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AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION AND NARRATIVE (RE)FRAMING: MEMRI'S SUBTITLING OF MOROCCAN POLITICAL NARRATIVES

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Abstract

Though widely examined in film industry, Audio Visual Translation (AVT) of political discourse in the new media remains largely unexplored. This article tackles the audiovisual mode of translating Middle Eastern political narratives in North American digital media with a focus on Morocco. This paper's case study is the AVT of the online TV channel of the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI). The choice of this medium is motivated by the accusations of MEMRI for being partial and biased in its reporting about Middle Eastern narratives. The aim of this paper is to investigate the role that AVT's technical constraints can play in any possible distortions or (re)framings. My other aim is to go beyond the purely technical manipulation to identify any possible ideological manipulations at the textual and paratextual levels. This is because AVT is not only a textual translation but also a semiotic composite as cited by Diaz-Cintas (2012). At the meta-level, I will draw upon the narrative theory framework advanced by Baker (2006) to examine the overall contextual conditions surrounding the production and dissemination of those AVTs. I will analyze a limited corpus of four subtitled videos about Morocco extracted from MEMRI's official website.

Keywords: Audiovisual Translation, Ideology, MEMRI, Morocco, Narrative (Re)Framing, Subtitling.

1. Introduction

Audiovisual translation of official political discourse has always been prominent in traditional media. It had always served as the only medium for international political communication. What is new, however, is the outbreak of political 'activism's' translations at large scale on digital media. Hence, Middle Eastern political discourse has attracted the interest of some North American organizations willing to transmit the prevalent narratives in the region. The political turmoil in the Middle East and the terrorist attacks attributed to or claimed by Islamist groups have accentuated this interest in the discourse underlying this violent ideology. Therefore, these organizations specialized in the Middle East such as the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)¹ have started to circulate all modes of translations on their websites claiming to depict the ideology behind the violence of certain Islamic groups. MEMRI adopts the subtitling mode of translation on its online TV channel. Its translations, however, have been perceived by many as being (re)framed to serve an ideological agenda that demonizes the Middle Eastern communities in North America as well as in the rest of the world. In this regard, Baker (2010) asserts that MEMRI seeks to depict Arabs and Muslims in a negative way. This 'NGO' translates materials from diverse sources in the Arab world ranging from official national televisions to videos from the internet. Until recently, the main focus was on countries considered to be at the heart of the Middle Eastern conflicts. Morocco was rarely cited and very few clips existed on MEMRI TV channel. Before 2014, only 16 videos existed on their website knowing that MEMRI was founded in 1998 (MEMRI, about US page). However, 25 videos have been added during the last three years. One can speculate that the latest terrorist attacks in Europe, some of which were attributed to some Moroccans, may have turned their interest to this North African country.

With these considerations in mind, my main research question is: to what extent does MEMRI (re)frame translations of Moroccan narratives? If they do, can audiovisual technical constraints be the cause of such narrative (re)framing? If not, how is this (re)framing, if any, achieved at the textual and contextual levels?

This paper is mainly a response to a call by Diaz-Cintas (2012:283) to academics and scholars to "clear the *ideological smoke screen* that confounds the original message in an attempt to see the silver screen behind it" (emphasis added). In my attempt to answer the research questions, I will start by a micro-analysis of the subtitles by using Gottlieb's taxonomy (1992) combined with Díaz-Cintas's (2012) categorization of

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¹MEMRI's website is: <https://www.memri.org/tv>

manipulation to shed light on the technical and ideological manipulations. The latter will be supplemented by a larger macro-analysis drawn from Baker's narrative theory (2006). In what follows, I will give an overview of the literature about Audiovisual Translation, technical and ideological manipulation, and narrative (re)framing in the first section. In the second section, I will explain the features of narrativity and the notion of (re)framing. In the second part of the paper, I will present my analysis and discuss the findings; and finally, I will discuss the limitations of this study and lay some suggestions for future work.

2. Literature review

2.1. Audiovisual translation

Audiovisual translation (AVT) remains an emerging field of study in Translation Studies. Although subtitling, in particular, has been on board since 1929 (Gottlieb, 1992: 161), research on it has only accentuated with the digital revolution by the end of the twentieth century. Scholars in ATV have tackled an array of issues related to this topic, since then. Film subtitling and dubbing being the most targeted by research have given insights to the other newer modes such as live subtitling or respeaking (Delisle 2009), fansubbing (Diaz-Cintas & Munoz Sanchez 2006), and voice-over (Grigaravičiute & Gottlieb 2001).

Although one can hardly tell whether subtitling or dubbing is more common than the other at a global level, subtitling remains, generally, a more preferable mode. It is argued that educated people generally prefer subtitled original versions over dubbed ones (cf. Chaume, 2013; O'Connell, 2007). Discussing subtitled advertisements, Chaume (2013: 115) asserts that "it [...] allows, particularly, access to the connotations – positive in marketing terms – that each language and culture can evoke in other countries and communities". Danan (1991) states that subtitling is a foreignizing type of translation as it preserves the source language soundtrack (cited in O'Connell, 2007: 120). Also, subtitling is generally resorted to in political discourse to avoid skepticism about the authenticity of the footages and the accuracy of the translations (Cazdyn, 2010). Totalitarian regimes would mostly opt for dubbing as a means of censorship. As Schäffner (2007: 139) puts it: "[...] the decision to dub, rather than to provide subtitles, is a political decision, since dubbing prevents the audience from having access to the original text".

Subtitling, however, can be still subject to difficulties due to the technical constraints inherent in the polysemiotic nature of AVT. According to Chiaro (2009: 142), "Screen products are polysemiotic; in other words, they are made up of numerous codes that interact to produce a single effect". For Díaz-Cintas (2012: 281), Subtitling is a semiotic composite that is made up of the visual and the written components. It is also a "polymedial translation" in which "two parallel channels are used to convey the total message of the original" (Gottlieb, 1992: 162). According to Gottlieb (2005: 4), "Subtitling exemplifies diasemiotic translation of a polysemiotic text (with letters representing speech sounds)". By diasemiotic translation of a polysemiotic text, Gottlieb refers to the translation of content not only from one language to another using the same mode but transforming the mode from the spoken to the written mode. Thus, the complexity of the audiovisual content makes it hard to separate one component from the other.

The constraints inherent in this type of translation are of formal (quantitative) and textual (qualitative) nature, according to Gottlieb (1992: 164-165). By formal constraints, he refers to the space and time variables. He asserts however that the space factor is no longer a problem nowadays with the possibility of inserting up to 70 characters per line. The reading speed nevertheless (5-6 seconds to read two lines) remains a hurdle. As for textual constraints, he alludes to the correspondence of the subtitles with the "dynamic visual features" on the screen (ibid.: 165). Faced with these constraints, the translator's strive for adequacy is not always easy to achieve (ibid.: 166). Hence, the translator resorts to many techniques and strategies to overcome the cited difficulties. This is what Diaz-Cintas (2012) refers to as technical manipulation.

Antonini (2005) identifies three main strategies used by subtitlers to overcome the above-mentioned constraints. These are mainly elimination, rendering and simplification (cited in Chiaro, 2009: 148). Gottlieb (1992), on the other hand, advances a classification of strategies used in film subtitling. He classifies the shifts into the following categories:

- Expansion is resorted to in order to explain culture-specific references mainly. Adequacy is sought here, rather than equivalence.
- Paraphrase refers to the alteration of expressions and phrases that are language-specific phenomena.
- Transfer refers to the 'accurate' translation of items in the source text.
- Imitation maintains the same forms, and it is typically used with names of people and places.
- Transcription is resorted to by translators to render anomalous expressions in the source text.
- Dislocation is adopted when the original employs some sort of special effects, like a silly song in a cartoon film, where the translation of the effect is the most important.
- Condensation means a concise rendering of the original expression.
- Decimation is adopted when important content is reduced because of factors related to fast speech.

- Deletion refers to the complete omission of less important items because of fast speech.
- Resignation refers to the 'untranslatable' lost items.

2.2 Technical and ideological manipulation in AVT

2.2.1 Technical manipulation

Technical manipulation generally refers to the skills of overcoming formal (quantitative) and textual (qualitative) constraints in AVT. According to Diaz Cintas (2012: 284), "technical manipulation can be appropriately used in AVT to refer to those instances where changes and modifications to the original text are incorporated because of technical considerations". Hence, the strategies advanced by Gottlieb (1992) are purely technical manipulations. For example, the two lines constraint, with around 70 characters that can be displayed, had been a little restrictive. As this space constraint is being overcome nowadays, there remains the reading speed of the audience that should be catered to, however. There should be four to six seconds for two lines to be read comfortably (Linde & Kay 1999, cited in Chiaro, 2009, p. 149). Also, the transformation of spoken language into the written mode in subtitling imposes the necessity of standardizing the language and the elimination of some elements inherent in spoken mode like hesitations, repetitions, or false starts (Chiaro, 2009). It is assumed that condensation, being one of the main techniques used in subtitling to overcome these constraints, does not imply semantic loss, according to Gottlieb (1992). All what is lost is redundant elements typical of spoken language as is the case in interviews. He adds that "even with planned discourse [...] much of the reduction necessitated by the formal constraints of subtitling is created automatically, due to the diagonal nature of this type of translation" (ibid.: 167). For Diaz-Cintas (2012), these strategies should not, in any way, justify any distortion or deformation of the original meanings. Instead, translators have to handle them with great skills to keep the stylistic and semantic properties of the source text. Unfortunately though, under the guise of technical manipulations, some translators and other stakeholders involved in the AVT process deviate from the original text's content for censorship and other ideological agendas (Diaz-Cintas, 2012).

2.2.2. Ideological manipulation

According to Diaz-Cintas (2012), one of the paradoxes of AVT field is its "lack of focus on the cultural angle" (p.281). Most scholars focus mainly on its mechanics and the pure technical study with very little interest in the larger socio-cultural and political contexts in which AVTs are embedded (Diaz-Cintas, 2012); hence Diaz Cintas's (2012) call for an openness to other areas in the discipline especially Descriptive Translation Studies and the cultural turn. He (2012) refers to the seminal work of Baker (2006) as one of the important contributions to the discussion of translation, power, conflict, ethics and agency in the "turbulent" world of today.

Audiovisual productions, according to him, are a fertile site for representations and stereotypes (Diaz-Cintas, 2012: 281-282):

As a site of discursive practice, audiovisual media and its translation play a special role in the articulation of cultural concepts such as *femininity*, *masculinity*, *race*, and *Otherness*, among others. It can contribute greatly to perpetuating certain racial stereotypes, framing ethnic and gender prejudices, and presenting viewers without-dated role models and concepts of *good* and *bad* seen as rigid, diametrically opposed.

Diaz's call on openness to the study of the ideological implications of AVT remains largely unheard when it comes to political discourse's subtitling. Nevertheless, the translation of political discourse has been widely explored in Translation Studies, at large (cf. Mason & Hatim, 1990/1997; Munday, 2007/2008/2012; Baker, 2006/2008/2010; Schäffner, 2007; Schäffner & Bassnett 2010).

In the context of media and politics, Schäffner and Bassnett (2010: 8) state that translated media discourse is often recontextualized and transformed to adhere to institutional policies and ideologies of certain groups in the target culture. Schäffner (2007: 146) asserts that "translations, as products, are thus used as tools for political action, i.e. they are politicized". In a similar vein, Loupaki (2010: 55-75) suggests that the translation strategies adopted can reinforce the ideological conflict, remove it or give rise to a new conflict in the target text. She also argues that translators often comply with the set of beliefs of the institutions they work for. Rafael (2010: 386) goes even a step further by affirming that:

translation is also a medium for hearing as well as overhearing what others say even if they did not mean to say it. It is in this sense a kind of instrument of surveillance with which to track and magnify the alienness of alien speech, decoding dangers, containing threats, and planning for interventions. Rather than dwell in the hospitality of the other, translation in this latter sense is unfaithful to the original, seeking to put the other in its putative place, apart from the self"

Baker (2006), favouring engagement and affiliation in translation, calls for more activism against dominance and hegemony. Drawing on narrative theory and social movements, she presents the central notions of narrativity and narrative (re)framing in translation (2006, 2007, 2010). By this, she analyses the ways in which translators and other agents involved in the process of translation "accentuate, undermine or

modify aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance, and in so doing participate in shaping social reality” (2006: 5). (Re)framing can be achieved through textual shifts but especially through para-textual elements. Here, I give a brief overview of the main features of narrativity, namely selective appropriation, causal emplotment, temporality and relationality.

Selective appropriation is the criteria by which a narrative is represented through selection of some elements and not others with the aim of representing a coherent story, which is in fact only a partial representation of reality. As in the media discourse in general, Baker (2006) asserts that translators play an important role in deliberate waving of narratives by some organizations that tend to represent the “Other” in a negative way. In this regard, she affirms that “selecting and in some cases ‘inventing’ texts that help elaborate a particular narrative of an ‘enemy’ culture, then, is a well-documented practice that often relies heavily on the services of translators and interpreters” (ibid.: 75). Baker (2010: 352) argues that textual elements are not always the main area of (re)framing but can even be very accurate. Instead, other selective criteria are at play as she argues here:

Selective appropriation is particularly important [...] where the choice of whose voice, which texts and which extracts from these texts are translated and made to ‘represent’ the values and ethos of the communities in question, is as important as the accuracy with which the selections are rendered into English and other languages.

As for *causal emplotment*, the second feature of narrativity, it refers mainly to the interpretation of events. It is through the explanation of events that they become significant and intelligible and thus enable people to form opinions about them. It is the relationship between events rather than the events themselves that are the most important (Baker, 2006, Somers, 1997). Translation is a site where “patterns of causal emplotment can be changed by attributing different weights to events” (Baker, 2006: 69).

The third feature of narrativity, namely *temporality*, refers to the narrator’s sequencing of events to convey the desired meaning. Elements of a narrative are not always sequenced in a chronological order but in a ‘meaningful order’. Thus, “the set of events, relationships and protagonists that constitute any narrative [...] has to be embedded in a sequential context and in a specific temporal and special configuration that renders them intelligible” (Baker, 2006: 51).

As for the feature of *relationality*, it implies that isolated events can make sense only when they are related to each other in an overall narrative. According to Baker (2006: 61), “relationality has direct implications on translation and interpreting [...] the relationality of narratives cannot allow such straight forward importation of ‘parts’ from other narratives”.

As already mentioned before, the notion of *narrative (re)framing* is central in Baker’s model (2006). She uses it as a complementary analytical tool “to explore how the above features of narrativity may be renegotiated to produce a politically charged narrative in the target context” (ibid.: 105). Like the frames of pictures, they serve as guiding devices for the reception of texts and narratives at large.

3. Data and model of analysis

In what follows, I will analyze four video clips taken from MEMRI’s section devoted to Morocco. The choice of the videos is random; I chose the three most “featured clips” plus the top one in the “newest clips” on MEMRI TV. The videos appear on MEMRI as follows:

1. **King of Morocco, Mohammed VI:** Can Anyone of Sound Mind Believe that the Reward for Jihad Could Be Some Virgins in Paradise?
2. Moroccan Journalist Mokhtar **Laghzioui** Supports Sex out of Wedlock; Moroccan Cleric Abdallah **Nhari** Sanctions His Killing.
3. Moroccan Islamist Preacher, Hassan **Kettani:** Brussels Bombings Result From West's Support Of Shi'ites Against Sunnis, Muslims' Sense Of Injustice.
4. French-Moroccan Imam, Rachid **Birbach** Criticizes Hamas: It Uses Palestinians as Human Shields.

The model of analysis I adopt can be summarized as follows:

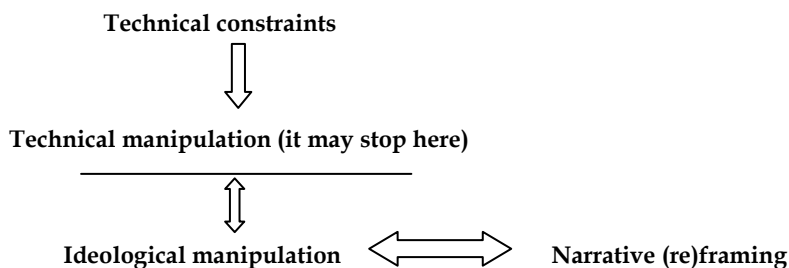


Figure 1. Model of analysis

This proposed model will ultimately integrate three components. The first step of analysis will be mainly technical. A general statistical overview of the material will be provided, followed by a technical analysis of possible shifts following Gottlieb's taxonomy (1992) combined with Diaz-Cintas's insights regarding technical manipulation and its possible resulting in ideological manipulation. As shown in figure 1, the technical manipulation (due to technical constraints) can be without any ideological implications, at times. At many other instances, however, ideological manipulation can be at the core of AVT and thereby, another layer of analysis should be added. Thereby, the import of narrative (re)framing framework can be valuable in trying to link the textual and paratextual shifts with their socio-political context and agendas.

4. Applying the framework

4.1 Technical analysis

The first most striking observation in this corpus is the length of the target texts (TTs). As illustrated in figure 2, these are 17% longer than the source texts (STs).

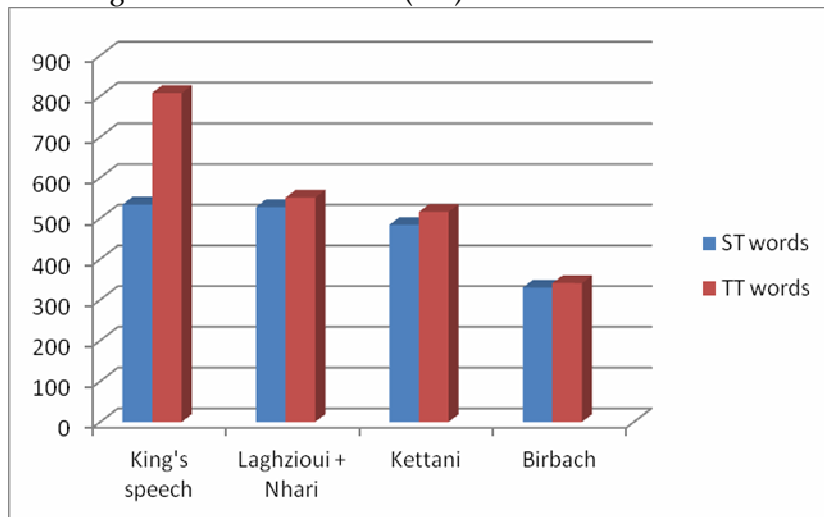


Figure 2. The number of words in the four STs and TTs

As most subtitling would result in shorter texts than the STs, this is a very surprising finding. A simplistic or hasty conclusion might attribute this to the strategy of expansion of culture-specific elements. A deep scrutiny of the content of translations, however, demonstrates that MEMRI's translation overall consistent strategy is the preservation of those culture-specific elements and especially, religious signifiers as Holt (2004) calls them, like Allah [god], Jihad [fight or struggle], Ulema [Islamic scholars], Allah Akbar [god is great] and Hijab [headscarf]. The foreignness of meta-signifiers is constantly kept in the TTs

Applying Gottlieb's taxonomy, the transfer technique is identified at the top of the main strategies used by the subtitlers for adequate rendering of the source texts. Condensation, mostly used in film subtitling, is the second most used strategy. Expansion came in third position. The following figure illustrates the different strategies applied:

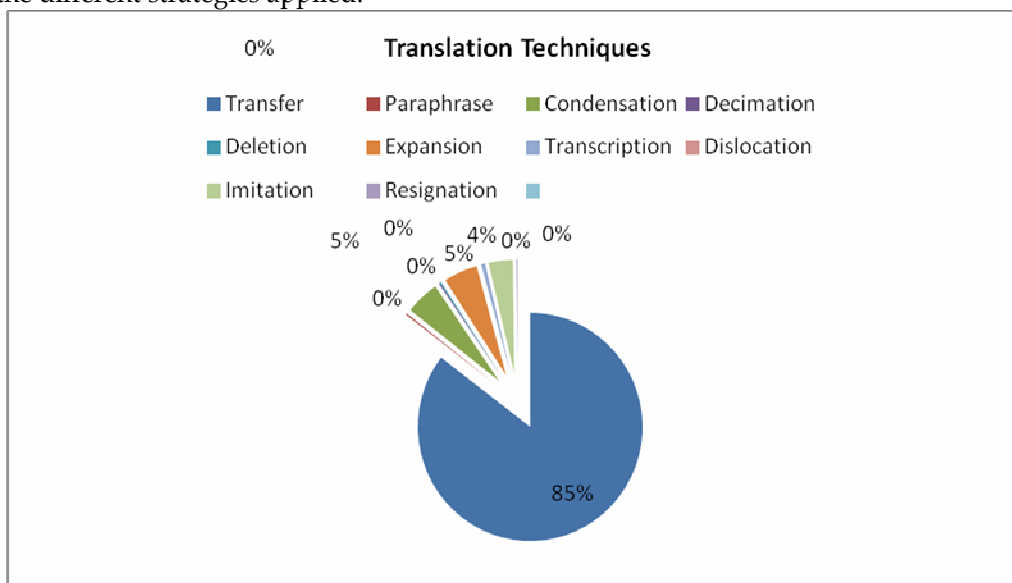


Figure 3. The distribution of the translation techniques adopted in MEMRI's subtitling

All in all, the semantic loads are retained with almost no loss at all. The only exception is the deletion of some redundant oral items like hesitations, repetitions especially in interviews (2, 3, and 4). Also the inter-semiotic nature of the translation necessitated some condensations due to the move from oral informal style in some texts into formal written texts in English. However, this varies depending on text genre. For example, the king's speech to the nation does not suffer any deletions as it is a formal discourse written in classical Arabic. On the other hand, some formal shifts are identified in the interviews as there is a move from an oral discourse to formal written transcriptions of those interviews. This indicates the deletion of repetitions, hesitations, tone, intonations; all important factors in conveying the pragmatic load and force. Also, interruptions, characteristics of interviews and the mixture of classical Arabic and Moroccan dialect were all effaced in the translations, without affecting the overall meaning of texts, however.

The argument that the use of the expansion strategy is the only factor that resulted in the TT's length is not valid. Instead, it is the addition of some grammatical devices, not present in the Arabic language that resulted in longer texts in English.

4.2. Narrative (re)framing

It is clear that the technical constraints have little effects, if any, on the overall meanings of the TTs. Thus, very little evidence of ideological manipulation resulting from technical manipulation is found. However, two important textual shifts are worth mentioning here. In the following Quranic verse that the king cites in his speech, a major deviation is identified:

إن الإسلام دين السلام، يقول تعالى : "يا أيها الذين آمنوا ادخلوا في السلم كافة".

ST Backtranslation: *Islam is a religion of peace, God says: "Oh you who believe, enter peace one and all".*

TT: *Islam is a religion of peace, Allah said: "Oh you who believe, enter Islam one and all".*

The translation of the word 'peace' to 'Islam' is easily identifiable in the example. The motivation of this striking intervention is unclear. Some might speculate that MEMRI is trying to frame Muslims here as 'conquering' people who want to convert everyone around the world to their religion. Another speculation is that a non-native speaker may have mistranslated this term due to a fast pronunciation of the king and the similarity of the two words as they have similar sounds. Islam and peace have the same root in Arabic: S-L-M.

The second deviation is the tense shift from present to past when the king cites the verse from the Quran. He starts the quote by Allah [god] says (in the simple present), probably to give the "word of god" the eternity it claims to bear, whereas the subtitler uses the reporting verb "say" in its past form. Two possible interpretations can be given to this shift. The first explanation is purely grammatical as reporting verbs mostly take their past form in English as they are reporting past quotes. The other interpretation is that those Quranic verses are presumably no longer valid in the present modern world. A clear-cut explanation would be a mere risk, though.

Although the textual shifts make it hard to draw any accurate conclusions, paratextual and contextual analyses can reveal interesting findings. As for *selective appropriation* strategy, it is exercised at two levels by MEMRI. From the limited corpus we analyzed, there is a judicious selection of extreme or rare speeches, and not mainstream everyday speeches that circulate in the Moroccan media and reach the majority of people. An example of extreme and unreachable speeches is Kettani's (Islamist preacher) interview. The other category of rare but reachable speeches are the king's speech, French-Moroccan Imam [preacher] on France 24 TV about the responsibility of Hamas on terrorism, and Laghzioui's interview on freedom of sexuality. Though widely circulated and easily reachable, these opinions are still rare. Therefore, one can conclude that MEMRI does not look for 'representative' discourses of the mainstream culture or politics, but mainly 'controversial' religious discourses. From a textual analysis of this small corpus, the five most frequent words are: Muslims, people, Allah, extremism, Islam. Thus, one can conclude that MEMRI's narrative about Morocco is a religious based narrative. The second type of selective appropriation is the cutting of well selected excerpts to (re)frame the narrative and thus guide its audience's reception. As already shown, out of 112 minutes in the four videos, only 18 minutes were selected and presented, as is clear in figure 4.

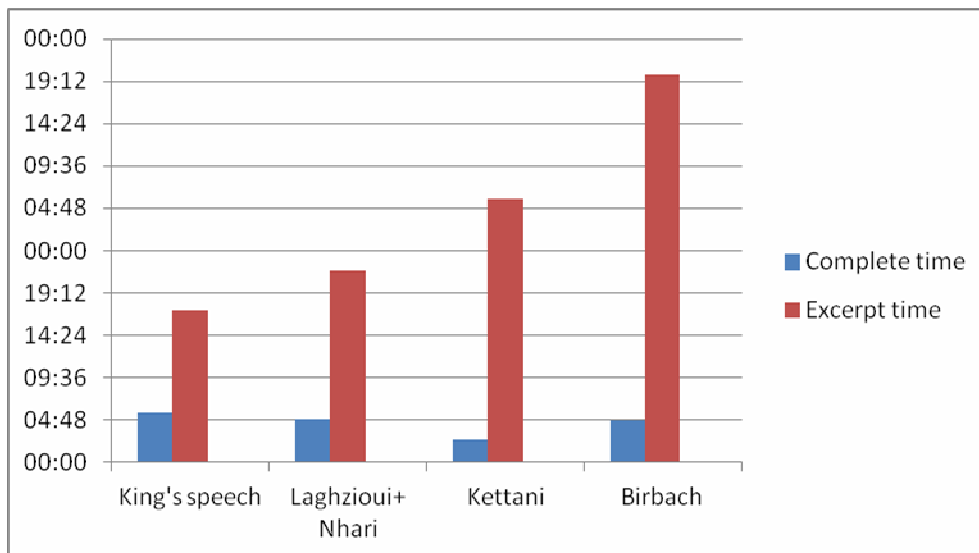


Figure 4. The time of the excerpts compared to the complete time of the whole original texts

The selected segments are well-chosen to serve the frames put in the introductions. Every clip has a guiding introduction that (re)frames the narrative. For example, an analysis of the introduction to the king's speech reveals the selectivity adopted in (re)framing the narrative to serve as a guiding device:

In an address directed toward Moroccans living abroad, Mohammed VI, the King of Morocco, said that they should "always be among the first to defend peace, harmony, and coexistence in their countries of residence." Calling the killing of a priest in his church "unforgivable," Mohammed VI said that the Jihadists are "led by ignorance" and are "destined to dwell in Hell for all eternity." "Can anyone of sound mind believe that the reward for Jihad could be some virgins in Paradise?" he asked in the address, which was broadcast by Morocco's Channel 1 on August 20.

(MEMRI's introduction of the speech of the king of Morocco, August 20, 2016)

In the complete speech, the king is not addressing only Moroccans living abroad but a myriad of issues ranging from African relations to South-South cooperation to the celebration of a national day. The issue of Jihadism is only 543 words out of 1652 words for the entire speech; which is only 30%. The introduction above, however, gives the audience the impression that the speech is exclusively about the problems of Jihadism.

Another feature of narrativity resorted to by MEMRI is *causal emplotment*. In the example of Laghzioui, the Moroccan secular journalist supporting sex out of wedlock, they include another clip with it of an extremist cleric reacting to the journalist's view and sanctioning his killing. This strategy 'helps' or guides the audience's interpretation of the first event (Laghzioui's opinion) as a rare opinion that can cause someone his life in a country like Morocco. Without the cleric's clip, the journalist's view about sexual freedom would be just a normal opinion to a Western audience, but what gives it its weight and importance is the 'culture of killing prevalent among religious clerics'. The overall frame, one can assume, is the scarcity of emancipating views and the dominant power of the religious institutions in Morocco. *Relationality* is at play here as well. The Laghzioui's narrative makes more sense to the audience when related to its opposite (the cleric's narrative).

Temporality is another feature of narrativity that MEMRI uses to (re)frame the Moroccan narratives. For example, the posting time of Kettani's interview (the Islamist preacher) right after the bloody attacks of Brussels makes the narrative intelligible and coherent for the intended audience. The shocking attacks are still fresh in the viewers' minds. So, temporal configuration is important here to transmit the desired meanings to the viewers.

One may conclude that these narrativity features overlap and more than one can be at play in the same translation. For example, for Kettani's speech, in addition to its important timing of diffusion by MEMRI right after the terrorist attacks of Brussels (temporality), the elements of relationality and selective appropriation are also at play. A well selected segment is subtitled and diffused and is judiciously related to the bombings of Europe.

5. Conclusions and ideas for future work

MEMRI's overall 'accurate' translations clearly demonstrate that technical constraints are of little importance and do not lead to major textual shifts in the AVT of Moroccan political discourse. This finding is in contrast with some other studies' findings about major textual interventions and ideological manipulations in film subtitling under the guise of technical constraints. In our case, the very few but major

textual deviations that are identified as is the case of rendering 'peace' to 'Islam' are not due to any technical interventions similar to the ones used in film subtitling (Gottlieb, 1992). Most areas of narrative (re)framing however are identified at the paratextual level with the annexing of introductions to the videos to guide the audience's reception. Also, the features of narrativity, namely selective appropriation, relationality, temporality and causal emplotment are resorted to in (re)framing the Moroccan political narratives. The judicious selection of specific sections of specific audiovisual materials, the timing of the release of those videos (causal emplotment), the inclusion of two videos to give specific partial context as is the case of the combination of the secular activist Laghzioui and the Islamist cleric Nhari, all play an important role in decontextualizing the videos and recontextualizing them in the new target culture.

Despite these preliminary insights provided by the current study, it will be hard to make any clear cut conclusions or broader generalizations about MEMRI's overall strategies regarding the AVTs of Middle Eastern narratives. It is even harder to generalize these insights to AVT of political discourse by digital media in general. More research with larger corpora including discourses from different Middle Eastern countries can reveal the exact tendencies of MEMRI. Also, to draw generalizable and replicable deductions about all digital media translations of political narratives requires a study of many media outlets active in the digital world.

In addition, techniques and shifts vary depending on the subgenres of political discourses. Shifts in interviews' translations are very different from formal speeches like the Moroccan king's; therefore, the difficulty to make any generalizations about shifts in digital media translations of political narratives. It might be more plausible to study each subgenre separately. Also, the techniques used by MEMRI for each subgenre cannot be generalized to other institutions and digital media outlets. It is also not safe to make any conclusions regarding the impact of those textual and generic shifts on the overall translations. That being said, the narrative (re)framing at the meta-level (paratextual and contextual) do not seem to be subgenre-bound but applied in the same way to all genres or subgenres.

Another important drawn conclusion is that at least current established media like MEMRI use somewhat different techniques than the ones used in film subtitling; hence, the need to study political narratives' subtitling as a separate research area from other types of AVT. This should be done by going beyond mere textual analysis of subtitles to examine the larger frames of the screen in which subtitles are presented, including introductions to videos, the cuts from the originals, and the narratives' decontextualizations and recontextualizations. In other words, their diffusion and dissemination contexts both in the source and the target cultures should be taken into account in any study.

A further related research than can shed light on the repercussions of narrative(re)framings such as the ones of MEMRI and similar media outlets using digital media to propagate their productions would be the audience's reception of such narratives. The viewers' reactions to them on social media where these AVT are shared and commented on would be very revealing of the impact of these narratives. The reception of controversial translations of the new media that involve ideology and power relations remains a fertile field for future research.

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