughout history, ideology had a negative connotation as it was linked to political discourses and manipulation (Gumul, 2010). However, this term can have a communicative connotation as it expresses: "[. . .] the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society" (Simpson, 1993, p. 5). More precisely, the assumed set of beliefs shared by all members of a certain community can become prevalent through the dominant or powerful social group. In this sense, media along with social and political bodies, play a crucial role in establishing certain ideologies within society through language since words and sentences operating within socio-political contexts can create a discourse which mirrors a certain ideology or forms it (Simpson, 1993).

From this perspective, discourse is an oral or written practice that communicates a way of thinking about a subject of socio-cultural interest. In fact, words and sentences are carefully selected to fit a certain social, cultural, or political context (Hatim & Mason, 1997). In the practice of translating, the choice of the source text and the ways whereby the target text is formulated are based on the intentions of a specific dominant group. Additionally, the linguistic choice of words, the elimination of certain expressions, or the use of passive and active voices are ideological manifestations in translation (Schäffner, 2003). Hatim and Mason (1997) stress the importance of the choice of translation strategies by the translator to reflect a certain ideology. This is expressed in the term 'the ideology of translating'. Indeed, the use of domestication or foreignization by the translator is related to the benefits of a certain group. The influence of a translated text on a specific group maintained through translation strategies can have an ideological implication which operates in a socio-cultural environment (Hatim & Mason, 1997). In this sense, translation is "[. . .] a set of frames whether interpretive (activated at the stage of understanding) or representing (activated at the stage of re-expression or re-formulation)" (Almanna, 2020, p. 1).

In subtitling, audiovisual texts are altered and foreignized to the target audience and culture through the insertion of new words which were not present in the original audiovisual product (Kruger, 2012). This is called ideological manipulation, whereas technical manipulation is the linguistic change of subtitles to account for spatial and temporal constraints as in reducing a subtitle to fit into a certain sequence. Hence, technical constraints may be used as an excuse to delete political comments or words of a sexual connotation and to misconceptualize them to target viewers (Diaz Cintas, 2012).

Translation Strategies in Subtitling Ideology

Translation strategies reflect the ideological manipulation from the original dialogues into the subtitles as they are: "[. . .] translational choices that are not altogether neutral" (Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 238). Baker's (2011) translation strategies at word level can be implemented to transfer ideology. These strategies are translation by a more general word, by a more neutral/less expressive word, by cultural substitution, using a loan word or loan word plus explanation, by paraphrase using a related word, by paraphrase using unrelated words, by omission, and by illustration (pp. 23-43). In the same vein, Pedersen (2011) identifies translation strategies to transfer subtitled products, which are official equivalent, omission, retention, specification encompassing

addition and completion, direct translation, generalization which includes superordinate terms and paraphrase, and cultural substitution.

On a related note, Farahzad (2011) proposes a three-dimensional model for translation criticism based on CDA approach which includes three dimensions: the textual, paratextual, and semiotic dimensions. At the textual level, the focus is directed toward the analysis of the metatext and the prototext in relation to (1) lexical choices and grammatical choices including passivization, activization, nominalization, positive/negative, tense, coordination/subordination, and (2) the choice of translation strategies including addition, omission, foreignization, domestication, and others. Moreover, the paratextual level includes any information about the text including comments of the translator or publisher and footnotes which can be an ideological motivation for the translator. The semiotic level is concerned with the analysis of the non-verbal signs and images that provide details about the text and hold an ideological value (as cited in Pirhayati & Haratyan, 2018). For a systematic analysis, the translation strategies of Baker (2011) and Pedersen (2011) along with Farahzad's (2011) three-dimensional model for translation criticism, are applied in this study.

3. Research Methodology

The present study shows how ideology is expressed through the change of words and expressions in Arabic subtitles of English movies by applying the critical discourse analysis approach (CDA). This approach has been the concern of many scholars (van Dijk, 1993, 2001; Fairclough, 1992b, 1995a; Rogers, 2004), and it is defined as the analysis of discourse to unveil the obscure connections between a certain text and the overall cultural and social situations which shapes it through ideology and power relations (Fairclough, 1995a). This relationship is explored through words and expressions since they are the means by which discourse is maintained.

This study is conducted based on mixed methods following an exploratory sequential design whereby the first step is the qualitative method followed by a quantitative method. The last step is to link both methods in the analysis (Berman, 2017). In this paper, the qualitative interpretative method follows the textual dimension of Farahzad's three-dimensional CDA model (2011) (as cited in Pirhayati & Haratyan, 2018) along with the translation strategies of Baker (2011) and Pedersen (2011). As for the quantitative method, it is expressed in the calculation of the occurrence of the translation strategies that are ideologically implemented in the study. In addition, this research is comparative as it compares the source texts which are English movies and the target texts which are their Arabic subtitles, with special attention to the linguistic choices and translation strategies chosen by the subtitlers. To provide a thorough analysis, sentences and expressions are selected from 11 English movies, notably *Body of Lies* (Scott, 2008), *Unthinkable* (Jordan, 2010), *Zero Dark Thirty* (Bigelow, 2012), *12 Strong* (Fuglsig, 2018), *The Kingdom* (Berg, 2007), *Green Zone* (Greengrass, 2010), *Syriana* (Gaghan, 2005), *Official Secrets* (Hood, 2019), *Eye in The Sky* (Hood, 2015), *Patriots Day* (Berg, 2016), and *American Sniper* (Eastwood, 2014). The rationale behind the choice of these movies is that they negatively depict Muslim characters and they represent religious shifts in the subtitled versions. To showcase the ideological changes in the subtitles, back translation is provided in the analysis. Also, timestamp is presented to show in-time and out-time sequences (Diaz Cintas, 2020).

4. Data Analysis
4.1. *Ideologically-Laden Lexical Choices*

Example 1

Timestamp 00:07:59 -> 00:08:01

ST   He's supposed to do a martyrdom operation

TT   يفترض به القيام بعملية انتحارية

BT of TT   He's supposed to do a suicide operation   (Body of Lies, 2008)

In example 1, the translator transfers 'a martyrdom operation' into 'عملية انتحارية' which is more expressive. Specifically, martyrdom has a positive connotation as it refers to the act of sacrificing one's life to enter paradise and to show loyalty to Islam (Cook, 2007). However, suicide is defined as death that results from the act of killing oneself (Rosenberg et al., 1988, as cited in Maris et al., 2000). Suicide has a negative connotation for Arab viewers as it is a cardinal sin for Islam that prohibits Muslims from entering paradise (Shoib et al., 2022). Indeed, the subtitler intentionally exposes that a person puts an end to his life and kills other people instead of sacrificing his life to be a martyr, as shown in the original dialogue. This choice is ideologically chosen to meet his beliefs and to distort the image of Islam to target viewers.

Example 2

Timestamp   00:12:00 -> 00:12:03

ST   You don't wanna kill the Jews and the Crusaders, huh?

TT   لا تريد أن تقتل اليهود و المسيحيين

BT of TT   You don't wanna kill the Jews and the Christians (Body of Lies, 2008)

In example 2, the translator transfers 'crusaders' into 'المسيحيين' which is a more general word that refers to all Christians. In this sense, the word crusaders has a negative connotation as it relates to Christians who waged crusades, a series of attacks, against Muslims in their lands (Hillenbrand, 1999). Nevertheless, Christians are people who follow Christianity and believe in Christ (Cross & Livingstone, 2005). This subtitle comes in the form of a question addressed to a Muslim person in the movie. So, the translator intentionally chooses the word Christians in the translation to make target viewers interpret that the Muslim person is a terrorist who wants to kill all Christians, which is ideologically chosen.

Example 3

Timestamp 00:42:57-> 00:43:00

ST   Another deadly attack on innocent civilians

TT   هجوم إنتحاري آخر على المدنيين الأبرياء

BT of TT   Another suicide attack on innocent civilians (Body of Lies, 2008)

In example 3, 'deadly attack' is transferred into 'هجوم انتحاري' which is more expressive. To elaborate, the denotative meaning of the adjective deadly attack is an attack that can cause death and casualties (Stevenson, 2010). However, a suicide attack is an attack intentionally performed by a suicide attacker or attackers who detonate explosive devices to kill civilians. A suicide attack entails a terrorist mission that illustrates the willingness of the suicide attacker to die and kill others (Moghadam, 2006). In this sequence, the translator deliberately employs the expression 'هجوم إنتحاري' so that target viewers interpret it as a terrorist attack performed by a Muslim character.

Example 4

Timestamp 00:43:00 -> 00:43:04

ST   This time in one of Amsterdam's most crowded tourist districts

TT   ضرب الإرهاب هذه المرة إحدى المناطق الأكثر سياحية في أمستردام

BT of TT   The terrorist attack hits this time in one of Amsterdam's most crowded tourist districts (Body of Lies, 2008)

In example 4, the anaphoric reference of 'this time' is 'deadly attack' which is analyzed in example 3. In the subtitle, the translator employs the translation strategy of addition by adding the word 'الإرهاب' or terrorist attack which is a more expressive word than the deadly attack. The translator's choice of words reflects his ideology towards the Muslim character who is represented as a suicide attacker in the movie.

Example 5

Timestamp 01:09:40 -> 01:09:43

 ST   So he touches his head to the floor five times a day

TT   إذن يصلي خمس مرات يوميا

BT of TT   So he prays five times a day (Body of Lies, 2008)

Prayer /ṣalāt/ in Islam is performed five times per day in dawn, before sunrise /alfaӡr/, noon /aððuhr/, afternoon /alʕaṣr/, sunset /alʕmaɣrib/, and night /alʕiʃa:ə/ to show a spiritual reunion with God (Mohamed, 2013). In the movie, the character Roger expresses his sarcasm to source viewers regarding the Islamic prayer that is performed five times each day. The subtitler did not render the ST sarcastic connotation of Islamic prayer, and employed paraphrase by using the word 'يصلي' to meet the religious beliefs of target viewers, especially Muslim viewers.

Example 6

Timestamp   01:24:20 -> 01:24:23

ST   and beg God to give us strength for our continuing struggle

TT   و نتوسل من الله أن يمنحنا القوة في جهادنا المتواصل

BT of TT and beg Allah to give us strength for our continuing *Jihad* (Body of Lies, 2008)

Example 6 illustrates two ideological lexical choices. The first lexical choice is the word 'God' which is translated into 'الله' through cultural substitution. Official Roger employs the word God that refers to God in trinity for Christians, i.e., God the Father, the Son, and the holy spirit (Bobrinskoy, 2008). On the other hand, the translator used the word 'الله' which is: "The Arabic word for GOD; specifically, the designation for God in ISLAM" (Ellwood & Alles, 2007, p. 10, emphasis in the original) to match the beliefs of target viewers, especially Muslims.

The second ideological lexical choice is the word struggle which is transferred into a more expressive word which is جهاد. According to Cambridge dictionary, to struggle is to experience difficulty and make an effort to do something[1]. Specifically, Merriam-Webster relates struggle to a violent effort or exertion[2]. The word struggle could have been subtitled into النضال or الكفاح which hold a positive connotation about the act of making an effort. However, the word جهاد is chosen to depict terrorism since it is a: "holy war against unbelievers" (Hillenbrand, 1999, p. xliii) that is performed by *mujahid* who strives in the path of God (Hillenbrand, 1999). In the movie, Officer Roger assigns his assistant to write an email in Arabic on behalf of a Muslim character who is part of a terrorist group. The subtitler conveys this idea by utilizing the word 'jihad' which implies a terrorist operation performed by the Muslim group in the movie

Example 7

Timestamp   01:05:58 -> 01:06:01

ST   Do your fucking jobs, bring me people to kill

TT   قوموا بعملكم اللعين و اجلبوا لي القتلة لأقتلهم

BT of TT   Do your fucking jobs, bring me murderers to kill (Zero Dark Thirty, 2012)

In this example, the word people is transferred into a more expressive word القتلة. The word people is defined as a mass of citizens (Stevenson & Waite, 2011). However, in the Arabic subtitle, it is rendered into القتلة or murderers. According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, a murderer is a person who commits the crime of murder[3]. In the movie, the deputy director held a meeting with members of the Central Intelligence Agency and emphasized on detaining Muslim characters to kill them under the pretext that they organized a violent attack. The subtitler used the word 'القتلة' in TL to depict that these people are the Muslim terrorists who killed civilians and innocent people in the movie. In this sense, the translator wants to reveal through the translation that Muslims are terrorists.

Example 8

Timestamp   00:02:35 -> 00:02:40

ST   Osama took to the streets and mosques to denounce the US and the royal family and their unholy alliance

TT   ظهر أسامة في الشوارع و المساجد منددا بالولايات المتحدة و العائلة الملكية و تحالفهم الشيطاني

BT of TT   Osama took to the streets and mosques to denounce the US and the royal family and their satanic alliance (The Kingdom, 2007)

In example 8, unholy alliance is defined as: "[. . .] a coalition among seemingly antagonistic groups for ad hoc or hidden gain" (Huberts & Lasthuizen, 2020. p. 46). In the Arabic subtitle, the translator uses a more expressive word by transferring 'unholy alliance' into'التحالف الشيطاني'. In the movie, 'unholy alliance' implies that Osama bin Laden offered his service to the royal family to deter Iraqi invaders from Kuwait, but his offer was rejected as the U.S. provided the royal family with a large number of troops. In this sense, the expression 'unholy alliance' implies treachery and disloyalty by the royal family who allied with the U.S. Conversely, the Arabic translation 'satanic alliance' or 'التحالف الشيطاني' implies the vicious bond between the U.S. and the royal family which results in the act of war against Iraq. Hence, the translator wants to expose the relationship between both parties as malignant and malicious.

Example 9

Timestamp 00:18:00 -> 00:18:08

ST   Doesn't your team in that country represent exactly the kind of target that these masters would die for?

TT   أليس فريقك في تلك البلاد يمثل بالتحديد الأهداف التي ينتحر أولئك السادة من أجلها ؟

BT of TT   Doesn't your team in that country represent exactly the kind of target that these masters would commit suicide for? (The Kingdom, 2007)

In example 9, the verb 'die for' is translated into 'ينتحر من أجل'. To die for is: "to want something a lot" (Smith, 2020, p. 44). In the movie, the masters performing this action are members of a terrorist group. The word 'die for' has a positive connotation as these members sacrificed their lives and fought with honour for the sake of their beliefs. In contrast, according to the National Institute of Mental Health, ينتحر من أجل or commit suicide is to die due to self-directed injuries[4], causing the death of other people (Moghadam, 2006). Therefore, the Arabic subtitle holds a negative connotation as these members intentionally killed themselves and others in their battle against the U.S. team, which implies that they took part in a suicide attack.

Example 10

Timestamp 00:11:33 -> 00:11:36

ST   For Christ's sake, I've given you everything I got on the guy so far

TT   بالله عليك, لقد أعطيتك كل شيء عن هذا الرجل حتى الآن

BT of TT For Allah's sake, I've given you everything I got on the guy so far (Green Zone, 2010)

The literal meaning of the expression 'for Christ's sake' is: "in the name of or for Christ" (Heacock, 2003, p. 67). It is employed in oaths and imprecations (Ayto & Simpson, 2010) and to express exclamation, annoyance, or irritation (Stevenson, 2010). In the movie, Clark Poundstone and the foreign correspondent for the Wall Street Journal Lawrie were discussing the possibility of finding weapons of massive destruction in the Iraqi war. Lawrie suspects in Majalan character who knows where weapons are hidden, and Clark Poundstone expresses his irritation by using the expression 'for Christ's sake' since he provided her with intelligence information about this person. In the Arabic subtitle, the translator culturally substituted for Christ's sake with 'بالله عليك' to meet the target culture. Hence, different ideologies in both source and target versions of the movie are exposed based on religious background.

Example 11

Timestamp 00:18:58 -> 00:19:06

ST   We are expecting to have representatives from all three main ethnic groups the Kurds the Shia and the Sunni

TT   نتوقع أن يكون هناك من يمثل الجماعات الاسلامية الثلاث الأكراد الشيعة و السنة (Green Zone, 2010)

BT of TT   We are expecting to have representatives from all three main Islamist groups the Kurds the Shia and the Sunni

Ethnic groups are people who share different ethnic identities related to language, religion, and nationality, among others (Chandra, 2012). This is the case for Kurds, Shia, and Sunni who share distinct languages (Kurdish and Arabic) as well as some differences in the practice of Islam. As for 'الجماعات الاسلامية' or 'Islamic groups', they are politically driven groups which are likely associated with terrorism (Izquierdo-Brichs & Etherington, 2017). In the movie, Clark Poundstone held a meeting with officers and invited representatives of the ethnic groups Kurds, the Shia, and the Sunni to discuss solutions to maintain peace in Iraq. The subtitler intentionally translated 'ethnic groups' into 'الجماعات الاسلامية' to expose to target viewers that these groups are involved in terrorist acts in that region.

Example 12

Timestamp   00:07:24-> 00:07:28

ST   So I wanna talk about the Gulf and a goddamn emir, what is an emir anyway?

TT   أريد التكلم عن الخليج و عن الأمير, ما هو الأمير على أي حال؟

BT of TT So I wanna talk about the Gulf and the emir, what is an emir anyway? (Syriana, 2005)

Example 12 illustrates the ideological choice of words through the omission of the swear word 'Goddamn' in the Arabic subtitle. 'Goddamn' or 'God Damn' is a swear word that refers to: "Stupid, terrible, irritating, or anything bad" (Burke, 2003, p. 86). In the movie, the CIA agent Jimmy Pope and other officials arranged a meeting to discuss the action of the Emir who supplied a Chinese company with natural oil, which upset the U.S. Company Connex which lost its contract with the Chinese company. Therefore, the word 'goddamn' in this context shows the irritation of the CIA agent and places the Gulf emir in an inferior position. The subtitler omitted the swear word so that this negative connotation is not conveyed to Arab viewers.

Example 13

Timestamp 00:08:42 -> 00:08:46

ST   I mean yes, Saddam is a dictator but he is not a religious nut

TT   أجل، أعلم أن صدام دكتاتور لكنه ليس متطرفا دينيا

BT of TT   I mean yes, Saddam is a dictator but he is not a religious extremist (Official Secrets, 2019)

In this example, 'religious nut' is subtitled into متطرف ديني, which are significantly different. A religious nut is a person who talks about religious matters in an absurd way (Berendt, 2011). However, متطرف ديني or religious extremist is a pejorative term that refers to a person who follows a political agenda and exerts political violence driven by extreme religious beliefs (Wibisono, Louis, & Jetten, 2019). In the movie, the British intelligence specialist Katharine Gun reacted to a TV speech that related Sadam to a group of religious extremists, and she mentioned that he was not a religious nut. In the Arabic subtitle, it is translated into 'متطرف ديني' which goes beyond the fact that he speaks about religious matters. Therefore, the translation of the ST example is distorted for ideological purposes.

Example 14

Timestamp 00:04:10 ->00:04:14

ST   Breaking: Al-Shabab executes suspected informant

TT   حركة الشباب الإرهابية تقتل مخبرا سريا

BT of TT Breaking: Al-Shabab terrorist group executes suspected informant (Eye in The Sky, 2015)

In instance 14, the addition of the word 'الإرهابية' or 'terrorist' in the Arabic subtitle changes the meaning of the subtitle. The translator adds this adjective that entails that a person or a group of people are religious extremists who cause terror and violence (Wibisono et al., 2019). In this sequence, the subtitler adds the adjective 'الإرهابية' or 'terrorist' that attributes to al-Shabab group, who killed a spy who works for the British and Kenyan intelligence services. Indeed, the subtitler intentionally added this word so that target viewers interpret that this Muslim group is engaged in terrorist operations.

Example 15

Timestamp 00:04:41 ->00:04:47

ST   In April, the group massacred 147 students and staff at Garissa University College

TT   في أبريل, قامت مجموعة إرهابية بقتل 147 طالبا و الطاقم التعليمي في جامعة غاريسا

BT of TT In April, the terrorist group massacred 147 students and staff at Garissa University College (Eye in The Sky, 2015)

In example 15, the translator implemented the translation strategy addition to depict different ideologies between ST and TT. This is the case for adding the adjective 'terrorist' which is attributed to the noun 'group' that refers to al-Shabab group mentioned in the previous example. Therefore, the translator intentionally employed this adjective to highlight that this group members are terrorists.

Example 16

Timestamp 00:10:09 ->00:10:13

ST   Their cell executed one of our Kenyan agents yesterday

TT   قامت خليتهم الإرهابية بقتل أحد عملائنا الكينيين أمس

BT of TT Their terrorist cell executed one of our Kenyan agents yesterday (Eye in The Sky, 2015)

In this example, the word الإرهابية is added in the Arabic subtitle to attribute to the cell. In the movie, Colonel Katherine held a meeting with a military aircraft crew to organize a joint operation to execute key members of al-Shabab group since they killed one of their Kenyan agents. Indeed, the translator employed the strategy of addition to stress the representation of this group members as terrorists.

Example 17

Timestamp 00:55:52 ->00:55:55

ST What if these men are innocent, and God forbid, they also happen to be Muslims

TT ماذا لو كان هؤلاء الأشخاص بريئين؟ و لا سمح الله و لو صادف و إن كانوا مسلمين (Patriots Day, 2016)

BT of TT What if these men are innocent, and Allah forbid, they also happen to be Muslims

God forbid is an expression that refers to the hope that something will not happen (Allan, 2009). In the movie, FBI special agents and police officers organized a meeting to search for the suspects of an attack in Boston. Special Agent Richard mentioned if the suspects are innocent and they are Muslims, they will cause an attack. This ideology depicts Muslims in a pejorative manner. In the Arabic subtitle, the translator rendered the expression 'God forbid' by cultural substitution into 'لا سمح الله'. In fact, the translator took into account that the target movie is addressed to Arab viewers and Muslims who are familiar with the TL expression.

Example 18

Timestamp 00:55:58 ->00:56:00

ST What does a prototypical jihadist look like, Rick?

TT و ماذا يبدو لك الجهاديين ريك ؟

BT of TT What do jihadists look like, Rick? (Patriots Day, 2016)

The translator employed omission as a translation strategy in example 18. According to Cambridge dictionary, prototypical is an adjective that refers to something or someone typical[5]. It is used as an attribute to jihadist who takes part in wars and attacks against unbelievers (Hillenbrand, 1999) and is driven by religious extremism (Wibisono et al., 2019). In the movie, Special Agent Richard told Commissioner Davis that the suspects in the Boston attack were not jihadists. Eventually, Commissioner Davis asked him about the characteristics of a typical jihadist. In the Arabic subtitle, the subtitler deleted the adjective 'prototypical' and used only the word 'الجهاديين' so that the characteristics mentioned about typical jihadists in this case are generalized to all jihadists who are not religious extremists.

Example 19

Timestamp 01:09:43 ->01:09:45

ST He believes in God

TT يؤمن بالله

BT of TT He believes in Allah (Body of Lies, 2008)

Example 20

Timestamp 00:48:44->00:48:49

ST You have many men over you, over me, only God

TT لديك الكثير من الرجال فوقك، بالنسبة لي، فقط الله فوقي

BT of TT You have many men over you, over me, only Allah (12 Strong, 2018)

Example 21

Timestamp 01:07:17->01:07:20

ST   God loves them

TT   الله يحبهم

BT of TT Allah loves them (Unthinkable, 2010)

Example 22

Timestamp   00:59:43->00:59:46

ST   I want you to put the fear of God into these savages

TT   أريدك أن تذكر هؤلاء الوحوش بعذاب الله

BT of TT I want you to put the fear of Allah into these savages (American Sniper, 2014)

Example 23

Timestamp   00:13:04->00:13:06

ST God knows

TT   الله يعلم

BT of TT Allah knows (The Kingdom, 2007)

These examples illustrate the ideological stand of the translators based on their religious beliefs. The ST religious examples are transferred by cultural substitution. They have similar counterparts in TL, yet they share different connotations or conceptualizations related to religious beliefs (Rahmani, 2023). In this respect, the word 'God' for Christians refers to God the Father, the Son, and the holy spirit (Bobrinskoy, 2008). In contrast, the subtitler used the word 'الله' which is: "The Arabic word for GOD; specifically, the designation for God in ISLAM" (Ellwood & Alles, 2007, p. 10, emphasis in the original). Indeed, the translators familiarized the target viewers with their religious beliefs instead of conveying the religious ideology of the original dialogues.

4.2. Shifts of Agency and Participants

This factor examines the change in participants or agents through the change of linguistic patterns to represent the ideological beliefs or assumptions of the translator (Farahzad, 2011, as cited in Pirhayati & Haratyan, 2018). The following examples illustrate this in detail.

Example 24

Timestamp 1:18:00->1:18:06

ST   This will be pitched as a stunning, Saudi only counterpunch killing those responsible for Al Rahmah

TT   ستتناول وسائل الاعلام هذا الموضوع, الهجوم على السعوديين القتلة المسؤولون عن عملية الرحمة

BT of TT   This will be pitched as a stunning, the attack against Saudi murderers responsible for Al Rahmah (The Kingdom, 2007)

In the ST instance, Saudi defend themselves by attacking the soldiers who are responsible for Al Rahmah operation. However, the subtitler shifts the focus towards Saudi as 'murderers' who are the ones who organized that operation. Indeed, the omission of the word counterpunch and the addition of the word 'القتلة' or 'murderers' in the translation changed the position of Saudi characters in the movie from defenders to attackers.

Example 25

Timestamp 00:01:15-> 00:01:20

ST   Our embassies in Nairobi and Dar Essalam were bombed, The Bin Laden terrorist network was responsible.

TT   تم قصف سفاراتنا في نيروبي و دار السلام, أعلنت شركة بن لادن الارهابية مسؤوليتها عن التفجيرات (Strong, 2018 12)

BT of TT   Our embassies in Nairobi and Dar Essalam were bombed, The Bin Laden terrorist network claimed responsibility for the bombing

In the ST instance, the Bin Laden network is viewed as responsible for the bombing of the Nairobi and Dar Essalam embassies. In the translation, there is a shift in the action by adding the action verb أعلنت which implies that the Bin Laden network assumes responsibility for the bombing, which is not the case. Hence, the added action by the translator changes the narrative of the plot by representing this network as a terrorist for target viewers.

Example 26

Timestamp 00:01:41->00:01:48

ST   The Saudi elite became notorious big spenders and lost credibility and respect among religious conservatives

TT   فقد الصفوة السعوديون مصداقيتهم و عُرفوا بأنهم مبذرين و فقدوا احترامهم بين المحافظين الدينيين

BT of TT The Saudi elite were known as notorious big spenders and lost credibility and respect among religious conservatives (The Kingdom, 2007)

In the subtitle, the shift of agency is expressed in the change of action by making Saudi members 'known as' spenders of oil among religious conservatives, which is subjective as it depends on the consent of these members. However, this is not the case in the ST example in which the Saudi elite became spenders based on their willingness.

Example 27

Timestamp 00:18:11->00:18:14

ST   Not to go after criminals because they might try to harm you

TT   لا تطارد المجرمين لأنك قد لا تسلم من شرهم

BT of TT Not to go after criminals because you might not be spared from their evil (The Kingdom, 2007)

In the movie, FBI Director Robert Grace held a meeting with Special Agents in the Department of Justice to investigate the cause of an attack in Riyadh, and he advised the FBI team in Riyadh to be alerted of the suspects, who are Muslim characters. In the ST example, the focus of the action is directed towards the pronoun they which refers to 'criminals' who are Muslim characters in the movie. However, the focus in the translation is shifted towards the addressees of the dialogue who are the FBI agents by using the pronoun you. In this sense, the translator tries to center the attention of target viewers towards the American characters instead of Muslim characters by changing the pronoun they into you, which is ideologically chosen.
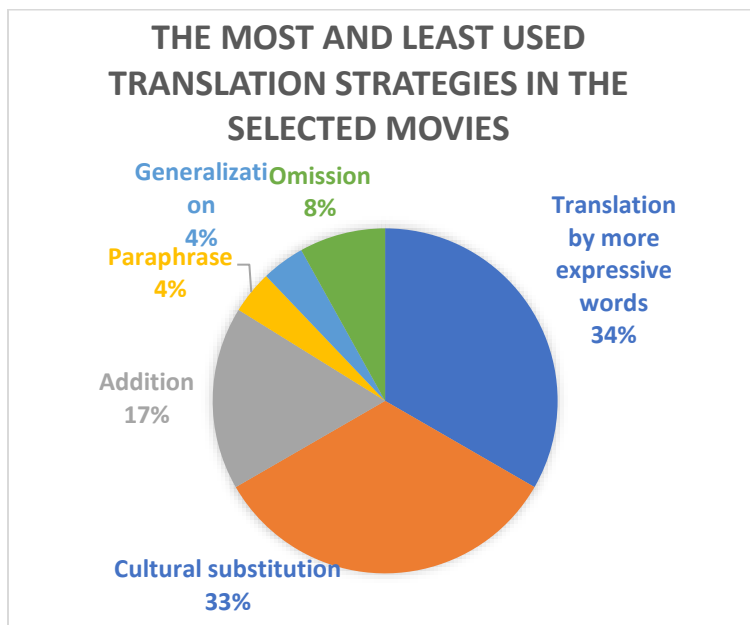
5. Results and Discussion

Figure 1. *The most and Least used Translation Strategies in the Selected Movies*

As Figure 1. implies, the most used translation strategies are translation by more expressive words (34%) and cultural substitution (33%). However, the least used translation strategies are addition (17%), paraphrase (4%), generalization (4%), and omission (8%). On the one hand, translation by more expressive words is utilized to reinforce the shifted expressive meaning in the subtitles. This is illustrated in deadly attack' which is transferred into 'هجوم انتحاري' (see example 3) and 'die for' which is translated into ' ينتحر من أجل' (see example 9). Moreover, subtitlers opt for the use of cultural substitution by replacing religious words such as 'God' and 'Christ's sake' with 'الله' and 'بالله عليك' respectively. This choice of words is intentionally employed to match the subtitles to the beliefs of the target viewers, especially Muslims. As Fakharzadeh and Dadkhah (2020) mention, religious ideology is manifested in a set of religious beliefs and norms of a certain group. Hence, the subtitlers' manipulation of religious ideology in audiovisual products is based on their religious backgrounds and the target viewers' beliefs which should be met.

On the other hand, addition is an ideologically laden translation strategy that is employed to distort the meaning of the original dialogue for a certain purpose (Gui & Su, 2023). From the dimension of lexical choices, translators tried to construct the ideology in which Muslims are depicted as terrorists or religious extremists through the translation strategies of generalization and addition. The latter is highlighted through the addition of the word 'الارهابي' or terrorist in the subtitles (see examples 4, 14, 15, and 16). In addition, paraphrase is implemented to attenuate the sarcastic connotation of the subtitle, which may offend target viewers. This is the case in example 5 'So he touches his head to the floor five times a day' which is rendered into 'So he prays five times a day' to meet the religious beliefs of target viewers, especially Muslim viewers. As for omission, it reveals the act of censorship: "[. . .] whether formally enacted by the prohibition to translate or camouflaged by deleting parts of the original audiovisual text" (Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 239). In this study, it is deployed to delete certain expressions such as 'goddamn' which refers to the Gulf Emir (see example 12). Since this expression has a sarcastic connotation, the translator omitted it so that the target Arab viewers would not be offended.

From the dimension of shifts of agency or participants, translators employed the strategy of addition by adding action verbs in the subtitles to change the meaning of the sequence (see example 25), or to change the focus towards specific participants or agents by using different pronouns (see example 27). Interestingly, the results of the study go in line with the study of Kruger (2012) who advocates that subtitling is a form of rewriting which serves as an ideological tool propagated to the target audience. Hence, it can be said that the investigated subtitled versions do not convey the same ideology presented in the original dialogues in the selected movies. The subtitler plays a crucial role as an unfaithful transmitter of reality in this ideologically constructed transfer, resulting in the unfaithfulness between the original movies and their Arabic subtitles.

6. Conclusion
To conclude, the selected movies and their subtitles brought about distinct ideologies expressed in different lexical choices and shifts of agency. These ideologies are revealed through several translation strategies such as translation by more expressive words, cultural substitution, addition, paraphrase, generalization, and omission. The choice of translation strategies and shifts of agency reveal that the subtitlers attempted to match the subtitles to the religious beliefs of the target viewers through cultural substitution. However, the subtitlers depicted Muslim characters as negative individuals who are religious extremists and American characters as positive individuals who are saviors and defenders through omission, translation by more expressive words, addition, and generalization. Therefore, in the present study, subtitlers are viewed as main participants in the construction of our social and political reality since they are responsible for what they produce on the screen (Belhaj, 2020). This raises concerns regarding the role of patrons, in this case, distribution companies, in restricting the translational activity of subtitlers to serve this agenda.

The adopted eclectic model has uncovered the hidden ideologies in the subtitled versions of the movies under investigation. It has proved that even the smallest units in texts reflect a constructed ideology. Therefore, the subtitled versions under investigation are rewritings of the original dialogues with a different purpose and linguistic choices. However, not all the hidden ideologies were explored in this study since the semiotic channel represents ideological manipulation as in the sequences' images. In light of this, future research can include the paratextual and semiotic dimensions. The latter is essential in audiovisual products since they are multimodal in nature. Other critical discourse analysis models can be further applied to this study. Also, reception studies can be implemented on the implication of the selected movies and their subtitles on the target viewers' understanding of the plots and conceptualization of worldviews.

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Notes

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