

A Norm-Based Analysis of Swearing Rendition in Professional Dubbing and Non-Professional Subtitling from English into Persian

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Abstract

This study takes a norm-based approach to analyzing the dubbing and non-professional subtitling of English swearing into Persian in an American movie. The article revolves around three main theoretical frameworks, i.e., Wajnryb (2005), Toury (1995, 2012a, 2012b), and Chesterman (1997). After analyzing the strategies in rendering the original swearing into Persian, the researchers achieved a model of four basic strategies: (a) direct translation with strong force, (b) direct translation with weak force, (c) deletion, and (d) foreignization. On the whole, the results of this research showed that both dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions were target language-oriented with deleting the original swearing as the most frequent strategy. But, the vulgarity and the degree of offensiveness of swearing in the original version were to some extent euphemized in the dubbed version. On the other hand, the non-professional subtitled version, in comparison with the dubbed version, employed more direct translation of the original swearing with strong force. The article then proceeded to delve into why these strategies were employed by the dubbed and non-professional subtitled producers, and why there were remarkable differences between the two versions. The findings provided useful information within descriptive translation studies; nevertheless, they cannot be generalized since the study was limited by a relatively small corpus and utilized a non-probability sampling procedure.

Keywords: Swearing, Translation, Dubbing, Non-Professional Subtitling, Norms, Omission

1. Introduction

Despite the fact that so far translation studies has benefited much from cultural studies, because emerging research suggests a complementary relationship between culture and translation (Díaz-Cintas, 2009;

Zabalbeascoa, 2010), it should come as no surprise that cultural studies has not been fully explored in audiovisual translation (AVT) (Chaume, 2013; Remael, 2010). According to Zabalbeascoa (2010), polysystem theory and norms are capable of

broadening the scope of AVT studies. As Díaz-Cintas (2012) in the special issue of *Meta* on *The Manipulation of Audiovisual Translation* puts it, even though AVT has played a pivotal role in societies, there is a dearth of research into the impact of ideology, power, censorship and manipulation when AV materials are translated into another language or culture. This idea makes us reflect more on cultural studies. Such a starting point, consequently, intrigues scholars about how the translational activity is shaped under the role of agents involved in its process.

Apart from what was mentioned previously, Cronin (2012) and Gambier (2014) assert that a considerable amount of translation has been carried out by fans or non-professional translators mainly in the form of online or web-based translations (e.g., crowdsourcing, fansubbing). And that is how translation has become for everyone by anyone (O'Hagan, 2014). Be that as it may, translation by fans or non-professional translators still remains one of the most underresearched areas in translation studies (Olohan, 2014; Pérez-González & Susam-Saraeva, 2012). The area of non-professional translation has not been investigated in the Iranian contexts; however, far from being a rare or marginal area of research, some studies are worth mentioning (e.g., Ameri, 2015; Nord, Khoshsaligheh, & Ameri, in press).

A further gap in the literature on AVT is due to the scarcity of studies on translation of swearing in non-professional subtitling in comparison with dubbing. In the Iranian context; however, the notion of taboo language translation in dubbing has been studied by a few researchers (e.g., Ghazizadeh & Mardani, 2011; Khoshsaligheh & Ameri, 2014; Sedighi & Tabrizi, 2012). To the best of the authors' knowledge, this burning issue has not been addressed in non-professional subtitling in the Iranian context.

In relation to what has been outlined so far and to tackle empirically the debated

issue, this paper, as an unprecedented work, addresses the translation of swear expressions in dubbing by professionals, and non-professional subtitling by fans from two perspectives; that is, the linguistic and cultural studies points of view in translation studies. After a brief summary of the core concepts, this article presents an overview of the approaches to translation of swearing found in the literature, and then highlights the strategies found in the analysis of the corpus. With the above-mentioned aims in mind; hence, two hypotheses have been put forward for discussion:

H1: Swearing is toned down in dubbing, because dubbing is done by professionals who are affiliated with a formal, legal institution.

H2: Swearing is not toned down in non-professional subtitling, because non-professional subtitling is done by fans on the internet, and internet activities are somewhat anonymous and are not strictly controlled.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Dubbing and Non-Professional Subtitling

Despite the fact that AVT used to be an unknown and ignored field of research and study in translation studies (Díaz-Cintas, 2009), the ongoing age is called “a screen-dominated era” (Bogucki, 2013, p. 11). AVT, as a relative rookie, was at the outset disregarded in translation studies (Bogucki, 2013) on account of its interdisciplinary and multimodal nature, and of its considerable, immediate relevance for cinema and film studies (Remael, 2010) or “the lack of a sufficiently broad paradigm” (Bogucki, 2013, p. 19); however, now “the Cinderella mantle” has been disappeared (Díaz-Cintas, 2008, p. 1), and AVT has found its right place in translation studies, and is a fast-growing, fascinating field of research in academia (Díaz-Cintas, 2009; Díaz-Cintas & Anderman, 2009; Díaz-Cintas & Neves, 2015; Gambier, 2013),

first and foremost because of the emergence of “audiovisual turn” in the field of translation studies in the 21st century (Remael, 2010, p. 15), or on the whole due to “[the] boom in AVT modes, platforms, electronic devices, new windows and new habits” (Chaume, 2013, p. 288).

The leading translation modalities in AVT are dubbing, subtitling, and voice-over (Díaz-Cintas, 2013). Dubbing consists of replacing the original sound track with a target sound track, but in subtitling the original sound track is left untouched, and translation is captioned at the bottom of the screen. Iran is one of those countries which has had the foreign AV products revoiced forever and a day. The practice of revoicing includes dubbing, voice-over, and free commentary in Iran. Dubbing is used very commonly for translation of fictional genres including movies, and animated movies, and in some cases for documentaries. Furthermore, subtitling (any languages into Persian) is mainly practiced illegally by fans (fansubs) through the web; however, cases of formal, reverse subtitling (Persian into English) are carried out by Jame Jam TV Networks (the legal Iranian satellite channels) which aim to provide accessibility to Iranian movies and series for the English-speaking audience.

Thus, Iran includes dubbing by the professional and subtitling by the non-professional even so that dubbing has also been carried out by non-professional dubbers (fandubbing) very recently in the Iranian context (Nord et al., in press). Despite the AVT boom in recent years in Iran with the special focus on dubbing and subtitling, very few efforts have been channeled into the study of non-professional subtitling. While in fandubbing practices the whole dubbed movie is distributed on the internet at no cost, in fansubbing only the translation is available. In other words, the SRT file is available on the internet and the original movie should be bought or downloaded from other

websites though in some websites like Iranfilm both the SRT file and the original movie can be downloaded if the users buy an account which is very cheap. Fansubbing is much more active than fandubbing because the latter involves a very complex process of preparation while the former can be carried out only by one person who is familiar with the original language which is English in almost all cases. Fansubbers generally work with an English pivot subtitling or relay subtitling in which spotting or timing was done before as Gottlieb (2005) puts it, “the segmentation and cueing can be ‘borrowed’ from the pivot subtitles” (p. 32). Therefore, the Iranian fansubbers only take care of translation, and it seems that synchrony of subtitles is not taken into account, as in some cases codes of standard subtitling (Karamitroglou, 1998) are violated. Such translational products are forbidden in Iran as no formal subtitling exists. The country follows dubbing, and those who might be interested in subtitling, language learning or watching movies in their original version are attracted by these subtitles.

2.2. Swear Expressions

The plot of some movies favors the abundance of swear expressions which in fact creates a special style for that movie like crime and mafia movies. But this artistic style according to some researchers (e.g., Chen, 2004; Fernández Fernández, 2009) needs to be preserved in the target language (TL), otherwise the viewers will receive “an altered and unauthentic experience of a foreign language and culture through an audiovisual program” (Han & Wang, 2014, p. 2). Although the absence of swear words in the TL or dubbed movie does not manipulate the movie plot (Mattsson, 2006), the overall tone of the movie or its characterization is specified by swear words (Manchon, 2013). But some other researchers (e.g., Khoshsaligheh & Mardani, 2014; Sedighi & Tabrizi, 2012) indicate that the TL

society norms do not allow this artistic style to be fully kept, and it may undergo significant alternation or manipulation. But this problem should be tackled “consciously, consistently, and accurately” (Miremedi, 2005, p. 145) especially in AV products like movies which employ the auditory channels, and swear expressions “are pronounced with stress and intensity” (Tveit, 2009, p. 89) simply because insults are mainly used in speech rather than writing (Pujol, 2006).

According to Ljung (1984), the history of swearwords dates back to 1000 B.C. In addition, Andersson and Trudgill (1999) remark that in order to recognize swear words, three criteria must be taken into account: (a) the words that refer to something taboo in that culture, (b) the words that cannot be interpreted literally, and (c) the words which are used to show strong emotions and attitudes.

So many scholars proposed a typology for swear expressions. For example, Pinker (2007) proposes a five-band category of swear expressions which involves: (a) descriptive swearing (*Let's fuck.*), (b) idiomatic swearing (*It's fucked up.*), (c) abusive swearing (*Fuck you motherfucker!*), (d) emphatic swearing (*It's fucking amazing.*), and (e) cathartic swearing (*Fuck!*).

Or McEnery (2006) suggests that swear words can have 15 functions. In addition, according to Ljung (2011), insults can be categorized based on their functions and themes. The functions are either stand-alones, slot fillers or replacive swearing, and various kinds of themes including those related to religion, sexual activities, and sexual organs. And finally Wajnryb (2005, pp. 25-38) proposes a tripartite typology of swearing:

(a) Cathartic Swearing

The most straightforward swearing is cathartic. In this case “swearing is directed at the speaker her/himself and uttered almost instinctively when something unexpected and unpleasant happens (i.e. you stub your toe and shout *bastard!*)”

(Ghassempur, 2009, p. 37). Wajnryb (2005, p. 30) herself adds that a special feature of this category is the absence of any audience, in fact, it is towards an inanimate object; “the very absence of an audience affords the uninhibited expletive its maximum range of freedom.”

(b) Abusive Swearing

In this case as the name explains it is abusive, and requires being towards an animate target (Ghassempur, 2009). It is more emotive than cathartic swearing, and there is a participation of another or others because “the abusive swearer wants to wound, to rupture, to inflict harm—in short, to abuse” (Wajnryb, 2005, p. 33).

(c) Social Swearing

Unlike the aforementioned groups, this type of swearing is mainly used in relaxed and comfortable settings in which dirty words are used to express different speech acts, in other words, “[they] serve to express surprise, pleasant wonder or disbelief rather than aggressiveness and frustration” (Ghassempur, 2009, p. 38).

For the analysis, it was decided to employ the typology suggested by Wajnryb (2005), as this typology is more straightforward than other proposed typologies. And the aim of the current research was not researching swear words in the original version from a very comprehensive way or from a pure linguistic perspective.

2.3. Norms of Translation

Regarded as sociocultural constraints, norms are the shared ideas, values or beliefs which make translators how to act, think, and translate in any certain time for any particular end-users (Meylaerts, 2008). According to Toury (1995, p. 20), any rendering is “[a] target language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture” or “it is quite readily accepted bona fide as one, no further question is asked” (Toury, 2012a, p. 20). Translation; thus, has been a norm-governed activity, and translators have a

Table 1. *Toury's and Chesterman's Classification of Norms (Munday, 2012, p. 183)*

	Toury		Chesterman
Initial norms	Translator's subjection to ST-oriented norms (adequacy) or TT-oriented norms (acceptability)	Product or expectancy norms	What the readers expect of the TT; they relate to translation tradition and prevailing genre and discourse conceptions and give criteria for evaluation
Preliminary norms	Translation policy for selection of texts and directness of translation (sometimes via intermediate language)	Professional norms	Accountability norm is ethical; the translator accepts responsibility. Communication norm is social; translator is expert
Operational norms	Relate to the choices in the text itself; matricial norms (is the text complete?) and textual-linguistic norms (the lexical and syntactic choices)		Relation norm is linguistic; judged according to the text type, brief, ST author intentions and needs of TT readers

social role (Schäffner, 2010; Toury, 1995, 2012a, 2012b). Moreover, norms play a pivotal role in determining good and bad translations in societies, and bad translations are those which differed dramatically from the established genres or doctrines in a society (Pym, 2014).

Thus, translators' choices and decisions, during the process of translation, are influenced by norms (Delabastita, 2008). In order to create an acceptable translation in the target culture, translators alter the ST in accordance with socio-cultural norms like religion, morality, among others (Pei, 2010). The best method in studying such regularities or habitual patterns of translation behaviors according to Baker (2009) is researching a corpus of authentic translations.

Toury (1995, 2012a, 2012b) introduces a tripartite model of norms which acts at various stages of translation: (a) initial norms, (b) preliminary norms, and (c) operational norms. According to Munday (2012), in line with Toury's initial and

preliminary norms, Chesterman (1997) suggests his model of translation norms as: (a) product or expectancy norms and (b) professional norms.

One of the socio-cultural norms pertains to ideology (Pei, 2010) which is a major factor in descriptive studies in dubbing (Chaume, 2013), and is well stated by Hatim and Munday (2004) as "the basic orientation chosen by the translator operating within a social and cultural context" (p. 103).

In the complex network of translation, the ideological interventions are highly made not only by the translators but also by gate-keepers that make translators produce texts which cannot be named a rendition; the most probable final result is a domesticated translation (Fawcett & Munday, 2009). In the same vein, Schäffner (2003) shares the same idea that the interests, objectives and purposes of social agents ideologically determine the choice of a text for translation or the final use of translation. But, the ideological aspects can

also show themselves within the text at the lexical and grammatical levels in particular in potential texts in which ideology is very prominent. Like dubbing which has an audience of millions in Iran, and the dubbing producers transfer the lexis (e.g., taboos and swear expressions) very cautiously. Tymoczko (2003) asserts that ideology, too, exists in the stance and position of the translator, and in the relevance to the final end-users. By this she means that “These aspects of a translation are motivated and determined by the translator's cultural and ideological affiliations as much as or even more than by the temporal and special location that the translator speaks from” (p. 183).

2.4. Previous Studies on Taboo Language and Translation

During the last decade much research has been conducted on taboo language in many language pairs, but apart from the two studies in the context of Iran (Khoshsaligheh & Ameri, 2014; Sedighi & Tabrizi, 2012) which focused on translation of taboo language from a cultural studies perspective (norms in translation), other studies were mainly from a linguistic perspective. In other words, they did not consider norms in their research.

In dealing with taboo language in translation, three situations may happen: (a) a word is a taboo in the first language, but it is not a taboo in the second language, (b) a word is a taboo in both languages, and (c) the word is not a taboo in the first language but it is a taboo in the second language (Marbry, 1998).

In a local study in the case of Persian translations of English and French novels, Sharifi and Darchinian (2009) concluded that Iranian translators (self)censored nine groups of ideas in that the fifth group was named impolite, profanity language like swear expressions. In some other studies in the field of AVT, Sedighi and Tabrizi (2012) investigated translation of taboo language in Persian dubbed versions of five

American romantic movies. They found that three main strategies were employed by the translators; euphemism, omission or censorship, and manipulation of segmentation. Ghazizadeh and Mardani (2011) also studied three American movies dubbed into Persian in order to identify what strategies Iranian translators employ when dealing with taboo language. The authors concluded that Iranian AVT translators made use of seven strategies like omission, substitution with taboo, substitution with non-taboo, under-translation, over-translation, compensation, and manipulation. In a similar study in the case of dubbing but in the crime genre, Khoshsaligheh and Ameri (2014) showed that Iranian dubbing translators employed omission as a main strategy for translation of taboo language. They also stressed that the dubbing translators of the four movies subjected themselves to the norms realized in the TL and target culture; in other words, acceptable translation in terms of initial norms by Toury (1995, 2012a, 2012b). But, they did not explore other types of norms.

In his research on Swedish subtitling of three American movies, Mattsson (2006) came to this conclusion that Swedish translators tended to delete most swear expressions in the subtitled versions. Tveit (2009) also shared this idea that AV translators tended to delete, censor, or manipulate the swear expressions. Researching from a skopos-based view-which is not considered as a useful framework for evaluation- and drawing on the typology of translation of taboos by Robinson (2006)- but Douglas Robinson does not propose any strategy for translation of taboos in his book (Personal Communication, Douglas Robinson, March 8th and November 17th, 2013)- Alavi, Karimnia, and Salehi Zadeh (2013) asserted that “Considering social, cultural, and religious factors, [Iranian] translators tried to censor the taboos in drama translation” (p. 12291). In another interesting research

in subtitling, Midjord (2013) by analyzing 20 episodes of the Danish series *Killing* into English found out that 70% of swear expressions were omitted in the English subtitled versions. Likewise, through a mixed-methods approach, Ghassempur (2009) conducted her doctoral dissertation on translation of swearing in the Irish novel *The Commitments* into German. Her findings illustrated that the German translations consisted of a few swear expressions, since they had been omitted or manipulated. Han and Wang (2014) also analyzed the Chinese subtitling of English swear expressions in eight episodes of *The Family* series. The researchers found out that the swearing force was toned down in the Chinese subtitles though they believed that social and moral constraints were not the only causes for such reduction. As the linguistic differences between English and Chinese, and technical constraints in subtitling were other principal factors. And very recently in his master's thesis, Manchon (2013) tried to investigate “to what extent swearwords tend to be neutralized due to translational challenges” (p. 2). She analyzed and compared the strategies used in both commercial and non-professional subtitles when confronted with swearing words. She believed that due to the anonymous nature of the internet, the non-professional subtitling probably would have more swearing than the commercial subtitling. In the end, she came to this conclusion that fansubbers persevered more swear words in their translation than professional subtitlers did. Because fansubbers approached the translation from a literal perspective, they tried to keep their translation close to the original as much as possible (Manchon, 2013).

3. Method

3.1. Corpus

As an empirical research, this study is based on a comparative and causal model (Williams & Chesterman, 2002), and it uses

a bilingual unidirectional parallel corpus (Laviosa, 2010; Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013) which consists of the original scripts of one purposively determined popular American crime movie and its dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions into Persian. To determine the subjects to form the corpus needed for the study, a criterion sampling technique (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126; Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013, p. 34) was used, and as such, a set of predetermined criteria was set to select the movie which would best serve the purpose of the research. This technique of sampling has successful applications in corpus-based studies in translation studies (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013). The following criteria were used for selection: the movie- Pulp Fiction (1994)- (a) included a high frequency of swear expressions, (b) was a very famous one, (c) dubbed by a single AV translator, (d) dubbed by an Iranian AV translator with Persian as their native language, (e) dubbed by an official and professional AVT company, (f) subtitled by fansubs on the internet, and (g) the subtitler (s) has/have no affiliation with any institution or organization. The details of the original movie and its dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions, selected for the study are presented in Table 2.

As Table 2 shows, the dubbed version in several minutes was shorter than the original version. This was due to the censorship occurred in the dubbed version. As several scenes were fully omitted. Because they had inappropriate materials like sexual intercourse, dancing, kissing and so on. For example the part (TCR: 00.49.38 – 00.50.44) in which Vincent is dancing with Mia was omitted in the dubbed version. Or another scene (TCR: 01.15.44 – 01.24.44) which was subject to sexual intercourse between Butch and Fabienne was totally cut from the dubbed version.

Some swear words; however, might have been removed due to this scene censorship. Fortunately, just 5 cases were removed in

Table 2. General Information on the Studied Corpus

Pulp Fiction	Original	Dubbing	Non-Professional Subtitling
Producer	Quentin Tarantino	Amir Houshang Zand	farsisubtitle.com ¹
Year of Production	1994	2004	Last Accessed on 14 September 2014
Time Duration	154 minutes	135 minutes	2191 subtitles

1. The subtitle was downloaded from: <http://s7.farsisubtitle.com/download/index.php?act=view&id=862>

this regard. But, for the sake of a systematic analysis, these five cases were not considered in the analysis; neither in the original version nor in the dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions.

3.2. Procedures

In addition to the original movie, the dubbed version was also acquired from a well-established, professional Iranian media distribution and AVT company, 21 Century Visual and Media Company, with Iranian Persian native, in-house translators. And the non-professional subtitled version was also downloaded from *farsisubtitle.com* which is a very famous website for providing subtitling by fans with no fee.

The following steps were taken to collect and analyze the required data. Initially, after watching the original movie, the swear expressions were extracted and recorded. Each English swear word or expression was compared with its dubbed and subtitled equivalent in Persian. After reviewing all the recorded pairs of swearing, the strategies employed for rendition of the swear expressions were identified and categorized into four basic types. Subsequently, descriptive statistics, including frequency, percentage, and sum, were provided for each strategy. In order to consistently detect the words or expressions, the typology of swearing introduced by Wajnryb (2005, pp. 25-38) was employed: (a) cathartic swearing, (b) abusive swearing, abusive swearing, and (c) social swearing

One of the objectives of the present study was to figure out whether there were any significant differences between the dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions; thus, the Chi-square test was also conducted.

4. Results

A review of the corpus of the study showed that a variety of swearing occurred in the original movie based on the typology proposed by Wajnryb (2005). A total of 279 instances of swearing was found in the English corpus of the study. Figure 2 shows the frequency of swearing in the original movie. As Figure 2 shows more than half of the swearing words (68.10%) belong to the cathartic swearing, and very few ones (2.87%) belong to the social swearing group. Moreover, the most frequent swearing word was *fuck* and its different forms like *fucked*, *fucking*. This word was repeated 149 times in the original movie. It is worth stressing that the original version included 284 instances of swearing, but due to the fact that some scenes were removed (censored) in the dubbed version, some five cases of swearing which happened in those senses were not regarded for the analysis.

As Figure 1 illustrates 10 kinds of swear words were used in the original movie, and the most frequent swearing words were *fuck* and *shit* though it is worth mentioning, the swearing *fuck* included all variants of *fuck*, like *fucked*, *fucking*, etc.

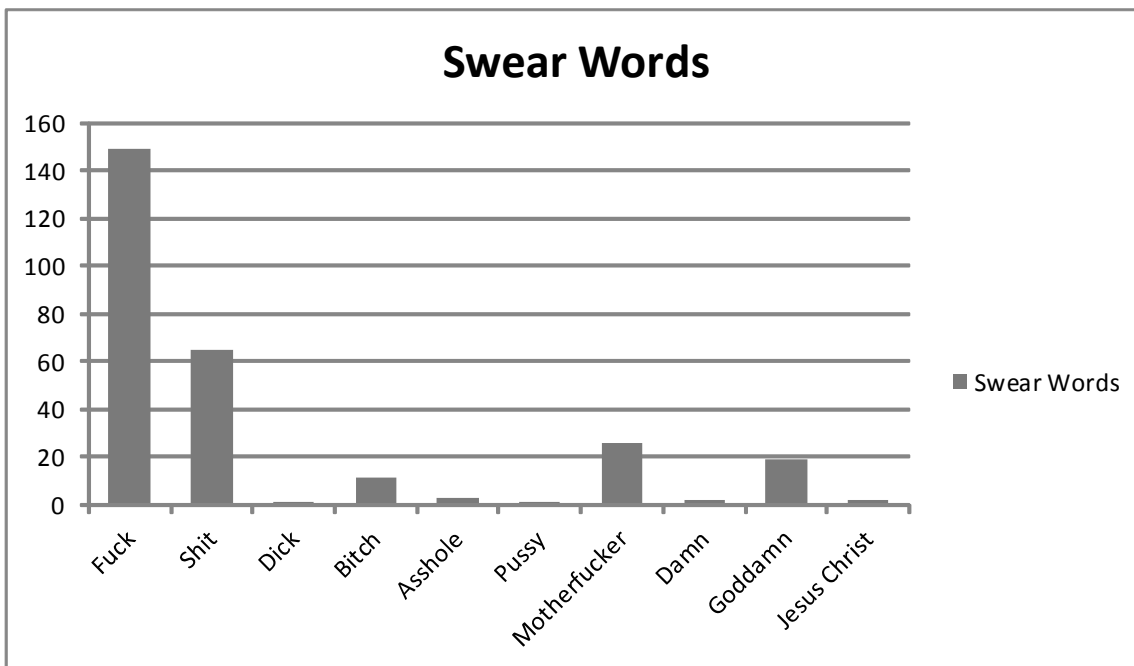


Figure 1. *The Various Swear Words in the Original Movie*

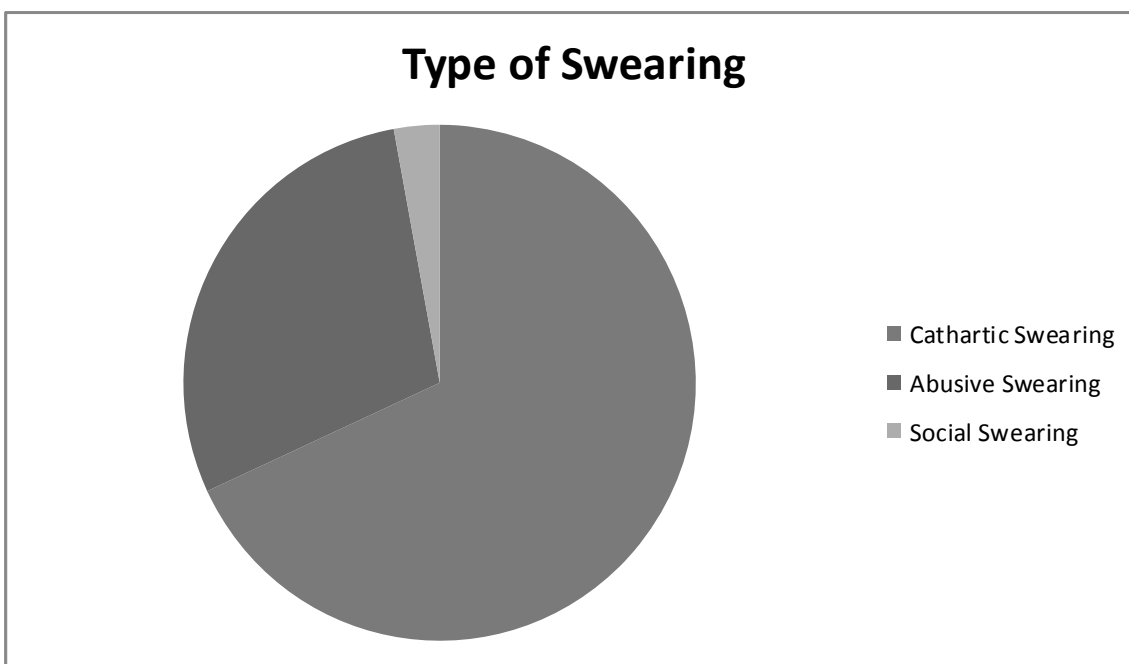


Figure 2. *The Categorization of Swearing in the Original Movie based on the Typology Proposed by Wajnryb (2005)*

After analyzing the original movie in regard to the number and variety of swearing, the dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions of the movie were analyzed in terms of translation strategies. Generally

speaking, three main strategies and one minor strategy were found in the both versions. The main strategies included direct translation of swearing with a strong force, direct translation of swearing with a

weak force, and omission. And as for the minor strategy, direct transfer (not translating) of swearing in fact foreignization was the only strategy. In this minor strategy which only happened in the non-professional subtitled version, some swear expressions were left untranslated, but they were not omitted. In other words, the viewers can see the English swear expressions on the screen, as they were directly transferred into the target SRT file.

In the dubbed version, as Table 3 shows, three main strategies were employed by the

dubbing producer among which omission was the most frequent one, and the foreignization strategy was not used. And about 28.32% of the swearing was translated directly with weak force while only 11.11% was rendered by strong force. It seemed that the dubbing producer tended to tone down the force of swearing in the final version.

For a better understating of the analysis, some examples from the original movie and its dubbed version were shown in Table 4.

Table 3. *The Main Strategies in the Dubbed Version*

Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Direct translation with strong force	31	11.11%
Direct translation with weak force	79	28.32%
Deletion	169	60.57%
Foreignization	0	0
Total	279	100%

Table 4. *Examples from the Dubbed Version*

	Original segment	Back-translated dubbed segment	Type of swearing	Translation strategy
1	I'm through doing that shit .	I'm through doing that task.	Cathartic swearing	Omission
2	... with a fucking magnum is his hands...	... with a fucking magnum is his hands...	Cathartic swearing	Direct translation with strong force
3	Goddamn , That's a pretty fucking good milkshake.	Wow, what a delicious thing!	Cathartic swearing + Social Swearing	Omission + Omission
4	That is exactly I'm going to tell this fucking asshole right now.	Now, I'm gonna say the exact thing to this silly person.	Abusive swearing	Direct translation with weak force

Table 5. *The Main Strategies in the Non-Professional Subtitled Version*

Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Direct translation with strong force	68	24.37%
Direct translation with weak force	18	6.45%
Deletion	184	65.95%
Foreignization	9	3.23%
Total	279	100

Table 6. *Examples from the Non-Professional Subtitled Version*

	Original segment	Back-translated subtitled segment	Type of swearing	Translation strategy
1	I'm through doing that shit .	I'm through doing that shit .	Cathartic swearing	Direct translation with strong force
2	... with a fucking magnum is his hands...	... with a magnum is his hands...	Cathartic swearing	Omission
3	Goddamn , That's a pretty fucking good milkshake.	Oh, it is delicious indeed!	Cathartic swearing + Social Swearing	Omission + Omission
4	That is exactly I'm going to tell this fucking asshole right now.	I'll say this to this faggot right now.	Abusive swearing	Direct translation with strong force

In the non-professional subtitled version, as Table 5 shows, four main strategies were employed by the non-professional subtitling producer among which the strategy of omission was the most frequent one. And about 24.37% of the swearing was translated directly with strong force while only 6.45% was rendered by weak force. More interestingly, 3.23% of the swearing

was directly transferred (not translating) into the TL as a foreignization strategy. It seemed that the non-professional subtitling producer tended to preserve more swearing with strong force.

For a better understating of the analysis, some examples from the original movie and non-professional subtitled version were shown in Table 6.

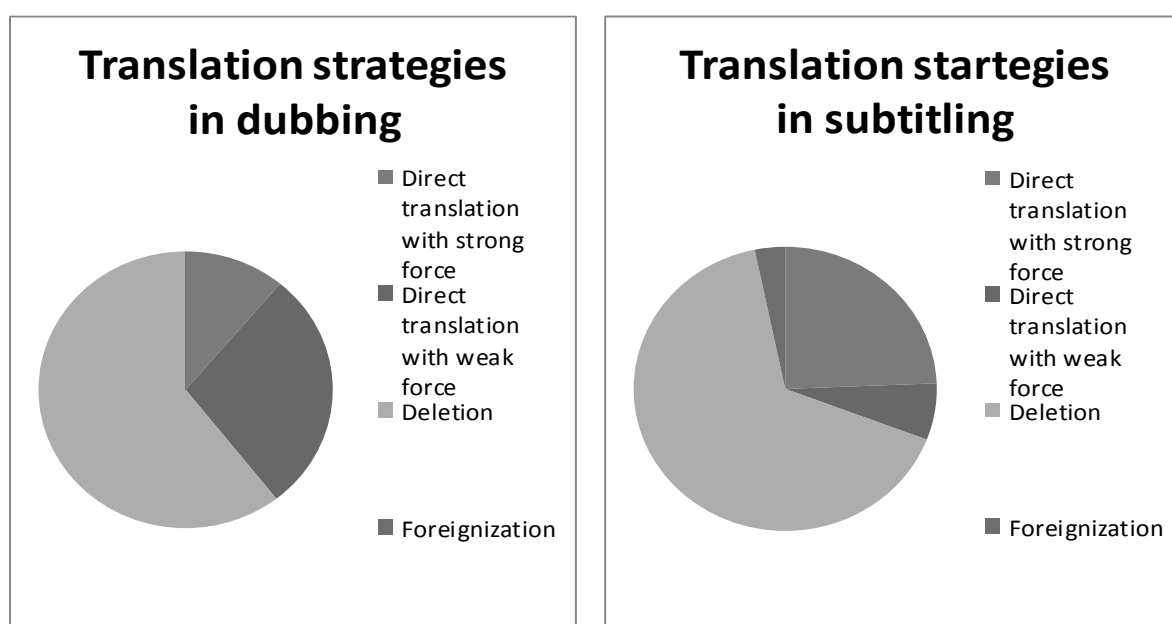


Figure 3. *The Main Strategies in the Dubbing and Non-Professional Subtitling*

Table 7. *Results of Chi-square Run for Translation Strategies between the Dubbed and Non-Professional Subtitled Versions*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	61.827 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	68.687	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.045	1	.832
N of Valid Cases	558		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.50.

As Figure 3 shows, the main strategy for both versions was omission though omission in the non-professional subtitling outnumbered omission in the dubbing. The non-professional subtitled version; however, had more swearing with strong force but the dubbing version had more swearing with weak force. Thus, it can be concluded that non-professional subtitling producer preferred to transfer the swearing in its strong force but

the dubbing producer tended to tone down the force and strength of swearing.

For an accurate understanding of the difference between the two translation modalities, the Chi-square test was run. As Table 7 shows, there was a significant difference between dubbed and non-professional subtitled versions in terms of swearing rendition since the p value was less than the level of significance (Chi-square= 61.827, df= 3, $p < 0.05$).

5. Discussion

Different types of norms namely; initial norms, preliminary norms, and operational norms are discussed (Toury, 1995, 2012a, 2012b). The scope of this study covers initial norms and operational norms though preliminary norms can, too, be discussed very narrowly.

With regards to preliminary norms, the directness of translation in both dubbing and non-professional subtitling was from English into Persian without the occurrence of any intermediate language. Regarding the translation policy, the reason for dubbing and subtitling of this movie was that the movie was directed by Quentin Tarantino— the well-known Hollywood director- and the movie was nominated for seven Oscars and was awarded for the best original screenplay, best supporting actor, best film, and best director.

As to the other norms, the findings of this study indicated that the dubbing producer tried to create an acceptable, target-oriented translation, due to the high number of omission, and more swear expressions were preferably translated with weak force. The dubbing producer did so in order to meet the expectations of the target society in terms of dubbing doctrines, or the Iranian AVT expectancy norms (Chesterman, 1997). To put it differently, “the foreign utterances are forced to conform to the domestic norms and frame of reference” (Danan, 1991, p. 612). Likewise, Agost (2004) asserts that in AVT, target texts (TT) have higher priorities over the source texts (ST). Generally speaking, the dubbing version was subject to the TL norms, because an acceptable translation occurred. Since, dubbing has a wider audience as the children can also watch it; thus, the dub producer was cautious about this issue.

As to the operational norms, Toury (1995, 2012a, 2012b) divides this type of norm into matricial norms and textual-

linguistic norms. Matricial norms refer to the completeness of TT; generally, the dubbing version was not complete in terms of the running time as the original movie's running time was 154 minutes but the dubbing version's was 135 minutes. Also the results showed that out of 279 swear words about 60.57% were omitted in the TT, thus unlike ST, the dubbing was not complete in terms of swearing. Textual-linguistic norms governing the stylistic features of TT can also be discussed. The results in the case of dubbing showed that about 28.32% of swearing was translated with weak force which showed that the style of the ST was changed as the ST swearing was much stronger than TT swearing. Furthermore, due to high cases of deletion, the TT style is not like the ST style anymore.

Broadly speaking, the Persian language does not accept interference from outside the country as cultures take up defensive stances (Hermans, 2013). Consequently, it is a must for official AV translators or producers to tone down the force and strength of swearing mainly due to the ideology imposed on them as to make dubbings best fit the target norms. The dubbing producer also followed accountability norms (Chesterman, 1997), as they were responsible for the product they had produced. They had to fulfill the determine purpose by the commissioners. The special purpose outlined by the commissioners might be reducing the amount swearing in the final production.

To sum up, the findings of this research demonstrated that professional AV translators in dubbing American movies into Persian would employ a target-oriented approach to their translation so as to meet the expectancy norms of the Iranian society by following the acceptable norms in Iran. That is, the translators generally tend to moderate the impolite force and the vulgar effect of the original swearing words in the

dubbed movies into Persian either by deleting the items or by suppressing them into swearing with weak force. In other words, the dubbing producer's cultural and ideological affiliations affected the translation (Tymoczko, 2003).

The results of our analysis of swearing in dubbing by professionals are in line with those of Pardo (2013) who found out that the dubbing translator or adaptor left the majority of swearing untranslated in the Spanish dubbed version; in other words, they were (self) censored in order to please the film distributors and audience. She then added that eliminating swear expressions in dubbing is “a betrayal of the original text which, as a result, does not reflect the writer’s intention or the characters’ personalities” (p. 131). The findings from this study can lend support to those of Mattsson (2006), Ghassempur (2009), Sharifi and Darchinian (2009), Tveit (2009), Ghazizadeh and Mardani (2011), Midjord (2013), Alavi et al. (2013), and Khoshsaligheh and Mardani (2014) in that the researchers concluded that deleting or censoring the taboo language was the key strategy. But, for Sedighi and Tabrizi (2012) euphemism was the leading strategy. In the case of non-professional subtitling the situation is more complex. Although more than half of the ST swearing (65.95%) was omitted in the TT, 24.37 % of swearing was rendered with its strong force, and just 6.57% of ST swearing was translated with weak force, also 3.93% of ST swearing was directly transferred into TT. This did not show that the non-professional subtitling producer preferred to create a more acceptable translation. But, it revealed that the non-professional subtitled version was more towards the ST norms, in fact, an adequate translation occurred. Both versions had some swearing with strong force. But, the non-professional subtitling producer literally translated items like *motherfucker*, *fuck you*, *shit*. But, the

dubbing producer reduced the profanity and obscenity of them though they were still strong and not considered as a euphemism in the TT. As, this strength was more felt in the non-professional subtitling. Consequently, it was crystal clear that the non-professional subtitled version was more subject to the original initial norms.

With regards to operational norms, like dubbing, the subtitled version was not complete in terms of matricial norms as 65.95% of ST swearing was disappeared in the non-professional subtitled version. And in terms of textual linguistic norms, the style of was ST was not preserved due to high number of deletions and several cases of translation with weak force. However, the non-professional subtitled version was more successful than the dubbed version at preserving the style of ST just because the non-professional subtitled version had more swearing with strong force than the dubbed version did. It supported the idea that the fansubbers did not follow the doctrines established in Iran in terms of translation.

We assume that the high number of omissions in dubbing can be related to censorship and synchrony techniques in dubbing. Since some of the swearing was probably omitted in order to preserve the synchrony in dubbing. In the non-professional subtitled version, we think that the censorship is pointless as the non-professional subtitling producer kept some very vulgar swearing in their final production. Moreover, non-professional subtitling is not checked by any official organizations in Iran; thus, no ideology is imposed on fansubbers, and they are produced and distributed illegally through the internet. As a result, the non-professional subtitling producer may not apply an institutional ideology though they may employ their personal ideology as being lived, and grown up in an Islamic country. Interestingly, Pérez-González (2014, p. 17) asserts, “Fansubbing ... seeks

to redress the shortage and cultural insensitivity of commercial translations” or in the words of O'Hagan (2014) “Fans wary of absence of, or delays in official translation as well as excessive editing and censorship applied to an official version” (slide. 5). Thus, because of such reasons, the non-professional subtitled version used more swearing with strong force, and produced a source-oriented translation which was an adequate translation. This also proved that the non-professional subtitling producer tried to follow very specific expectancy norms (Chesterman, 1997), as some Iranian viewers do not like censorship in foreign AV products.

But, the high number of deletion in swearing can be related to the synchrony (space and time constraints) in non-professional subtitling or because the non-professional subtitling producer was an amateur translator and could not deal with ST difficulties like swearing expressions. Consequently, he/she omitted them.

The results obtained from our analysis of swearing in the subtitling by fans confirmed the research results by Manchon (2013) who concluded that fansubs preserved more swearing in their final product than the professional subtitles did, adding that “the fansubs, however, seem to have a more literal approach to translation ..., which results in perhaps less creative solutions in general ..., but also more conservation of key features of the English original, such the overabundance of swearwords” (p. 66).

6. Conclusion

As a qualitative study, this research explored the translation of swear expressions in professional dubbing and non-professional subtitling of an American movie into Persian. Drawing on the cultural studies theoretical frameworks, the researchers found that a high number of swear expressions were omitted in both translation modalities. Swearing was toned

down in dubbing because dubbing was done by professionals who were affiliated with a formal, legal institution. It seemed that it was a requirement for the dubbing procurer to create a dubbing which follows the norms of Iranian society. Moreover, due to the high number of omissions, swearing was also toned down in the non-professional subtitling. But, the non-professional subtitle producer kept more swearing words with strong force. Because, non-professional subtitling was done by fansubbers on the internet, and internet activities were somewhat anonymous and were not strictly controlled. It seemed that the non-professional subtitling producer tended to follow the norms of ST rather than TT norms. On the whole, both versions altered the movie style since the original version favored a great amount of swear expressions. The non-professional subtitled version; however, was more successful than dubbing version at preserving the original style since the force of swear expressions in the non-professional subtitled version was much stronger than those in the dubbed version.

This study generated some important and interesting findings; however, some limitations of the present research cannot be overlooked. The findings of this study cannot be generalized to make any strong claims, and can be taken only as far as empirically-supported insights provided by an exploratory study, because the current research lacked a large enough corpus. Further research with a larger corpus will extend the generalizability of these findings. Another limitation of this study was its lack of non-random sampling technique which restrained the researchers to generalize their findings. Furthermore, future studies should include a wide variety of movie genres as this article only concentrated on the crime genre. Moreover, researchers from other language pairs are highly encouraged to invest more energy in

developing this theory. Ideally, future research into translation of swearing may concentrate on how ordinary and competent viewers can perceive swearing in AV products.

In the end, no need to say that from an applied point of view, the clear pattern of findings has significant theoretical and applied implications for both researchers and practitioners.

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