It's A Small World: Translating Cultural Otherness in Disney's Classics

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Abstract

Drawing on theories from Animation Studies, Translation Studies, Cultural Studies, and Audiovisual Translation Studies, this thesis presents nine case studies of the cultural portrayals in source text versions and the German and French-language dubs of a selection of Disney animated classics and their live-action remakes. Han's (2022) understanding of hyperculture is incorporated into the analysis of cultural representation in Disney films and their translations. This thesis provides an overview of the translation strategies for Disney's culture-specific references, foreign language, accent, and dialect, examining to what extent and in which ways these cultural representations are mediated for international audiences, contributing to understandings of the negotiation of cultural identities through mass media. It becomes clear that the dubs often engage in domesticating processes for source and target culture references, while their portrayals of third cultures rarely differ from those in the source texts. Frequently the Québécois dubs present audiences with portrayals that closely follow those in the ST, whereas the French and German dubs make considerably more modifications to culture-specific references. Completed years after the animated films' releases, Disney's live-action remakes provide us with a telling insight into the Studio's changing approaches to cultural representation following widespread social movements such as Black Lives Matter. Growing awareness and shifts in values impact Disney's screen products with further implications for wider society.

Key words: animation, audiovisual translation, culture-specific references, Disney, dubbing, hyperculture

Declarations

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.
Signed .....Seren Walters..... (candidate)
Date .....30 September 2025.....

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s).
Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.
Signed .....Seren Walters..... (candidate)
Date .....30 September 2025.....

Contents

Acknowledgements

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List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

AAE – African American English

AVT – Audiovisual Translation

BT – Back Translation (Note: all back translations featured in this thesis are the author's own back translations)

CSR – Culture-Specific Reference

SC – Source Culture

SL – Source Language

ST – Source Text

TC – Target Culture

TL – Target Language

TT – Target Text

Chapter One: Introduction and Theoretical Framework

Visitors to Disneyland Paris queue up for the old mill-style boat ride It's A Small World, which promises to be "the happiest cruise that ever sailed" (Disneyland Paris, 2025). Once they are settled in the boats, the visitors are transported into a dark tunnel which opens out into a swarming sensory onslaught of colour, song, and dancing animatronic dolls. An adapted version of the song 'It's a Small World' (Debney, 1992) plays for the entirety of the ride and includes lyrics sung in French, German, Spanish, and Italian. The ride is divided into distinct areas, each representing various regions around the globe. The boats sail slowly past scenes of shamrocks and leprechauns under a large rainbow, thistles, bagpipes, and an imposing Loch Ness Monster, before travelling under a representation of London's Tower Bridge, guarded by two dolls dressed in the uniform of the Tower of London's Yeoman Warders. A replica of Big Ben looms behind with its clock hands spinning wildly. Past the bridge, a troupe of dolls in frilly skirts perform the cancan in front of a replica of the Eiffel Tower. Further on, visitors see a large windmill, followed by two dolls dancing the flamenco, and another standing in a gondola-style vessel. Behind it stand garish replicas of the Tower of Pisa and the Colosseum. As the boats sail past a section of dolls playing an accordion and a French horn, yodelling can be heard on the soundtrack accompanying the ride. Leaving this portrait of Europe behind, visitors are then greeted by dolls dressed in kimonos decorated with cherry blossoms, while an animatronic panda sits opposite. Further on, a replica of the Taj Mahal appears with lines of animatronic dolls dressed in saris, before giving way to an area featuring a flying carpet, piles of dishes and pottery, and a magic genie. At this point the soundtrack incorporates musical motifs intended to signify a Middle Eastern setting. Dolls with veils over their faces resembling the niqab tap tambourines while another doll, dressed in white robes similar to those that may have been worn in Ancient Egypt swishes a large fan. The next section features animatronic hippos, giraffes, zebras and rhinos, while monkeys hang from wires overhead and dolls beat drums. Further still, dolls wearing grass skirts and lei perform a hula dance before the boats move through to an area with animatronic llamas and a replica of an Aztec temple. Behind these, dolls wearing sombreros dance above a cactus strumming a guitar. This gives way to a small group of dolls wearing native American headdresses, opposite

which other dolls appear to skate on ice, wielding hockey sticks while a moose watches on. As the ride draws to a close, visitors see a yellow cab on the Golden Gate bridge in front of a replica of the Hollywood sign. The final section of the ride compiles dolls from each of the previous sections, except this time they are all dressed in white versions of their costumes, and the previous kaleidoscope of colour for their settings is daubed in a glittering whitewash. In the ride, each and every culture is represented using a limited selection of signifiers, be it iconic monuments, styles of dress, or even species of endemic fauna. These finite icons may be intended as inclusive denotations of a wide variety of cultures, however, they present park visitors with a greatly simplified portrayal of cultural diversity. Daniel Goldmark and Utz McKnight (2008) state that the ride "only engages with the various races and ethnicities on the most superficial level, as crude stereotypical representations" (p. 104). The ride was first unveiled in the Pepsi Pavilion at the 1964 World's Fair as a tribute to UNICEF, before being installed at Walt Disney World, Florida in 1966. Subsequent installations of It's A Small World are included in Disneyland California, Tokyo Disneyland, Disneyland Paris, and Hong Kong Disneyland. As Katherine Baber and James Spickard (2015) note, the ride employs elements of "both European nationalism and its flip-side, exoticism, to depict other cultures" (p. 234). The animatronic dolls wear "faux-traditional folk costumes, which play to a specific American cultural attitude about the relationship between America and the rest of the world (Baber & Spickard, 2015, p. 227). The ethnocentric approach to stereotyped cultural representation illustrated in the theme park ride It's A Small World also extends to Disney's other products, more specifically the studio's cinematic outputs.

American author Philip K Dick (1978/2024), himself preoccupied with Disneyland California, writes in his essay *How to Build a Universe that Doesn't Fall Apart Two Days Later* that "unceasingly we are bombarded with pseudo-realities manufactured by very sophisticated people using very sophisticated electronic mechanisms" (p. 36). In other words, modern culture creates fabrications of reality to feed back to consumers, as exemplified by the above description of It's A Small World and Disney's animated and live-action feature films. Disney has included many depictions of various cultures in the animated films that have been released over the decades. As audiovisual texts and products of mass communication, Disney's animated feature films occupy a significant place around

the world, being translated into over 40 languages. As animated texts they raise questions of representation, realism, and ideology. Their targeting of young audiences also raises questions of which attitudes and values are being communicated to children and how. Furthermore, the films' crossing of linguistic, geographical, and cultural borders brings into question the extent to which representations of culture and cultural difference are adapted in the foreign language dubbed versions. The main lines of inquiry in this research are the translation of references to mainstream US culture, references to the target cultures (TC), i.e., French and German culture, and references to further cultures outside of the translation pair, such as Middle Eastern cultures or Othered cultures within the USA, i.e., Black, Latino, and Native American cultures. This research seeks to answer the following questions:

1) How are cultures and cultural difference depicted in the original versions of Disney films?
2) What, if any, mechanisms are employed to reproduce cultural Otherness within the French and German dubbed target texts (TT)?
3) How do TCs translate references to their own cultures?
4) As the Disney Studio revisits many of its animated classics through live-action remakes, how are cultures depicted in both the STs and TTs given cultural shifts in values and attitudes towards representation on screen?

What follows in the current chapter consists of a detailed review of published literature from the five main areas which inform this research: Cultural Studies, Translation Studies, Film Studies, Animation Studies, and Disney research. An overview of the project's research design is then provided. Chapter Two tackles Disney's own brand of Orientalism exhibited in *Aladdin* (dirs., Musker & Clements, 1992) and *Mulan* (dirs., Cook & Bancroft, 1998). Turning the lens back on the source culture, Chapter Three analyses the portrayals of US culture(s) in the animations *Hercules* (dirs., Musker & Clements, 1997) and *The Princess and the Frog* (dirs., Musker and Clements, 2009). Chapter Four examines the depiction of France and French culture within the animated films *Beauty and the Beast* (dirs., Trousdale & Wise, 1991) and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (dirs., Trousdale & Wise, 1996). Finally, Chapter Five compares the evolving depictions of culture in three

more recent live-action adaptations: *Beauty and the Beast* (dir., Condon, 2017), *Aladdin* (dir. Ritchie, 2019), and *Mulan* (dir. Caro, 2020).

1.1 Literature Review

First, it is essential to discuss the formation of culture, as well as its presentation within literary texts and subsequent adaptation within translated texts. Thereafter, it is vital to establish where Disney animation stands in relation to US cinema and how this influences the styles of representation featured in Disney's animated feature films. A comparison of Disney's approaches to representing US and other cultures with the modes of representation in classic Hollywood cinema can provide greater insight into the traditions within which these depictions operate. Owing to the popularity and long-term success enjoyed by the Disney company, its animated feature films have prompted much discussion in wider society and academic communities of the values and ideologies it promotes. Therefore, a comprehensive review of the published literature on Disney's representation of race and Othered cultures is required in order to determine how these cultures are typically presented in the company's animated films. This is followed by a review of the particular constraints of dubbing as a form of Audiovisual Translation (AVT). Since culture-specific references (CSRs), accent, and foreign language constitute the main modes of depicting culture on screen, specific focus is paid to the translation strategies commonly employed to render these markers of cultural identity. Once the nature and functions of Disney's representations have been established, their translation into the French and German dubs can be examined. Some scholars have already explored the translation of cultural Otherness in Disney animated feature films. However, they do not consider the translation of TC references into the target language (TL), which is one of the central issues of this research. The key theories and approaches suggested in the literature form the basis of the analysis carried out in this research.

1.1.1 The Place of Culture

Before delving into approaches from TS, it is vital to establish how culture and perceptions of cultures are formed. For over a century, a single, precise definition of culture has eluded

scholars, whose proposed definitions focus on various characteristics of culture (Tylor, 1865/1870; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Hofstede, 1994). Using the concept of frames, David Katan (2004) suggests a possible definition of culture as "a shared system for interpreting reality and organizing experience", characterising culture as a communal mental model of the world (p. 26). As such, culture influences our understanding and interpretation of communication, as well as our perception of ourselves and those who do not share our mental model of the world. Crucially, cultures compose myths of themselves and of other cultures they may encounter. These cultural myths often consist of images or activities that bear closer resemblance to "a distorted memory of an idealized reality" than to actual practice (Katan, 2004, p. 221). Katan (2004) asserts that "what is important for identity is not what we directly participate in, but what lies in the collective memory, the myth" (p. 223). Moreover, Ernest Gellner's (1983) theory of nationalism posits that national identity is a nineteenth-century construct, one which Joep Leerssen (2007) summarises as "a sort of collective false memory syndrome" (p. 24). This mythicisation also extends to other cultures which are perceived through this misrepresentative perception of the self. Each culture exists in its reality but also has its own distorted perception of itself as well as a distorted perception of any other culture it encounters. Within this often-ethnocentric perception, the other culture is perceived as an anti-image of the perceiving culture. According to Katan (2004), cultures possess cultural orientations which influence members' perception of reality, which "within a specific culture will be distorted, generalized and deleted to suit the cultural orientation" (p. 230). These different cultural myths, alongside the cultural orientations, influence the modelling of reality to the extent that perceptions of reality will be manipulated within a culture to fit its myths and orientations. It is precisely these cultural myths and their adaptation for other cultures that we are concerned with in this research.

Perhaps one of the most well documented of these cultural myths is Western Orientalism. Following Edward Said's definition (1978/1995), Orientalism is an ideology involving "a Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Traditionally, in this framework the Orient refers to regions located to the East of Europe, encompassing the continent of Asia. In this ideology European, or Western, culture occupies a position of power over the Orient, which, in Western culture, was commonly

believed to follow a set group of traits. The Orient was conceptualised as foreign, distant, dangerous, and even erotic. Said (1978/1995) notes that this set of values "formed a simulacrum of the Orient and reproduced it materially in the West, for the West" (p. 166). By presenting the Orient as barbaric and less civilised, Western culture differentiated itself as a superior power and attempted to legitimise its domination and control of the region. Said (1978/1995) observes that Orientalism:

> Operates as representations usually do, for a purpose, according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting. In other words, representations have purposes, they are effective much of the time, they accomplish one or many tasks. (p. 273)

Orientalism has a long history in Western culture. People from the Asian continent, which stretches from Southwest Asia to East Asia, were often dehumanised and overwhelmingly depicted as threats to Western society. The repercussions of Orientalism are still felt today. On 3 March 2017 actor and musician Riz Ahmed (2017) addressed the UK House of Commons regarding representation of ethnic minorities in UK culture and society. He criticised the failure of the entertainment industry and UK politics to provide sufficient representation of its population, while drawing parallels between the contemporary UK atmosphere and fascism in the 1930s. Growing awareness of how cultures and their members are represented in all forms of media ushered in a cultural paradigm which has prompted much interest from Translation scholars.

During the 1980s, the domain of TS began to undergo what has been termed the 'cultural turn', and this brought greater awareness of the socio-political and cultural contexts of translation. The cultural turn in TS was part of a wider cultural turn within the Humanities, but had a significant influence on translation theory and practice, as acknowledged by many scholars (Bassnett & Trivedi, 1999; Bassnett, 2007; Leppihalme, 1997). Since then, translation scholars have been ever more aware of the wider contexts within which translations are produced. Bassnett and Trivedi (1999) assert that "translation does not happen in a vacuum, but in a continuum; it is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer" (p. 2). It has been observed that "cultures make various demands on translations, and those demands also have to do with the status of the

text to be translated" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1995, p.7). On this basis Bassnett and Lefevere (1995) discuss fidelity in translation and argue that:

> 'Faithfulness', then, does not enter into translation in the guise of 'equivalence' between words or texts but, if at all, in the guise of an attempt to make the target text function in the target culture the way the source text functioned in the source culture. (p. 8)

Similarly, Leppihalme (1997) highlights the fact that STs and TT do not occur in a vacuum but are instead produced within a particular context for a specific function and audience. She also argues that when approaching a text, the translator should first consider the cultural context of the text in question, then the situational context, before finally concentrating on the text itself. Ideally, this will allow for the most effective translation possible. Cultures typically exist within hierarchies of power and these hierarchies are often detectable in translation. Bassnett and Trivedi (1999) acknowledge the presence of power relations between the cultures, languages, and texts involved in an act of translation: "Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems" (p. 2). Javier Franco Aixelá (1996) also draws attention to the power dynamics involved in translating between two or more cultures and highlights that any uneven power relation is dependent on the TC's perception of the SC. He argues that the constant importation of consumer products from English-speaking America induces a process of cultural internationalisation, specifically in regard to Anglo-Saxon culture (Aixelá, 1996). Consequently, many societies around the world are becoming increasingly familiar with this particular Anglo-Saxon world view as they accept this cultural reality and its values. Aixelá (1996) characterises the USA's cultural hegemony on the global stage as a one-way "crushing supremacy in the most popular media channels" (p. 55). He argues that as more societies become ever more familiar with US culture, translation of US media into those TLs will require less manipulation due to those societies' prior familiarity with the source culture. In the case of Disney, the particular US culture being exported around the world is mostly conservative, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) culture, although it should be noted that the company has made attempts to better represent other American cultures in recent releases.

In a discussion of the composition of the 'Other', Lefevere (1999) asserts that "Western cultures 'translated' (and 'translate') non-Western cultures into Western categories to be able to come to an understanding of them and, therefore, to come to terms with them" (p. 76). Furthermore, it has been argued that "any language use is thus a site of power relationships because a language, at any historical moment, is a specific conjuncture of a major form holding sway over minor variables" (Venuti, p. 10). Lawrence Venuti's own translation projects are influenced by an interest in minority, more specifically he translates minority literatures that challenge the linguistic hegemony of English. Additionally, he argues that all translation is ethnocentric since the translation begins in the domestic culture and assimilates the foreign text to that culture. He laments the assimilationism inherent in fluent translations which favour the dominant language, reinforcing the exclusion of other languages and cultures involved in this. Venuti promotes "minoritizing translation" as a form of translation which reveals linguistic and cultural diversity (p. 12). In his own translations he achieves this through discursive heterogeneity which produces historicising and foreignising translation, as well as reminding the American reader that the text is in fact an English translation. Venuti argues that every stage of a translation is an act of domestication, and he criticises the domesticating approach to translating foreign texts:

> In practice the fact of translation is erased by suppressing the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, assimilating it to dominant values in the target-language culture, making it recognizable and therefore seemingly untranslated. With this domestication the translated text passes for the original, an expression of the foreign author's intention. (p. 31)

Moreover, the translation strategy employed "rewrites the foreign text in domestic dialects and discourses, always a choice of certain domestic values to the exclusion of others" (Venuti, p. 67). In most cases, the dialect and discourse chosen are those which are dominant in the domestic culture. This has significant implications for the construction and representation of cultural identities and Venuti states that "translation wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures" (p. 67). Translation can also create stereotypes associated with certain foreign cultures which come to be revered or reviled within the domestic culture. In his examination, it is clear to see translation's role in the creation and maintenance of representations of cultural identities through

homogeneity. A translation of ancient Greek philosophy can produce clearly domestic representations of ancient Greek texts and culture, which can reinforce or modify the dominant discourse around these texts and culture. Venuti notes that:

> A specific cultural constituency controls the representation of foreign literatures for other constituencies in the domestic culture, privileging certain domestic values to the exclusion of others and establishing a canon of foreign texts that is necessarily partial because it serves certain domestic interests. (p. 71)

Here, it is clear to see how representations of the Other are dictated by the domestic culture, the culture that is doing the representing, more so than any inherent quality to the foreign culture. However, this is not a one-way process and translation has been used in the manufacture of domestic identities through its formation of domestic languages and literary cultures. Venuti offers the use of translation in order to establish a German culture in the face of French expansionism into Prussia in the nineteenth century as one example of this process. This domestic identity is similarly "an ideological position, informed by the codes and canon, interests and agendas of certain domestic social groups" (Venuti, p. 68). Venuti acknowledges the potential of translation to threaten domestic identities. Here he alludes to Jerome's translation of the Bible from the Hebrew text which challenged the early Christian Church who had used the Septuagint, a Greek translation, as its founding text. Venuti concludes that translation can never "rid itself of its fundamental domestication, its basic task of rewriting the foreign text in domestic cultural terms" (p. 82). However, he calls for an ethics of difference within which translators will be disloyal to the TC resulting in a decentring of domestic terms. Ideally this would modify "the reproduction of dominant domestic ideologies and institutions that provide a partial representation of foreign culture and marginalize other domestic constituencies" (Venuti, p. 83).

Elsewhere, Ovidio Carbonell (1996) notes that translation can be a bridge between different cultures, but that it can also separate those cultures when it reinforces cultural stereotypes, arguing that Western representations of the exotic Other consist of fictional stereotypes of other cultures and involve two tendencies of attraction and repulsion towards the depicted cultures. For Carbonell, both these tendencies originate in a projection of an idealised Western self onto the Other. He reiterates that "Western representations of exotic entities are merely fictions of the Western mind imposed on actual peoples", which raises the

question of whether these people are allowed to create their own selfhood away from Western influence (Carbonell, p. 85). The French dubs of Disney's animations set in France offer some insight into how a TC handles these fictions. Naturally, this cultural hegemony is often reflected in translation. Similarly to Venuti, Carbonell asserts that in translation, everything is renegotiated into the TC's terms, thus a contextual, rather than textual, translation is to occur whereby elements of the foreign culture are made to conform to the TC context. When a text is translated into another culture, it is "forced into an alienating fabric of dominant/dominated relationships" (Carbonell, p. 89).

These issues of cultural hierarchy and power persist still. The USA's position of dominance on the global stage, as well as its predominantly Orientalist perceptions of other cultures, are undisputed. However, a shift has been noted by Ziauddin Sardar (1999), who expands Said's Orientalism, updating it for the turn of the century. He repositions the West and the Orient, arguing that in the modern era "all cultures of the world, including those of Europe, are seen from the perspective and through the experience of America, which becomes the new apogee of all human civilization" (Sardar, 1999, p. 109). The USA becomes the new West and anything to the east of it is orientalised. While the main actors have changed or adopted new positions, the tools of Orientalism persist. Sardar asserts that "Europe itself is being transformed into a new Orient vis-à-vis America (p. 114). As America adopts the dominant role on the global stage, Europe's cultures are also subjected to the tools of Orientalism, depicted in reductionist and inaccurate terms. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in Disney's theme park ride It's A Small World, where various nations and cultures are reduced to stereotypical clothing and a scant selection of iconic monuments. The spread of Disney theme park resorts outside of the USA, and the popularity of the company's films around the world has been identified as a proponent and symptom of McDonaldisation, a process of globalisation in which local cultures are replaced with a more homogenous, standardised global culture (Katan, 2004, p.32-3). However, in *Hyperculture: Culture and Globalization*, Byung-Chul Han (2022) challenges the idea that globalisation results in cultural homogeneity, instead he argues that modern culture "thrives on the differences" (p. 16). According to Han, globalization is characterised not by the 'multi' or the 'trans' but by the 'hyper' (accumulation, networking, compression)" (p. 57). He borrows the metaphor of the rhizome, "an open structure whose

heterogenous elements constantly play into each other, shift across each other" and ultimately create a site of "transformation and blending" (Han, 2022, p. 27). His model of culture in the globalised world emphasises the vitality and dynamic nature of culture. Furthermore, Han (2022) states that:

> The borders or enclosures that convey a semblance of cultural authenticity or genuineness are dissolving. Culture is bursting at the seams, so to speak. It is exploding all ties and joints. It is becoming unbound, unrestricted, un-ravelled: a hyperculture. The hyperspace of culture is organized not by borders but by links and network connections. (p. 9)

Alastair Pennycook (2007) offers a similar understanding of globalisation with his assertion that:

> Globalization may be better understood as a compression of time and space, an intensification of social, economic, cultural and political relations, a series of global linkages that render events in one location of potential and immediate importance in other, quite distant locations. (pp. 24-5)

In Han's model of hyperculture, elements from different cultures are brought together and presented in "a dense side by side of different ideas, signs, symbols, images and sounds" (p. 57). This description brings to mind the presentation of media on video-on-demand streaming sites, where films of varying genres, languages, and countries of origin are available to audiences, presented in scrolling carousels. Having been removed from the cultural context that produced them (what Han calls de-siting), cultural elements are then made accessible in this side-by-side structure (what Han calls de-distancing) (Han, 2022, pp. 35-6). This detachment from original cultural contexts naturally raises concerns around cultural appropriation and authenticity. In fact, Han adds that hyperculture "involves little remembrance of origin, descent, ethnicity or site" (p. 57). However, this can allow for a recontextualisation of sorts. In his discussion of the spread of hip-hop music across the Pacific Islands, East and Southeast Asia, and West Africa, Pennycook (2007) disputes the assumption that the presence of English language in local subcultures is solely indicative of the homogenising forces of cultural imperialism. Instead, he suggests that the hip-hop genre and English language are incorporated into local subcultures as a means of negotiating local identities (Pennycook, 2007, pp. 91-2). Han's model of hyperculture and Pennycook's elucidation of English in global contexts offer renewed frameworks from

which we can analyse portrayals of culture in mass media and their translations. Specifically, if we assume the CRS in Disney's films, having been detached from their original context, are artefacts of hyperculture, TC CSRs, i.e. the narrated culture, then become a site of interaction between the source culture's imagining of the narrated culture and the TC's representation of itself.

Before detailing the strategies for rendering CSRs, it is useful to classify the different types of CSR. According to Aixelá (1996), what constitutes CSRs is broader than arbitrary categories such as place names, historical figures, etc. He emphasises the dynamic nature of CSRs as a result of the dynamic natures of translation and intercultural relationships. He also stresses that a CSR only exists as a consequence of untranslatability, rather than in its own right (Aixelá, 1996). This criteria may prove useful in practical applications by guiding translators as they encounter translation challenges. However, those seeking a comprehensive examination of cultural representation within a text should be wary of the restrictions such a criteria would place on the scope of any subsequent analysis. In other words, omitting familiar or 'translatable' CSRs could, and in the case of the TC CSRs discussed in chapters two to five would, result in considerable oversight of how cultures negotiate cultural identity through mass media. Aixelá proposes the following definition of CSRs:

> Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text. (p. 58)

He stresses the importance of viewing CSRs through the eyes of the TC. He also argues that this flexible definition is preferable as it can evolve alongside intercultural relations between communities. Aixelá (1996) identifies two categories of CSRs from the translator's perspective, these being proper nouns and common expressions. Similarly, Leppihalme (1997) classifies CSRs into two groups: proper-name allusions and key phrase allusions. These are described as culture bumps which occur when "the reader of a TT has a problem understanding a source-cultural allusion" (p. 54). While it may help translators to only consider CSRs as those cultural elements which are unfamiliar to TC audiences, if we are to analyse the adaptation of cultural representation in translation, we must also

consider those CSRs which may be considered familiar to TC audiences. It is also worth remembering that some of the films in the corpus were released over three decades ago, and due to the USA's increasing cultural influence in the years since, originally unfamiliar CSRs may now be considered familiar to TC audiences. Additionally, Leppihalme (1997) asserts that

> a culturally competent translator will recognise allusions, in whichever form they occur, and be familiar both with their sources and with the connotations they have for those contemporary native speakers who are competent readers (of that type of text) in order to analyse the text in which the allusion occurs. (p. 71)

The term 'competent reader' raises some questions over what that precisely denotes, especially when children's texts are taken into consideration. Leppihalme (1997) acknowledges the challenge in establishing assumed knowledge on the part of the TT receiver, particularly in the modern day where the number of shared sources with which an audience would be considered familiar is greatly reduced. Therefore, it is more difficult to ascertain whether certain CSRs could be considered familiar to the TT audience. Children would be expected to be even less familiar with many of the cultural allusions included in Disney animated feature films. However, it should be noted that Disney films do not only appeal to young audiences, but also to the adults accompanying those children in watching the animated cartoons. The CSRs can be said to function on a different level, that of the adults in the audience. Furthermore, Leppihalme (1997) recognises that a single text can be interpreted in various ways by different readers, but she asserts that ST readers arrive at a "consensus meaning" and it is that which ought to be rendered in the TT (p. 23). Translators also need to be wary of striking a balance between providing unnecessary or patronising additional information and required mediation when it comes to rendering, or even explaining, CSRs.

Irene Ranzato (2016) proposes a taxonomy of CSRs in audiovisual products which prioritises the relationship between the sending and receiving culture in the translational act. It contains seven subcategories denoting the classification of CSRs. These subcategories are: source culture references, intercultural references, third culture references, target culture references, overt intertextual allusions, covert intertextual allusions, and intertextual macroallusions. The seven elements each fall into one of two

categories: real-world references or intertextual references, with the first four types belonging to the classification of real-world references and the final three to intertextual references. Two important distinctions are made regarding source culture references and intercultural references. First, source culture references are "terms which are strictly embedded in the SC, and however well-known in the TC, they do not have a direct, provable, objective bond with the TC" (Ranzato, 2016, p. 66). Second:

> Intercultural references are those originally SC references which have been absorbed, in various degrees, by the TC, which has, to some extent, made them their own. Intercultural references are also those few elements which both the SC and the TC consider their own, no matter their origin. (Ranzato, 2016, p. 66)

Ranzato (2016) highlights that each of her subcategories of CSR encompasses non-verbal references, as well as the verbal, and that the references may not be contemporary to the source or target audiences. She also stresses the importance of adopting the TC's perspective when classifying cultural references: "The present classification thus takes into account the nature of CSRs within the relationship between TT and ST and from the exclusive point of the TC" (Ranzato, 2016, p. 63). Consequently, it is possible that a cultural reference may change type in translation depending on the language pairs and cultures involved. For example, when applying this classification to the corpus of films in this research the allusions to Paris in the songline "Morning in Paris and the city awakes to the bells of Notre Dame" from *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (Trousdale & Wise, 1996) are classified as TC references when the TC is French. However, they become third culture references when the TC is German. Another category, intertextual references, is described as a more sophisticated cultural reference that places considerable demands on the audience. Ranzato highlights their problematic nature as a consequence of these audience demands, arguing that they invite manipulation from the translators because of their specificity. Despite a thorough explanation and some informative examples, there is no mention of the function of intertextual references in children's film or television. Intertextual references such as this potentially serve a unique purpose since they are not directed at the text's main target audience, but rather the adults accompanying them. In this case the demand is not intended to be placed on the children and this is something which must be taken into consideration when analysing translations of children's media.

Ranzato's taxonomy enables the examination of how different types of cultural reference are treated in translation which will enable the identification of any patterns or trends in the strategies used for the different types of cultural reference. Ranzato's classification of CSRs deviates from other taxonomies which organise types of reference according to lexical categories (Newmark, 1988; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007; Pedersen, 2011). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2021) have since incorporated Ranzato's distinctions of real-world references and intertextual references into their lexical taxonomy of CSRs. Since this research is concerned with how cultural representations are translated in Disney's French and German dubs, Ranzato's and Díaz Cintas and Remael's (2021) taxonomies for classifying the types of CSR will form the foundations of the analysis of the different types of CSR featured in Disney's depictions of various cultures and their translation into French and German TTs.

Many scholars have investigated the varying strategies employed to translate CSRs (Ramiere, 2006; Ferrari, 2010; Pedersen, 2011; Chaume, 2012 & 2020; Guillot, 2016; Panasiuk & Yahiaoui, 2017; Marqués Cobeta, 2021). According to Leppihalme (1997), the strategies for dealing with both types of literary CSR differ considerably between the two groups. One of the main differences between potential strategies is that proper-name allusions can be retained in the ST without any modification, whereas a key-phrase allusion must be changed. She presents her taxonomy of translation strategies for proper-name and key-phrase allusions. Strategies for proper-name allusions include retention, which is subdivided into use of name as such, use of name with added guidance, and use of name with a detailed explanation, replacement by another proper-name allusion, either from the source language (SL) or the TL, and omission, either of the name but still transferring the sense of the allusion or of both name and the allusion (Leppihalme, 1997). She acknowledges that some changes to proper-name allusions are necessary, for instance, names of rulers or places. She also emphasises the significance of the connotations invoked by proper-name allusions and that in certain cases simple retention of the proper-name allusion is not suitable due to the TC receivers' lack of familiarity with that particular allusion. For key-phrase allusions, Leppihalme (1997) presents the following strategies: standard translation, minimum change, i.e. a literal translation which does not transfer the connotations, extra-allusive guidance in the text, explicit explanations not inserted within

the text, such as footnotes or endnotes, internal marking to signal borrowed words, replacement with a preformed TL element, omitting the key-phrase and transferring sense, re-creation which transfers the connotations or other effects created by the allusion, and omission of the allusion. According to Leppihalme (1997), key-phrase allusions are rarely retained untranslated, however it is also rare to find one single standard translation for a key-phrase allusion. Transcultural allusions are those which carry the same connotations in both the SL and the TL, consequently the TT reader's experience of the TT is comparable to that of the ST reader. Although "transcultural KP allusions have standard translations, that is, preformed TL wordings" (Leppihalme, 1997, p. 94), Leppihalme observed few examples of standard translation of key-phrase allusions in the corpus of texts analysed. The strategy of omission is not recommended and the translators interviewed admitted their reluctance to use this particular strategy (Leppihalme, 1997). Moreover, in his discussion of translation strategies for rendering literary CSRs, Aixelá (1996) classifies strategies as conservation or naturalisation, which correspond to foreignisation and domestication respectively. He also posits that the choice of strategy can reveal the TC's own tolerance of cultural Otherness, as well as its solidity. He highlights a paradox in contemporary translation, specifically that translations "tend to be read like *an* original on the stylistic level and as *the* original on the socio-cultural one" (Aixelá, 1996, p. 56, original emphasis). Consequently, CSRs are often made to fit into the TC's orientation at the expense of the SC. Beginning with *Conservation*, he lists repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, and intratextual gloss; then under *Substitution* fall the strategies synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization, naturalization, deletion, and autonomous creation (Aixelá, 1996). He also acknowledges three other strategies: compensation, dislocation, and attenuation, which have been excluded from his classification. No explanation for their exclusion is given and questions should be raised regarding this. Compensation and dislocation seem to be significant, especially in AVT owing to the considerable constraints involved in this type of translation, restrictions which the above taxonomies do not take into account. These technical restrictions exert significant influence over which CSR translation strategies are viable when working with the audiovisual medium. Having established what constitutes a CSR and the strategies

observed in translating literary CSRs, let us now review how the audiovisual medium impacts the process of translation.

1.1.2 Technical Constraints of Dubbing

Dubbing is considered a restricted mode of translation. The restrictions originate from the medium of the text and play a determining role in the translation strategies that can be employed in dubbed TTs. Therefore, the nature of audiovisual texts and of dubbing are key areas of consideration in the analysis of the French and German dubs included in this project. Dubbing has been defined as "replacing the original track of a film's (or any audiovisual text) SL dialogues with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language" (Chaume, 2012, p. 1). The history of dubbing begins with the advent of sound film. With the arrival of 'talkies', linguistic barriers were reinforced in a way which they had not been during the silent film era (O'Connell, 2007). Richard Maltby and Ruth Vasey (1999) explain how the introduction of sound to film "sharpened the issues of cultural identity raised by the international trade in moving pictures" and claim that "sound forced Hollywood to confront the cultural and linguistic diversity of its international audience" (p. 33). The introduction of sound to film resulted in the sound and image being inextricably linked. Dubbing represented a cheaper and easier means of exporting films around the world than multiple-language versions, which required reshooting the film in different languages with different casts, thus dubbing revitalised "the universal promise of cinema" (Chaume, 2012, p. 13). It has been argued that it was the audiovisual translation technologies of dubbing and subtitling that sustained America's international dominance in cinema (Nornes, 2007).

Dubbing can elicit strong reactions from audiences and scholars alike. For some, dubbing is often regarded with disdain as it interferes with the original soundtrack and denies audiences the experience of the original actors' performances (Chiaro, 2009; Nornes, 2007). Furthermore, dubbing is frequently characterised as deceitful because of its erasure of the original dialogue track. Markus Nornes (2007) reiterates the duplicity inherent in dubbing while others remark that dubbing can serve as an attempt to hide the act of translation and, by extension, the foreign origins of the text (Chaume, 2012; Díaz Cintas & Orero, 2010). In live-action film, audiences are often aware of the act of dubbing

especially when the articulatory movements and verbal sounds in the dialogue are poorly synchronised, or even if the audience is familiar with the original actor's voice. However, in animation, the characters' lip movements are not as tightly bound to the verbal audio track as they are in live-action film, therefore, they cannot betray the deceit of dubbing to the same extent. This grants the translators greater freedom. Chiaro (2009) notes that dubbing requires "less textual reduction" than subtitling since dialogues do not need to be condensed in order to fit the space restrictions (p. 147). Moreover, Jorge Díaz Cintas & Pilar Orero (2010) have asserted that translators working in dubbing have greater freedom to modify the form and content of the translated dialogue since, unlike subtitling, the original track is completely removed and cannot be simultaneously compared to the translated track by audience members. The result is that the dubbed text can be better adapted to its market.

It has also been argued that SC elements nevertheless seep through to the TC due to the visual channel which also plays a significant role in audiovisual communication (Pettit, 2009). One aspect of this research is to examine to what extent SC elements are retained in the TTs. It is assumed that, due to the international cultural hegemony enjoyed by the USA, the TTs will likely feature some elements of US culture. Dubbed dialogue has also been described as "an artefact", one of which the TT audience members are aware especially when SC elements remain in the TT (Chiaro, 2009, p. 155). Delia Chiaro (2009) asserts that watching a film in translation is an exercise in suspension of disbelief on the part of the audience, especially when CSRs are visible on screen. She offers the example of French audiences watching a famous American actor getting into a New York cab and speaking in perfect French with the driver (Chiaro, 2009, p. 155).

Before delving deeper into the implications of dubbing animated cartoons, it is necessary to explore the nature of audiovisual texts and dubbing, how this text type communicates its messages, and how translation can be performed on them. The field of Audiovisual Translation Studies is a relatively new one. In 1989 Dirk Delabastita published his influential article in which he outlines the nature of the audiovisual text and the actions that can be performed on it in translation. Delabastita (1989, 1990) states that film establishes a multi-channel and multi-code type of communication. The two channels through which communication takes place are the visual and acoustic channels. Many

different codes, such as the verbal code, narrative code, and cinematic code, are communicated through these channels. The signs transmitted from these codes can combine to produce the complex macro-sign of the film as a whole. Similarly, Chiaro (2009) has observed the polysemiotic nature of audiovisual products and emphasised that these texts "function *simultaneously* on two different levels" (p. 142, original emphasis). Aline Remael (2010) stresses that in the audiovisual text, the verbal is never simply verbal, but rather is determined by the other sign systems employed in conjunction with it. Furthermore, although the interaction of the different sign systems involved is required to produce the overall meaning of the audiovisual text, the importance of each sign system can vary. Consequently, the translation is greatly influenced by the other sign systems. Delabastita (1990) identifies four types of film sign: "verbal signs transmitted acoustically (dialogue), non-verbal signs transmitted acoustically (background noise, music), verbal signs transmitted visually (credits, letters, documents shown on the screen), non-verbal signs transmitted visually" (pp. 101-02). He then positions these signs on one axis of the film translation process, with the strategies *repetitio*, *adiectio*, *detractio*, *substitutio*, and *transmutatio* on the other axis. For Delabastita (1990), dubbing is represented by the action *substitutio* of acoustic/verbal signs and subtitling by the action *adiectio* of visual/verbal signs. The actions *adiectio*, *detractio*, *transmutatio*, and *repetitio* can be performed in conjunction with the two basic actions *substitutio* of acoustic/verbal signs and *adiectio* of visual/verbal signs. Using Delabastita's terminology, this research project is concerned with *substitutio* of acoustic/verbal signs. He also remarks that translation of an audiovisual product is always limited by the considerable constraints imposed by the audiovisual medium of the text since in the vast majority of cases, the visual material of the film cannot be altered. There are a handful of instances where the image of an audiovisual text has been altered for foreign audiences, for example, a piece of broccoli in one scene from Pixar's *Inside Out* (Docter & Del Carmen, 2015) was changed to a slice of bell pepper for Japanese audiences. While US children may typically turn their noses up at broccoli, the brassica does not invoke the same disgust in Japan. Localisation such as this is beyond the control of the translators and would be carried out by the producing studio. Some scholars present a list of quality standards to ensure a successful dub. The translated dialogue must be natural and believable, while also remaining cohesive; translators should maintain

coherence between the visual and acoustic channels, and the internal coherence of the plot; technical accuracy, such as sound quality and volume, should be maintained and the performance of the original dialogue should be reproduced; the translation should be faithful to the ST, however, the thresholds of loyalty vary depending on the intended audience's expectations; and the synchronies should be observed as is appropriate (Chaume 2012, 2020).

One of the main audiovisual translation challenges is that of synchronising the translated dialogue track to the visuals of the film. Consequently, three synchronies have been identified as essential to producing a satisfactory dub of an audiovisual text. For Chiaro (2009) "the goal of dubbing is to make the target dialogues look as if they are being uttered by the original actors so that viewers' enjoyment of foreign products will be enhanced" (p. 144). Synchrony in dubbing has been defined as "matching the TL translation and articulatory and body movements of the screen actors and actresses and ensuring that the utterances and pauses in the translation match those of the ST" (Chaume, 2012, p. 68). Over the years, there has been a shift in opinion on what constitutes these three synchronies. Fodor (1969a; 1969b) published a comprehensive guide to achieving synchrony in dubbing. He identified phonetic synchrony, that is the articulatory movements of on-screen actors; character synchrony, i.e. the film actor's exterior and their dubbed voice; and content synchrony, meaning the translated dialogue must be congruent with the plot of the original. However, these last two are no longer considered synchronies as they pertain to issues of coherence and dramatisation rather than synchronisation proper (Chaume, 2012). Nowadays, it is generally agreed that the three synchronies are phonetic synchrony, kinesic synchrony, and isochrony. Phonetic synchrony, or lip-sync, has long been considered a significant challenge to audiovisual translation and it is the only synchrony where there is agreement on what it comprises across the literature (Chaume, 2012; Díaz Cintas & Orero, 2010; Fodor, 1969a; Nicolae, 2018). Fodor (1969a) argues that the target sounds are determined not by the acoustics of the source sounds, but rather by the visible articulatory movements in the image, which also grants the translator greater freedom in their selection of suitable renderings of the source message. In his detailed study, Fodor (1969a) describes the articulatory movements required to produce certain sounds, as well as how different camera angles have an impact on the requirement for

phonetic synchrony. Some techniques which can be employed to achieve phonetic synchrony include omission or addition, substitution for a synonym, hyponym, hypernym or antonym, repetition, or change in word order (Chaume, 2012). However, Fodor's rigid recommendations have been described as overexaggerated, and it has been noted that they are not strictly followed in practice (Chaume, 2012). Others have similarly recognised a reduced demand for phonetic synchrony depending on the type of camera shot and the resulting visibility of the on-screen actor's mouth (Chaume 2012; Chiaro, 2009). Moreover, articulatory movements of animated characters are not expected to align perfectly with the sounds heard on the acoustic-verbal track. It should also be noted that children are said to be less demanding regarding phonetic synchrony (Chaume, 2012). For these reasons, it is anticipated that the translations analysed in this project will not be as severely restricted by the requirement for phonetic synchrony, resulting in translations that are freer to convey cultural ideologies.

Second, kinesic synchrony concerns the synchronisation of the translated dialogue with the actor's body movements, for example, a nodding head expressing a positive should not be accompanied by a negative expression in the acoustic track (Chaume, 2012). The recommended techniques for attaining kinesic synchrony include repetition of the ST element where it has already entered the TL, substitution for other phrases that are semantically equivalent, and natural translation or coined equivalent (Chaume, 2012). According to Frederic Chaume (2012), children demand greater kinesic synchrony than older audiences as exaggerated gestures are frequently used to attract young audience members' attention. Third, isochrony involves the synchronisation of the dubbed track utterance with the length of the on-screen character's utterance. Techniques to achieve isochrony differ depending on whether the translated text requires reduction or amplification in order to conform to the length of the visible utterance. These may involve repetition, gloss, omission of redundancies, synonyms, hyponyms, hypernyms, and antonyms (Chaume, 2012). Much like phonetic synchrony, it is believed that children are more forgiving where isochrony is concerned. Consequently, it is expected that the translations evaluated in this project will feature a similar reduced isochrony and it is hypothesised that the translations could be more faithful to either the ST or TC. According to Chaume (2012), exact synchrony is not an imperative as a discrepancy of one or two

syllables either side of the utterance will often go unnoticed. It has been noted that the requirement for synchronies takes precedence over the requirement for faithfulness to the source dialogue (Chaume, 2012, 2020; Pettit, 2009). However, the medium of the audiovisual text and main audience must be taken into consideration. As established above, children require less phonetic synchrony and isochrony, while favouring greater kinesic synchrony. Additionally, animated cartoons demand less phonetic synchrony and isochrony because the animated characters' mouths typically move randomly and audience members do not expect the articulatory movements to match the sounds in the dialogue track. A notable exception is the extreme close-up shot where the character's articulatory movements are clearly visible and, in these cases, phonetic synchrony and isochrony ought to be pursued.

In summary, the restrictions of AVT have a considerable impact on the translations produced. These restrictions in dubbing mostly concern the three synchronies required for an acceptable translation, as well as coherence with the on-screen visuals. Two essential considerations for this research, however, are the medium of animated cartoons and the main intended audience of Disney animated films. Both result in reduced requirements for phonetic synchrony and isochrony. Consequently, it is predicted that the dubbed versions of the corpus of films analysed, being less restricted by elements of synchrony, can feature greater loyalty either to the ST or to the TC and its attitudes and values in their representations of cultures. Alongside these technical restrictions, CSRs and signifiers of linguistic difference present further challenges to dubbing translators.

1.1.3 Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation

Much like in mainstream TS, language varieties, CSRs and literary references, wordplay and humour, and taboo elements are some textual features which are recurrently identified as requiring special consideration (Chaume 2012; Chiaro, 2009; Delabastita, 1990). These translation challenges are not unique to AVT, however, the audiovisual medium of the text means that the translation of these features is greatly restricted. Chiaro (2009) has emphasised the complex task of translating CSRs and language-specific features due to the close relationship between the visual and acoustic codes which form an "inseparable whole" (p. 155). In audiovisual translation, the verbal and visual combine to produce meaning, however, the visual cannot be altered, or at least rarely and then not by

much. CSRs in audiovisual texts remain a significant challenge to translators, a fact which cannot be understated. Lukasz Bogucki (2015) remarks that "whenever the dialogue coincides with a visual depiction of a culture-bound element, a domesticated translation constitutes a clash" (p. 47). Many have noted that cartoons and children's media tend to opt for extremely domesticating translation strategies, for example, Chaume (2012) states that cartoons frequently use domesticating strategies in order to "bring the product closer to the young audience" (p. 146). Therefore, it could be assumed that Disney's French and German dubs will feature predominantly domesticating translation strategies for the CSRs in the ST. However, the wider context of the cultures involved in the translation acts must be considered, particularly the cultural hegemony enjoyed by the USA. Consequently, it is possible that some US CSRs will be rendered using foreignising strategies, despite the fact that the main audience is children.

First, let us review the translation strategies for reproducing linguistic difference. In audiovisual texts, linguistic difference can be produced through the use of foreign language, accent, and dialect. Typically, linguistic variation is standardised in dubbing, except for instances where a distinct dialect or accent plays a significant role in the characterisation of the speakers (Chiaro, 2009). However, cartoons and comedic characters are a notable exception to this practice of standardisation, and they are often dubbed with stereotypical accents (Chiaro, 2009). This strategy is employed in an attempt to maintain the humorous effect in the TT. Chaume (2012) remarks that when a film features dialogue entirely in one geographical dialect, the dialogue is rendered into standard TL in the TT (p. 137). However, when a film features linguistic variation by including two or more dialects, Chaume discourages rendering a SL dialect with a TL dialect as there are no dialect equivalents between languages and equating dialects may be viewed as culturally insensitive (p. 137). To some extent loss of dialect, or at the very least loss of the cultural associations of dialect, is unavoidable. Certainly, we cannot expect the socio-political connotations of specific dialects to resonate with global audiences as films move across cultures, even when those cultures share a language and the original dub is released in a variety of SL regions. Take, for instance, the accent used by Taika Waititi for his performance as Korg in *Thor: Ragnarok* (dir. Waititi, 2017). Waititi states he drew on the English language inflections associated with Pacific Islander accents in New Zealand (The

Last Leg, 2018). It is not unreasonable to assume that, without knowledge of the cultural allusion, audiences in other English-speaking regions may struggle to grasp the socio-cultural specificity and connotations of Waititi's accent. Bogucki (2015) highlights that language is specific to its geo-cultural context and, consequently, removing a dialect from its context and placing it within another cultural environment can produce a discordant effect. Instead, Chaume (2012) suggests translating into a non-standard register of the TL, such as a more informal register. In cases where the foreign language in the ST is the same as the TL, the TL in the ST can be substituted for another language in the TT, provided the plot allows. Similarly, Patrick Zabalbeascoa and Montse Corrius (2012) question dialect equivalence across cultures and ultimately turn to the official recommendations of the Catalan Broadcasting Company, quoting that "translators should not render these dialectical traits by seeking equivalent dialects in Catalan because the sociolinguistic connotations are not the same in different countries" (p. 71). In the case of geographical accents, Chaume (2012) presents three dubbing strategies: reproducing the same accent, substituting for another accent especially when the ST accent is one that is associated with the TL, and finally rendering the dialogue into standard TL (p. 138). However, with the final strategy, the TT will lose the cultural connotations of the foreign accent. Stefano Leoncini (2006) queries the value of rendering accents in the TT if the target audience are incapable of fully appreciating the cultural and linguistic associations of the ST accent (p. 174). In her evaluation of Italian dubbed versions of English-language films featuring the Cockney accent, Ranzato (2019) finds that the Cockney accent is dubbed into standard Italian, which not only eradicates the cultural flavour of the ST but also impacts the characterisation:

> the well-groomed voice of dubbing actor Giuseppe Rinaldi (also the voice of Paul Newman, Marlon Brando, Frank Sinatra, Jack Lemmon, Peter Sellers, Kirk Douglas, Gregory Peck and many, many others) conveys the spirit of the cheeky Casanova, but turns him into an elegant, upper-middle class speaker of standard Italian. (p. 246)

Manfredi (2018) and Minutella (2018) similarly claim that Italian dubs eradicate the linguistic diversity present in the ST by rendering most foreign language and accents into standard Italian. Taylor (2006) also argues that language diversity is diluted as it moves through the frame of translation. Analysing the Italian dubs of a selection of Ken Loach

films, which are mostly set among working-class British communities, Taylor (2006) demonstrates that the Italian translations have a "neutralising effect" on the regional speech patterns which play a significant role in the STs (p. 50).

Second, the strategies employed to render CSRs in the TT have proven to be a popular field of interest in TS and AVT, producing many studies into their nature. Borrowing Katan's terms, Chiaro (2009) suggests chunking up, down and sideways in order to overcome the challenges posed by CSRs in AVT. Katan (2004) uses chunking as an umbrella term for translation shift. Chunking up involves the use of hyperonymy, thus creating a more general reference in the TL. In contrast, chunking down denotes substituting a more specific cultural reference in the TL, and chunking sideways involves substituting a TL element that is on the same level as the original, neither more specific nor more general. This can involve shifting from one cultural frame to another in order to find these alternatives that make the SC frame more easily accessible to the TT audience. The chunking process can be performed at multiple different levels, such as that of text function, cultural lexis, cultural behaviour, and cultural orientations (Chiaro, 2009). This can help the translator to find suitable and effective alternatives. Katan (2004) defines a cultural orientation as "a shared meta-program: a culture's tendency towards a particular way of perceiving" (p. 230) and these orientations "govern how perception is generalized, distorted and deleted" (p. 228). Different cultures have different orientations and these discrepancies can result in translation challenges. It is clear to see that culture exerts a major influence over the translation decisions made as any depiction of cultures in a text ought to conform to the TC's myths and orientations, at least that is what would be expected in an ethnocentric translation. Delabastita (1990) has commented that:

> film translation is therefore not just a matter of language conversion, and the actual reality of film translation is conditioned to a large extent by the functional needs of the receiving culture and not, or not just, by the demands made by the source films. (p. 99)

The strategies presented above offer a broad overview of possible translation techniques. Others have suggested more detailed taxonomies of techniques for rendering CSRs in AVT which are better suited to the level of analysis required for this research. The following taxonomies feature techniques in a falling continuum from domesticating to

foreignising. Nornes (2007) has criticised dubbing's domesticating tendencies, instead calling for foreign elements to be retained in the TTs. Bogucki (2015) argues that extreme instances of domestication may be appropriate only when there are no other cultural elements in the remainder of the film's message. Jan Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy of CSR translation strategies was devised primarily for subtitling norms, however, it has been adapted and applied to dubbing norms as well. He uses the terms source-oriented and target-oriented to classify the nature of the translation techniques included in his taxonomy. The source-oriented techniques are retention (complete or adjusted to the TL), specification (addition or completion), and direct translation (calque or shifted), while the target-oriented techniques are generalisation (using superordiante terms or paraphrase), substitution (for transcultural references or for TC references), and omission (Pedersen, 2011). He also includes Official Equivalent which is placed beyond the continuum of strategies since Pedersen (2011) does not consider it a strategy and it has a specific status. An example of an Official Equivalent would be Vaiana, the name which Disney character Moana is known by in most of Europe including France and Germany. Chaume (2012) suggests the following taxonomy of translation techniques for CSRs: repetition without translation, orthographic adaptation without translation, literal translation, glosses, cultural adaptation or substitution (this can take the form of limited adaptation where the CSR is replaced with another SC reference, universalisation, or substitution with a reference belonging to the TC), and omission. He also includes creation of a new CSR which involves the addition of a CSR in the TT where there is none in the ST. This is predominantly a compensatory strategy. These taxonomies provide a solid foundation for examining the strategies employed to render CSRs in the French and German dubs of Disney films. Since Pedersen's is designed for subtitling, Chaume's taxonomy is better suited to the TTs in this research project. However, Pedersen's Official Equivalent strategy is particularly valuable in the analysis of Disney dubs because many of the CSRs featured in the dialogue allude to countries and cities which have an official equivalent in the TL. Ranzato also provides a taxonomy of CSR translation strategies, a version of Díaz Cintas, Orero and Remael's (2007) subtitling strategies taxonomy adjusted for the specific options available in dubbing. Her list consists of loan, official translation, calque, explicitation, generalisation by

hypernym, generalisation by hyponym, substitution, lexical recreation, compensation, elimination, and creative addition (Ranzato, 2016, pp. 83-4).

Now we have established the means of cultural representation in audiovisual products and the strategies commonly employed in dubbed translations, it is worthwhile examining the history of Disney's animation studio, the broader context of cultural representation in Hollywood, and critiques of Disney's own brand of portraying cultural difference.

1.1.4 Animation Principles and Cultural Representation

Disney animated cartoons occupy a significant position in the animation industry and not merely for their economic success. In order to understand this, it is necessary to briefly review the wider context of animation in the USA. It has been said that animation began to gain traction at the end of the nineteenth century with the appearance of animation technology (Furniss, 2016). In his examination of the development of animation in the United States, Paul Wells (2002) argues that the form is a vehicle of Modernist expression. Working on the assumption that Modernism is defined by an imperative to question the mechanisms of expression and perspective, he asserts that animation is a language of Modernism since it "serves to question and challenge the received knowledges which govern the physical laws and normative socio cultural [sic] orthodoxies of the 'real world'" (p. 5). Esther Leslie (2009) has similarly found that early American animators were "re-imagining the landscape" (p. 22), with physical laws and expectations being subverted. Terry Lindvall and Matthew Melton (2009) identify a "playful dynamism of the carnival spirit" in self-reflexive animation manifested in their deconstruction and reconstruction of societal forms (p. 63). For the Soviet film-maker Sergei Eisenstein, the freedom of the animated medium was linked to personal and ideological freedom, freedom from social constraints, and the attainment of personal desires (cited in Wells, 2007). Animation contained a 'plasmaticness' which counteracted the loss of a sense of changeability driven by the machine age during the Modernist era. Plasmaticness in animation concerns animate and inanimate entities that can shift form and abilities far beyond what is realistically possible. Initially, Disney produced cartoon shorts in this subversive vein. Leslie (2009) cites examples of the early Mickey Mouse shorts from the late 1920s, where a church

steeple shrinks to avoid a plane, and a cow's teeth are played like a xylophone. Eisenstein also lauded the early Disney shorts which featured a distinctly plasmatic aesthetic (Wells, 2007). Animation questions modes of representation and the dominant worldview, while simultaneously representing various other perspectives (Wells, 2007). Fundamentally, animation subverts and critiques views of culture by reordering the world and destabilising received frameworks of knowledge. Wells (2007) considers animation an act of deconstruction due to the artificiality of the medium which is constantly signified.

This has significant implications for representations of cultures and demographics in animation. Discussing symbolism and metaphor, Wells (2007) argues that symbols in animation can be completely separated from any real-world representations since the animated form "transforms the codes and conditions by which traditional or dominant modes of representation are considered" (p. 187). Hollywood was one of the principle means of propagating these dominant modes of representation and this is what early animated cartoons were reacting to. Lindvall and Melton (2009) note that self-reflexive animated cartoons realise the postmodern through their subversion of the dominant narrative structure of classical cinema. Wells has also demarcated the distinction between animated film and live-action film, arguing that "animation does not share the same method and approach of the live-action film. Rather, it prioritises its capacity to *resist* 'realism' as a mode of representation and uses its various techniques to create numerous styles which are fundamentally *about* 'realism'" (p. 25, original emphasis). Despite being animated cartoons, and despite the early Disney shorts following the subversive principles of American animation, the company's animated feature films evidently lack this deconstruction of the traditional modes of representation.

There is an issue with describing Disney as Modernist, and the studio's animation rarely subverts dominant modes of representation. In fact, Disney was considered to have betrayed animation and animators when he industrialised the studio's animation process. Paul Wells (2002) goes so far as to say that Disney "colonised the field of animation" (p. 45) by embracing the machine age in order to produce animated cartoons. Walt Disney Productions was founded in 1923 on the back of the Laugh-O-Grams studio which produced a series of animated fairy tale adaptations. Disney's series of films inspired by

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (Carroll, 1865) released between 1923 and 1927, combined animation with live action. The year 1927 also saw Disney abandon surrealism for mechanism with the animated series featuring the character Oswald the Lucky Rabbit. Animators found themselves trapped in a restrictive, profit-driven mode of production. With this capitalist imperative, the Modernist principles and expressive potential of animation were lost, and this was felt throughout the US animation industry owing to the Disney studio's influence on the animation industry. Terry Lindvall and Matthew Melton (2009) affirm that the carnival spirit which disrupts the traditional narrative in animation is not present in Disney animated feature films. Instead, these films follow the classic model of narrative cinema: "for all its personality and comic energy, conforms to a certain mode of realism concordant with live-action film-making, which in turn conforms to and reinforces a dominant ideological position within the USA" (Wells, 2007, p. 11). Scholars have suggested a range of motivations for Disney's alignment with classic Hollywood cinema. Some argue that Walt Disney was drawn to producing an animated film within the classic cinema tradition in order to elevate animation to 'serious cinema' and gain wider recognition from the film industry, all at the expense of the animated form's inherent experimentation and expressive potential (Wells, 2002). For Maureen Furniss (2016) the growing demand for spoken word humour and the dwindling popularity of physical comedy is what prompted Disney to introduce more elaborate stories to his animated cartoons. She also asserts that the short cartoon format was becoming more and more expensive to produce but returned less profit, therefore, Disney diversified into feature film which promised better earnings. The aesthetic shift towards realism in animation resulted in the "completely real" becoming identified with the "completely fake" which has been termed hyperrealism (Wells, 2007, p. 25). Chris Pallant (2011) classifies Disney's first feature animation *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (dir. Hand, 1937) as a hyperrealist film, within which animators attempt to represent reality in a medium which is predicated on artifice (pp. 40-1). Here similarities can be drawn between Disney's hyperrealism and the hyperculture described by Han (2022) with both concerning representations of reality through means which are detached from their real-world contexts.

Since Disney feature animation is more closely aligned with classic Hollywood cinema, it is worth exploring how Hollywood traditionally depicts culture. In the USA, the

dominant culture is that of its WASP population. This group dominates wider US society as well as classic Hollywood filmmaking, embedding their attitudes and values in the cultural items produced. It has been established that Hollywood films feature White centrism, encouraging spectators to identify with a White protagonist and by extension a White ethnocentric ideology (Benschoff & Griffin, 2021; Shohat & Stam, 2006). Additional information about characters' cultures, and subsequently the narrating culture's attitudes towards these cultures, can be gleaned from a film's dialogue. More specifically, different accents, dialects, and even languages can serve as markers of linguistic and cultural difference within a film, contributing to the depiction of a specific culture or cultures. It is worth clarifying what is meant by the terms 'foreign language', 'accent', and 'dialect' as they can be a source of some confusion, especially the latter two terms. Dialect, as defined by Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling (2015), is "any language variety that typifies a group of speakers within a language" (p. 23). Jane Hodson (2014) describes dialect as "a combination of regional pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar" (p. 2). A dialect can be influenced by foreign languages, for example, one variety of US English heard mostly in New York City features a lot of borrowed words from Yiddish. While Yiddish is a foreign language, the way in which certain Yiddish words have been absorbed and continue to be used within US English signifies that they constitute a dialect of American English. Similarly, French origin words such as *cher* [darling] are heard in Louisiana where the dialect Cajun English is spoken. An accent is a specific pronunciation and is concerned with phonology. Accents and dialects are closely linked especially when they relate to a regional or sociocultural variety of a language, but a useful distinction to keep in mind is that dialect refers to what is being said whereas accent refers to how it is being said. While certain languages, accents, and dialects may historically and culturally be viewed less favourably, I want to reiterate that no language variety is superior or inferior to any other variety. Standard varieties of language, for example, Standard American English or Standard French, are simply the dominant dialects of their languages. Concepts of good or bad language use are socially imposed, and as such the representation of linguistic diversity can provide an insight into how cultures construct their own identities and their perceptions of other cultures they encounter. When discussing dialect, the term 'standardised' is used in this chapter to refer to the variety of English that is not marked as

other. Wolfram and Schilling (2015) posit that "if a person's speech is devoid of socially stigmatized structures, then it is considered standard or 'mainstream'" (p. 33). This definition is useful for describing the linguistic variation portrayed in Disney films and differentiating between the different varieties of English audiences hear in the films' dialogues.

Film dialogue differs from oral speech because it is precomposed. Scholars from Film Studies and Audiovisual Translation Studies have remarked that film dialogue is fabricated, carrying an illusion of oral speech (Hodson, 2014; Zabalbeascoa & Corrius, 2012; Chaume, 2004). Additionally, the language in film dialogue is frequently edited for clarity (Hodson, 2014, p. 61). Since film dialogue is not a genuine representation of real-life oral speech and has in fact been constructed by writers and/or actors, it becomes a plane on which we can analyse cultural representations. Sarah Kozloff (2000) asserts that "dialogue is often the first place we should go to understand how film reflects social prejudices" (pp. 26-27). The ways in which films employ foreign languages, accent, and dialect can reveal attitudes towards different social and cultural groups. Jane Hodson (2014) remarks that dialogue performs the "double duty" of communicating plot information and, in combination with accent or dialect, information about the characters, their relationships and background (p. 57). For Paul Wells (2013), dialogue takes on greater significance in animation due to the artificial nature of the medium. Having previously emphasised the subversive quality of animated visuals, Wells extends this to animation's sound and dialogue, arguing that animation frequently plays with and subverts language to humorous ends (Wells, 2013, pp. 64-65). He claims that "animation amplifies the dialogue in all contexts, so that it finally might be listened to and not merely heard" (p. 68). This is especially true in the case of animals and (in)animate objects which are imbued with elements of contemporary human life in a number of Disney's animated films. Take, for instance, the enchanted furniture in Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*. Through the film's dialogue the audience can clearly identify the candelabra as belonging to French culture and the teapot as belonging to British culture. Here, the dialogue communicates more than just plot information or verbal exchanges between the characters. It communicates to the audience the cultural identity the character is attempting to represent, thus the characters' use of language and accents are integral to the representation of culture. In an interview for

the Entertainment Globalization Association's magazine *Reteller*, Raúl Aldana, former head of Latin American Spanish for Disney, argues that "in animated content, a voice can create the whole essence of a character" (interviewed in Bovill, 2022, p. 31). Similarly, audiences recognise the New York accent of satyr Philoctetes in *Hercules*, the African American English (AAE) of the dragon in Mulan, and the British and US accents of the gargoyles in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*.

Kozloff (2000) outlines nine functions of dialogue, the first group pertaining to narrative communication, and the second group concerning aesthetics, ideology, and appeal (p. 33). Kozloff's fourth function, character revelation, deals with characterisation, i.e. a character's personality and ideology but also the socio-economic class to which they belong, their level of education, etc. (p. 43). In relation to cultural representation, this function becomes one of the key areas of analysis. US films often tell stories set in foreign places or about groups who speak a language other than English, yet English remains the primary or only language of the film. In terms of realism, this results in illogical situations whereby characters' accents and language do not fit with the setting of the film. In *Hercules*, the ancient Greek characters all speak English with American accents, and similarly, audiences hear American English accents in *The Emperor's New Groove* (dir. Dindal, 2000), which is set in a Pre-Colombian Incan Empire. For Shohat and Stam (2006), this revoicing of culture constitutes a cinematic colonialism which disseminates Anglo-American cultural hegemony around the world (p. 108). Even Hollywood films that feature other languages and accents perpetuate negative stereotypes as "linguistic discrimination goes hand in hand with condescending characterization and distorted social portraiture" (Shohat & Stam, 2006, p. 129). The inclusion of marked accents, dialects, and foreign language can be used as a means of discriminating against certain characters, or at the very least communicating cultural stereotypes, thus linguistic diversity in film has significant consequences for representations of power. They also observe a trend in Hollywood cinema where Native American characters are made to speak "pidgin English" in Hollywood westerns, and of the language of the country where a film takes place being reduced to an indistinct murmur or erased altogether in favour of the language of the colonisers (Shohat & Stam, 2006, p. 129).

Moreover, Irene Ranzato (2019) argues that the Cockney accent is used as a means of characterisation, citing the recurring trope of the juxtaposition of the Cockney accent with other accents. She argues that this reinforces the negative stereotypes associated with Cockney people: deceptive, loose way of life, crooks, ultimately concluding that "the voice of the Cockney is used to portray characters of dubious moral standing" (Ranzato, 2019, p. 242). Examples of the Cockney accent being linked to criminality and evil can be heard in the dog thieves Horace and Jasper in Disney's *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* (dirs. Reitherman, Luske & Geronimi, 1961). Another element invoked by the dialogue of Jasper and especially Horace is the criminal pair's lack of intelligence. Both men are outwitted by the heroes of the film, a group of dogs. The other characters of the film, including the majority of the animals, speak with RP accents. If we accept Ranzato's claim, Horace and Jasper's speech in the film marks them as not only morally, but intellectually inferior. This phenomenon has been recorded elsewhere, in fact, Hodson (2014) argues that "dialect-speaking characters in film are often shown to be less serious and less intelligent that Standard English-speaking characters" (p. 79). While Ranzato highlights a link between the Cockney accent and negative stereotypes, there are of course instances of more positively depicted characters with a Cockney accent. The nanny in Disney's *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* and Mrs Potts in *Beauty and the Beast* speak with Cockney accents, and both characters are portrayed as warm, kind, and motherly. It would appear in Disney's case that a disparity exists between the genders; Cockney men are villains whereas Cockney women are comforting and welcoming. It is important to remember that film dialogue is fabricated; it has been created by a scriptwriter who belongs to a particular culture in a particular period of time. Therefore, it is extremely likely that dialogue will reflect attitudes towards other cultural groups.

In the majority of cases, cultural representations take the form of stereotypes held by the narrating culture. These representations conform with traditional, dominant attitudes and provide viewers with familiar and easily understood references. Stereotyping is used as an effective storytelling device, although their inclusion in tales can have negative repercussions. Furniss (2016) observes:

> They limit the amount of back-story necessary to set up a narrative. They can also create derogatory humor through repetition, as they form classifications around a particular characterization [...]. Stereotypes have been widely present in animation, growing out of long traditions of racial and ethnic gags worldwide. (p. 130)

Van Ginneken (2007) has asserted that stereotyping in film and TV is inevitable since "media formats must by their nature be extremely condensed and thus stereotypical" (p. 3). The time constraints of a feature film, and especially a short television advertisement, leave little room for complexity reflecting that found in real life. Consequently, it is frequently impossible to avoid ethnocentrism in film. Similarly, stereotypes are often employed in the medium of animated cartoons. Stereotypes are common not just in live-action but also in animation. Wells (2007) has suggested that the caricature employed in cartoons "operates as a satirical mechanism which makes comment through its exaggeration of certain physical traits, and as a design strategy, which concentrates on redefining and exaggerating aspects of the body or environment, for purely aesthetic purposes" (p. 188). Yet this caricaturing frequently incorporated racist depictions and Wells (2007) acknowledges the clear racism in cartoon caricatures. He argues that:

> Racial stereotyping in the USA was familiar, almost reassuring to white audiences in its popular fictions and entertainment, and continued to be so until the 1950s. While such stereotyping is inexcusable, it may be understood as a product of an insensitive climate so naturalised in its political inequalities that these kind of representations were perceived as an aesthetic orthodoxy, operating as a playful rather than malicious presentation of black tropes. (Wells, 2007, p. 216)

Regardless, the harm caused by these racist depictions cannot be overstated. The initial focal point of this research is the examination of Disney's representations of US and foreign cultures, identifying the narrating US culture's attitudes to Othered cultures and its own through the depictions in these animated films. Then, an investigation into how these representations are rendered in the French and German dubbed versions can follow.

Over the history of the company, a parallel between the Disney studio's principles and those of the US Republican Party has been drawn (Wells, 2002). Disney has been described as tradition-oriented, meaning that the values they promote reinforce WASP values dominant in the USA. Janet Wasko (2020) has identified "a dominant all-American ideology" which is promoted in Disney animated cartoons (Wasko, 2020, p. 128). Despite a perceived shift in the values it promotes in its films since the 1990s to the present day,

Wasko asserts that Disney "still represents a variable package of mainstream American values, reinforcing dominant themes of the political and cultural context in which they were created" (pp. 121-22). Most of Disney's animated feature films are adaptations of older stories with European origins. The majority are versions of folktales or classic literature, and these source materials are themselves significant cultural artefacts. Despite the foreign origins of many of Disney's source material, the adaptations they release are distinctly American. Wasko (2020) asserts that Disney takes mostly European works of literature and Americanises them, before exporting these products around the world and back to their region of origin. Quoting Sparks, she asserts that "'Disney transforms the products it acquires, not into global products, but into American products. It is American products that it sells around the world'" (Sparks, cited in Wasko, 2020 p. 137). Naturally, the folktales often undergo a lot of adaptation with some elements being overemphasised or changed completely. Cappiccie et al. (2012) compare Disney's *Mulan* (Cook & Bancroft, 1998) to the traditional Chinese ballad, highlighting the deviations in the story. Again, they assert that Disney Americanises the story by promoting individualism and appealing to young Americans.

Disney does not only rewrite popular tales for its adaptations, but it has been observed to rewrite history. *Pocahontas* (Gabriel & Goldberg, 1995) is frequently cited as an example of Disney rewriting history to cater to WASP sensitivities. Genocide and tragedy are notably absent from the film's narrative, signifying an alteration of historical fact (Cappiccie et al., 2012; van Ginneken, 2007; van Wormer & Juby, 2016; Wasko, 2020). Cappiccie et al (2012) emphasise that Euro-Americans celebrate the film "as a tale of multicultural acceptance and cross-cultural understanding" (p. 55), whereas an oppositional reading considers the arrival of the European colonisers in America as a tragedy. Similarly, van Wormer and Juby (2016) categorise *Pocahontas*'s "misrepresentation of the colonization of the native people. Instead of revealing the ethnocentric values that would have been held by the occupying settlers, the film is built on themes of romanticism and universal love" (p. 588). Furthermore, the authors remark that the violent ethnocentrism of the settlers is displaced so that it "comes across as a relic of British civilization, as something that is foreign in character", rather than something that remains embedded in the establishment of the United States (van Wormer & Juby, 2016,

p.588.). Cappiccie et al. (2012) highlight the 'noble savage' stereotype which is clearly expressed throughout *Pocahontas* (Gabriel & Goldberg, 1995), with characters referring to the Native Americans as "savages", and Pocahontas' connection to the wind and Grandmother Willow. Similarly, van Ginneken (2007) asserts that "the characters have been flagrantly altered to suit white pride and prejudice" and that Disney's films feature "the embellishment or belittling of certain literary or historic characters" and "arbitrary changes further making caricatures out of them" (p. 22). In *Pocahontas*, significant distinctions are made among the colonisers and the Powhatan people; the 'real' villains among the colonisers are the more clearly British Governor Ratcliffe and his lackeys, in opposition to the American-accented John Smith and the younger, lower-positioned white characters who pursue the American Dream (van Ginneken, 2007, p. 36). Similarly, the Powhatan people are divided into "cruel/vengeful and noble/forgiving", with the result being that "the invaders and the invaded are placed on the same level" (van Ginneken, 2007, p. 36). This constitutes a gross misrepresentation of the Powhatan people and relations between the colonisers and Native American tribes. Disney's distorted portrayals extend beyond Native American characters and can be observed across a number of the studio's animated feature films where culture and history are often rewritten to conform to Disney's ideologies. Henry Giroux (1995) argues that:

> Innocence in Disney's world becomes the ideological vehicle through which history is both rewritten and purged of its seamy side [...] The Disney Company is not ignorant of history, it reinvents it as a pedagogical and political tool to secure its own interests, authority, and power. (p. 46)

Similarly, Elizabeth Bell, et al. (1995) argue: "Disney's trademark innocence operates on a systematic sanitization of violence, sexuality, and political struggle concomitant with an erasure or repression of difference" (p. 7). Even where depictions of other cultures and genders have been drawn more in line with contemporary values, these representations are not entirely unproblematic. Many have observed stereotypical depictions of Othered cultures in Disney's films (Burton-Carvajal, 1994; Cappiccie et al., 2012; Di Giovanni, 2003; Leonardi, 2008; Sharma, 2016). The presence of cultural stereotypes has been a constant throughout the company's long history. In the early animated shorts, "Disney often slid indirect social slurs (as well as racial and ethnic slights)

into scenes that were so fast-paced the audience had little time to notice them" (Cappiccie et al., 2012, p.49). Julianne Burton-Carvajal (1994) has observed the presence of stereotypes in the depiction of Latin America in Disney's wartime package film *The Three Caballeros* (dir. Ferguson, 1944), while Katherine van Wormer and Cindy Juby (2016) have noted negative stereotypes of cultural Others in the films released during the 1990s, as well as the more recent film *The Princess and the Frog* (dirs. Clements & Musker, 2009). Despite efforts to create more multicultural products since the 1990s, Disney's films still feature harmful racial depictions. On this basis, it can be expected that Disney films will feature many elements of US culture and traditional US ideas of other cultures, and these will mostly take the form of simplified, stereotypical representations.

Sometimes, the source material contains representations of a narrated culture which can influence the depictions present in the Disney adaptation. One example is *Aladdin* (Clements & Musker, 1992), whose source material, *The Arabian Nights*, is itself an exoticising and eroticising construction of the 'Orient'. Marzolph's (2019) analysis of *Aladdin* interrogates how contemporary Western popular culture perceives the tale of Aladdin by returning to the original tale. He claims that the West's perception of the Middle East is informed by Antoine Galland's adapted translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*. He explains that Galland's work consisted of a medley of tales from various origins and that the tale of Aladdin was not included in the original Arabic manuscript (Marzolph, 2019). He argues that Disney's 1992 adaptation greatly influenced popular culture's perception of the tale and that it offers a "reductive and biased vision of Middle Eastern culture" (Marzolph, 2019, p. 279). Many representations of Arabic cultures in Hollywood films fall into the Orientalist tradition. Ultimately, *Aladdin* is "a fictional orientalist text, engaged with a dialogue with other fictional orientalist texts" (Felperin, 1997, p. 142).

One of the most controversial Disney films upon its release is *Aladdin* (1992). This film has received much critique in popular media and from scholars. Sean Griffin (2009) remarks that Howard Ashman, one of the songwriters for *Aladdin*, appeared to overemphasise racial stereotypes in one of his early drafts, suggesting that this could be read as an attempt to expose racial stereotypes through their exaggeration. However, he does acknowledge that there are other possible explanations, for example, he indicates that

Arabic countries are a recurrent setting in European and American gay culture where they are portrayed as a "sexual playland" (Griffin, 2009, p. 112). This is not limited to gay culture only and is in fact part of a wider Orientalist tradition. These lyrics prompted backlash and even protests against the stereotypical depiction of the Middle East. They were later altered although some stereotypical elements remain in the film (Wasko, 2020). Griffin concludes by remarking that viewers may not always see the exaggeration in portrayals of cultural Others, and ultimately read the depiction as a representation of an identity. Similarly, Leslie Felperin (1997) highlights the Orientalist inspiration for Aladdin, asserting that the film "is far less concerned with a representation of any real Middle East than it is with re-presenting older Western representations of the Orient and the story" (p. 139). Van Ginneken (2007) has similarly noted the Orientalist elements in the film's depiction of a fictional Middle Eastern society. Disney's *Aladdin* has been contextualised against the backdrop of the First Gulf War, news coverage of which presented a very different portrayal of the Middle East than the one alluded to in the Disney film (Felperin, 1997; van Ginneken, 2007). Another film which has received criticism for its depictions of a foreign culture is *Mulan* (dirs. Cook & Bancroft, 1998). The lack of authentic Chinese culture in the film, as well as the sidekick Mushu, are highlighted as microaggressions by Cappiccie et al. (2012). It has been asserted that the name Mushu derives from a Westernised Chinese dish (Cappiccie et al., 2012; van Ginneken, 2007). Van Ginneken (2007) maintains that the many typical Chinese elements that can be observed in the film are all familiar to Western and more specifically US audiences.

Harmful stereotypical depictions of Othered cultures within the USA can be observed in *The Lion King* (dirs. Allers & Minkoff, 1994). Some of the most egregious examples can be found in the characterisation of the film's villains. The hyenas live in a dark, desolate landscape referred to as the elephant graveyard, which bears resemblance to a "decaying inner-city populated by the American citizenry who are labeled as underclass" (Gooding-Williams cited in Cappiccie et al., 2012, p. 50). The hyenas themselves speak with African American and Latino accents, and consequently, the authors assert that "their multicultural status is linked with the darkness and depravity of the social environment they inhabit" (Cappiccie et al., 2012, p.50.). In this reading, the story of *The Lion King* is in fact a metaphor which justifies White privilege. Van Wormer and Juby (2016) similarly observe

racialised portrayals of some of the minor characters. Additionally, they argue that the character of Rafiki conforms to a half-mad stereotype of African Americans and his role is to preserve the lion's hegemony (van Wormer & Juby, 2016). The authors assert that "white privilege is evidenced in this film not only through the power structure but also in the lack of complex depictions of persons of color as well as African culture" (p. 586). Cappiccie et al. (2012) argue that *The Lion King* presents the ideology of a social hierarchy as natural. The 'Circle of Life' scene, which opens the film, is central to this. Various species of African animals are depicted as travelling to kneel before the newborn cub Simba, who will go on to become their ruler. The authors note that "this scene conveys their acceptance of their subjugated place within a social hierarchy as they genuflect to the king and his heir" (Cappiccie et al., 2012, p. 50). Clearly, this is not an egalitarian circle of life, as the film suggests. Instead, this animal society features the lion Mufasa as the ruler over all other animals. By using wildlife as the characters of the film, the implication is that social hierarchy naturally occurs in animal behaviour. Thus, the film promotes an ideology of controlling diversity.

Some have asserted that Disney's 'foreign' films are less about the cultures in which they are set, but rather American culture:

> Musker and Clements do not wish to use the 'real politic' of Muslim cultures in their film to critique American political mores; they merely wish to use the aesthetic and cultural codings to 'modernise' Disney, with the consequence that there seems to be a high degree of cultural insensitivity at the level of representation. (Wells, 2002, p. 135-136)

This corresponds to Burton-Carvajal's (1994) assertion that "animated cartoons offer up a fascinating zone within which to examine how a dominant culture constructs its subordinates" (p. 139). Therefore, by examining the representations of Othered cultures in Disney animated films, it will be possible to grasp how the dominant WASP culture in the USA views other cultures. An investigation into the translation of these representations will reveal whether these attitudes are transmitted to French and German speaking cultures through these popular films.

From the preceding it is evident that Disney animated feature films still contain problematic representations of cultural Others. Cappiccie et al. (2012) assert that "racism has not disappeared from cartoons; racism simply is more subtly expressed - usually in the form of microaggressions that operate outside the threshold of conscious awareness by members of the dominant culture" (p. 56). It is clear that Disney films are products of their cultural environment therefore they contain many references to US culture. Furthermore, their depictions of other cultures naturally conform to dominant US myths and stereotypes of other cultures. Another facet of Disney's portrayal of various cultures, is the inherent ambiguity of the references it selects. In her study of the Disney Channel series *Elena of Avalor* (Gerber, 2016-2020), Diana Leon-Boys (2023) asserts that Disney's overriding motives in the creation of Princess Elena and her franchise are both universality and specificity, that is to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, and to offer specific cultural references in order to appeal to a Latinx audience (p. 63). Elena achieves these two aims through her cultural flexibility, or in other words, Elena and her world are depicted in both culturally ambiguous and specific terms. She also remarks that "these ambiguating strategies flatten diverse geographies and cultures to appeal to white cultural fantasies", while also possessing enough flexibility to appeal to as wide an audience as possible (Leon-Boys, 2023, p. 45). Leon-Boys argues that the mixture of a wide range of Latinx cultures is in fact a strategy employed by Disney in order to "court multiple audiences and soothe fears about difference, especially by relying on highly overused representations to stand in for specificity" (p. 90). She uses the example of perhaps the most recognisable Latinx cultural tradition for non-Latinx audiences: Día de los Muertos. Portrayals of Latinidad in mainstream media so frequently include this 'Day of the Dead' celebration that the festivities have become a stereotype in mainstream non-Latin media. Leon-Boys reminds us of the issues of authenticity which arise as result of mainstream non-Latin media's overreliance on Día de los Muertos as a shortcut for representing Latinx cultures: "Día de los Muertos is not celebrated as prominently or in the same manner in all parts of Latin America as is represented in U.S. mainstream media" (p. 72). Moreover, she notes that Mexico City only adopted Día de los Muertos celebrations in 2016, after the release of *Spectre* (dir. Mendes, 2015), a film in the James Bond franchise which includes a portrayal of Día de los Muertos festivities in Mexico City (p. 72). Moreover, the series displays a

distinctly US perception of Latinidad and Jewishness in its Hannukah episode. The episode focuses on Rebecca, a princess from another kingdom, whom Elena helps to celebrate Hanukkah. Leon-Boys remarks that in this episode the Jewish Latinx community is presented as "foreign to Avalor", which is to be read as Latinx, thus Jewishness is detached and othered from Latinidad (p. 88). Furthermore, this episode received some backlash as Leon-Boys recounts (pp. 89-90). Much of the critique aimed at Disney for its 'Festival of Lights' episode centres on the fact that Yiddish words, and Eastern European Jewish foods are depicted alongside Sephardic cultural elements. For instance, Adam Eilath (2019) states:

> It's disappointing to see that the writers of the show did not attempt to incorporate Ladino or Judeo-Arabic into the languages introduced on the show, and that they defaulted to what has unfortunately become the norm in America of using Yiddish as the catch-all Jewish language.

From the above comments, it becomes very clear that the series is overwhelmingly dominant US mainstream culture view of the various cultures. Based on the analysis of Disney's depictions of culture and cultural difference in other media, it can be assumed that the films will follow a similar pattern.

Since the 1990s, there has been much research into Disney's animated feature films, focusing on their depictions of gender and race in particular. Subsequently, there is interest in how these depictions are rendered for foreign audiences. One scholar who has published work in this specific area is Elena Di Giovanni. In two articles Di Giovanni (2003, 2007) investigates cultural Otherness in a selection of Disney films released between 1991 and 2000, which centre on cultures which are far-removed from contemporary American culture. This distance may be geographical, or temporal, or even both. One such example of a culture distanced by time provided in the articles is *Pocahontas* (Gabriel & Goldberg, 1995). This study into representations of the cultural Other is founded in Said's (1978/1995) theory of Orientalism and also draws on Sardar's (1999) discussion of Orientalism in the modern era, particularly how cinema and mass media operate as proponents of Orientalism. Therefore, Disney's animated films can be labelled as Orientalist products. These representations of cultural Otherness are designed to entertain Western audiences and simultaneously strengthen their dominance. Foreign cultural

elements are modified to be more palatable to US/Western audiences by striking a balance between exoticism and familiarity. Di Giovanni (2003, 2007) observes that long-standing stereotypes associated with foreign cultures are deployed as they allude to a sense of the exotic while not straying too far into the unfamiliar for US/Western viewers. Di Giovanni (2003) asserts "representations of the Other are necessarily smoothed and simplified by the selection of exotic elements which are well-known to the Western world, being part of a more or less fixed repertoire" (p. 211), classifying these as "distorted cultural metonymies" (p. 96). According to Di Giovanni (2003, 2007) the selection of cultures depicted in Disney films reflects a larger ideology which considers these cultures somewhat inferior to modern US culture and society. She asserts that an asymmetrical relationship between the narrating and narrated cultures is always present in each film. References to the narrated culture mostly consist of "long-established, worldwide-known stereotypes", often referring to food or clichéd expressions (Di Giovanni, 2007, p. 97). Contrastingly, references to the narrating, US culture not only outnumber those to the narrated culture but also relate to modern American cultural elements and are often used as humoristic tools. Essentially this has the effect of "relegating the [narrated culture] to a suggestive but lifeless background" (Di Giovanni, 2007, p. 100).

For Di Giovanni (2007), however, the differences between the treatment of the two cultures present in the ST becomes all the more glaring when a third culture is introduced during the translation process. She examines the Italian translations of the selected films in order to identify how the cultural representations are transferred to another culture. Ultimately, she observes that the references to the narrated cultures are easily rendered in the Italian versions since both the SL and TL share the common repertoire of stereotypes of cultural Others, whereas the references to contemporary American culture posed a greater challenge in translation because of their more complex composition and the functions they serve within the text (Di Giovanni, 2007).

Another scholar who has investigated how representations of cultural Otherness in popular Disney animated films are rendered in a foreign language is Vanessa Leonardi. Leonardi (2008) has found numerous examples of racist stereotypes in Disney films, many of these stemming from simplified representations of cultural Others. White, Anglo-Saxon America is consistently depicted as good, while any characters which do not conform to the

dominant mould undergo a process of Othering. Of the films in Leonardi's corpus, the crows' African American Vernacular English in *Dumbo* (Sharpsteen, 1941) and the Siamese cats' accents in *Lady and the Tramp* (Geronimi, Jackson & Luske, 1955) stand out as some of the most well-known examples. Leonardi's study of the Italian translations of a selection of major depictions of Otherness in Disney films found that in the Italian dubs of all but one film the stereotyped characters are dubbed with standardised accents, thus removing the racist stereotypes present in the STs. This demonstrates the value of analysing foreign language dubs of Disney films as it can help reveal more of the narrating culture's ideology and attitudes towards different cultures, especially when considering the roles these culturally marked characters play within the films.

In conclusion, it has been established that Hollywood cinema tells stories predominantly for US culture and, owing to its international dominance, these stories are exported to many other countries and cultures. What began as a subversive medium was brought closer in line with Hollywood's traditional narrative model when Walt Disney industrialised animation. An ideology of White ethnocentrism can be clearly observed in Hollywood and Disney productions. The Disney studio has also been associated with predominantly conservative US values, which are evidenced through the company's depiction of various US and foreign cultures. These representations fall into dominant US conceptions of those cultures, often taking the form of long-standing stereotypes. Stereotypes serve a particular function in storytelling, especially in mass and audiovisual communication where easily and quickly understood messages are favoured. Unsurprisingly, many cultural stereotypes have been observed in Disney films. Stereotypes are a form of CSR, one that alludes to the narrated culture while in fact revealing more about the narrating culture's attitudes. It has been demonstrated that CSRs pose a particular challenge in translation, and even more so in dubbing. Strategies for rendering these range from domesticating to foreignising, although domesticating strategies are more common. Previous research has found that CSRs to third cultures are replicated in translation when the SC and TC share similar conceptions and stereotypes relating to the third culture. Additionally, it has been observed that CSRs to US culture pose a greater challenge in translation.

1.2 Research Design

Using comparative qualitative textual analysis, this research will examine what happens to Disney's cultural portrayals when the corpus of films come to be translated into French (both standard and Québécois) and German. This method of analysis was employed in order to cross-examine the cultural representations within each film version. Initially, quantitative analysis of the translation strategies observed across the film corpus was included in my comparative study of Disney's dubbed animated films. While it is true that the collected quantitative data illustrated the technical means of CSR translation employed and their frequency across the different TT versions, I found this data lacked sufficient insight into the ideological and cultural implications of the representations which were revealed through deeper qualitative analysis. For this reason, comparative qualitative textual analysis was favoured over quantitative research methods. Not only was I able to analyse the cultural (re)constructions between ST and TTs of each film unit, but also how the same cultures were depicted across the different film units. Furthermore, the comparative approach supported extensive scrutiny of which cultural images were and were not transferred to the TCs, prompting wider exploration of translation as a means of cultural mediation and negotiation. The main research questions are:

1) How are depictions of cultural difference rendered in the French and German-language dubs of Disney feature films?
2) What translation strategies can be observed, and how do these translations influence the cultural representation present in the TTs?
3) What happens to source and target culture references in translation?
4) As the Disney Studio revisits many of its animated classics through live-action remakes, how are cultures depicted in both the STs and TTs given cultural shifts in values and attitudes towards representation on screen?

These questions allow us to focus on hypercultural representation and its translation in mass media, an area which has not yet been exploited in Translation Studies. This thesis departs from common methodologies in previous research by including so-called familiar references within the scope of CSRs to be analysed. Previous research (Aixelá, 1996;

Leppihalme, 1997) asserts that as far as translation is concerned, only unfamiliar cultural artefacts constitute CSRs and that herein lies the challenge for translators. On the contrary, if we are to truly begin to map cultural encounters, we must consider how seemingly familiar references are handled in translation. Questions one and two move from cultural representation in the ST to that in the TTs. A potential pitfall of this progression is that the TTs may be treated as bound to the ST rather than as texts within their own right, resulting in TT CSRs being missed. To counteract this, the corpus of TTs was closely analysed to identify all possible CSRs, especially creative additions. Question three pinpoints the complex process of negotiating cultural identity and accepted portrayals when the cultural narration shifts between individual cultures through translation. Finally, question four connects the portrayals in Disney's animations from the 1990s and 2000s to more recent retellings of the same tales with the studio's live-action remakes.

From its beginnings as the small Laugh-O-Gram animation studio to its current major international conglomerate status, the Walt Disney Studio has consistently produced short and feature-length animations, alongside various live-action screen products, documentaries, and news and sports television programmes. The company's extensive output presents scholars with a treasure trove of material for critical study, which even extends to the merchandise products and theme park experiences offered to consumers. Published research into Disney reflects this vast terrain with Bloomsbury's series *Studies in Disney and Culture* edited by Priscilla Hobbs, the International Journal of Disney Studies, and various works investigating Disney's use of technology (Mine et al., 2012; Telotte, 2008), their theme parks (McCarthy & Kotsi, 2026; Creedon, 2025; Luo et al, 2020; Mittermeier, 2020; Williams, 2020), their business management (Han, 2024; Zhu, 2024; Wasko, 2020) and the sociopolitical implications of their products (Zurcher et al, 2025; Benhamou, 2023; Dashiell, 2023; Schiele et al, 2020; Coyne et al, 2016; Bell et al, 1995). However, Disney's animated feature films represent perhaps the most lucrative and far-reaching of the company's products. The company claims to reach over 130 countries across Europe, Middle East and Africa, with their streaming platform "currently available in 85 markets" (The Walt Disney Company, n.d.). As products of mainstream US culture intended for global audiences, Disney's animated feature films provide a crucial insight into how Disney presents culture(s) to the world. The medium of animation adds a

significant framework to any cultural depictions because it is inherently fabricated. More precisely, every element of Disney animation has been created by a group operating under the studio's ideology; every character and every cultural portrayal has been designed and moulded within the studio's vision of said culture. Thus, Disney's animations communicate particular beliefs about the cultures they choose to include in their films.

In the preliminary stages, I watched the feature films released by Walt Disney Animation Studios between 1937 and 2010, ranging from *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (dir. Hand, 1937) to *Tangled* (dirs. Greno & Howard, 2010). This excluded the direct-to-video sequels such as *The Return of Jafar* (dir. Stones et al, 1994), *Aladdin and the King of Thieves* (dir. Stones, 1996), *Beauty and the Beast: The Enchanted Christmas* (dir. Knight, 1997), *Pocahontas II: Journey to a New World* (dirs. Ellery & Raymond, 1998), *The Hunchback of Notre Dame II* (dir. Raymond, 2002), and *101 Dalmatians II: Patch's London Adventure* (dirs. Kammerud & Smith, 2003), which were produced by the Disney Television Animation studio. Before the initial viewings, I composed a set of criteria for assessing the suitability of each film for analysis. First, the film had to contain cultural references to any culture outside the US or any non-dominant US culture; second, the film must include cultural portrayals throughout the majority of its runtime, and third, the cultural portrayals must significantly relate to the film's setting or the characterisation of the animated figures. During the viewings of Disney's theatrical features, I recorded any cultural portrayals within the films before evaluating the suitability of each film according to the aforementioned criteria. Many Disney animations feature instances of culture-specific references such as the English and Native American characters in *Peter Pan* (dirs. Geronimi, Jackson & Kuske, 1953), the London setting of *101 Dalmatians* (dirs. Reitherman, Luske & Geronimi, 1961), the Indian setting of *The Jungle Book* (dir. Reitherman, 1967), the French chef Louis in *The Little Mermaid* (dirs. Clements & Musker, 1989), and the Inca Kingdom of *The Emperor's New Groove* (dir. Dindal, 2000). Despite the inclusion of cultural depictions, these films did not meet the criteria as the cultural representation was not significant enough to warrant including the films in their entirety in the corpus. With the release of *Fantasia 2000* (dirs. Hahn et al, 1999), Walt Disney Animation entered what has been labelled the studio's Experimental era (Determan, 2021). Closing with *Bolt* (dirs. Williams & Howard, 2008), this era features considerably fewer

cultural depictions than those in Disney's preceding Renaissance era. Moreover, the explicit cultural portrayals included in *Emperor's New Groove*, *Atlantis: The Lost Empire* (dirs. Trousdale & Wise, 2001), *Lilo & Stitch* (dirs. Sanders & DeBlois, 2002), and *Brother Bear* (dirs. Blaise & Walker, 2003) bear minor significance for the translation of these films. Take, for instance, the French minor character Mole in *Atlantis* or the treatment of Native American culture in *Brother Bear*. For future research, these relatively brief representations could be included in a more comprehensive analysis of Disney's animated cultures over the decades of the company's activity.

Another film excluded from the corpus despite featuring significant Native American characters is *Pocahontas* (dirs. Gabriel & Goldberg, 1995) which centres on the eponymous Powhatan historical figure. After viewing the ST and TTs, it was decided that in translation *Pocahontas* featured minimal diversion from or alteration to the ST, bar the addition of "tam-tam" [BT: drum, commonly used to refer to the various drums used in a range of African cultures and those of the indigenous peoples of the Americas], "grand Manitou" [BT: great Manitou], and "Eldorado" in the French TT, and "Londres" [BT: London] in the Québécois TT. Here, the frequency of direct translation and retention across the three TTs could suggest that the TCs' perception of Native American cultures largely conforms to that presented by mainstream US culture. Considering traditional Hollywood approaches to depicting Native American characters, as well as the ongoing subjugation of Native American populations by dominant US cultural political forces, it is perhaps unsurprising that each of the TT versions adheres closely to the representations presented in the ST and the cultural images historically conveyed in mainstream US culture. The portrayal of Native American cultures in *Pocahontas* has proven fruitful ground for analysis as many critics have found (Lui, 2022; Ward, 2021; Bonhommet, 2020; Russell, 2018; van Wormer & Juby, 2016; Benhamou, 2014; Whitley, 2008). Nevertheless, due to the lack of significant translation data for this unit of ST and TTs, ultimately *Pocahontas* was excluded from the corpus.

Moreover, *The Aristocats* (dir. Reitherman, 1970) was originally included in the corpus of films for analysis because of its Parisian setting and numerous characters from various cultural backgrounds. Initially, this film was analysed in conjunction with the two other

'French' Disney animations, *Beauty and the Beast* and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. However, as the research expanded to include a comparative study of three live-action adaptations of Disney animated classics, the decision was made to omit *The Aristocats* from the finalised corpus. Instead, the corpus focuses on six animated feature films and three live-action adaptations, allowing direct comparative evaluation of the shifting modes of cultural representation over a four decade timespan. The final corpus comprises the animated feature films *Beauty and the Beast* (Trousdale & Wise, 1991), *Aladdin* (Musker & Clements, 1992), *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (Trousdale & Wise, 1996), *Hercules* (Clements & Musker, 1997), *Mulan* (Cook & Bancroft, 1998), and *The Princess and the Frog* (Clements & Musker, 2009), as well as three live-action adaptations *Beauty and the Beast* (Condon, 2017), *Aladdin* (Ritchie, 2019), and *Mulan* (Caro, 2020). Due to the animations and live-action adaptations bearing the same titles, the dates of release will be included for these films to differentiate between Disney's animated originals and the live-action remakes. One of the research questions concerns the translation of TC references and the extent to which the TTs mediate US imaginings of the TC. For the French TTs, the corpus features a significant amount of references to France and French culture with two animated films set in France and further instances of French cultural references appearing in the remaining four animations. In contrast, there are very few allusions to German and Québécois cultures across Disney's 64 theatrical animated feature films, hence the lack of chapters or longer sections devoted to German or Québécois CSRs.

Nevertheless, the multilingual approach allows for a comprehensive comparison of cultural representation is mass media. Through examination of the similarities and discrepancies between STs and TT versions, it is possible to delineate which cultural narratives travel between the SC and TCs, indicating which attitudes, values, and stereotypes they share. Simultaneously, the comparative approach reveals which narratives are not transferred and thus conclusions can be drawn about the prevalent cultural narratives within each TC. The analysis of French and German TTs facilitates the identification of interlinguistic and intercultural variation. Furthermore, by broadening the dataset, the multilingual comparative approach reinforced applications of the hyperculture framework and demonstrated the applicability of this analytical framework. Additionally, the intralingual comparison of French and Québécois TTs granted further insight into which CSRs and

cultural portrayals may be language-specific and which are likely the result of TC ideologies. In other words, the linguistic similarities of the TLs help expose the divergences within the TTs. Not every film in the corpus had separate French and Québécois dubs; instead, Disney produced one French dub to serve the various francophone regions in which their animated films are released. This thesis includes analysis of Québécois TTs for those films which received a Québécois dub, while those which were dubbed into a single French TT are contrasted with the German TTs.

As screen products, it is useful to delineate which elements are considered part of a whole 'text'. Cultural allusions can appear in both the visual and audio channels, therefore signs communicated through both channels must be included in the analysis. Any symbolic or written allusions in the films' visuals are included alongside the soundtrack and dialogue, where we find specifically indicators of accent, dialect, and foreign language as well as lexical CSRs. Once the corpus of films had been finalised, the process of transcribing each of the STs and TTs began. After breaking the corpus down into units of individual films and their translated versions, I worked through the selected films chronologically and produced accurate transcripts for each film version. Approaching the transcription process through units of STs and their associated TTs facilitated cohesive analysis of the cultural images presented (and omitted or modified) in each set of film versions, as well as the translation strategies employed and their implications for cultural representation. Transcripts of the STs were readily available online, however, to ensure accuracy, these pre-existing transcripts were used referentially alongside the ST audio tracks, with any discrepancies being corrected in the transcripts used for textual analysis. The data collection process then moved to the TT transcription stage. Unlike the STs, transcripts for the French, Québécois and German dubs were not readily available hence the need for consistent and close scrutiny of the TT audio tracks. The consulted audio tracks consisted of those available on Disney Plus, the company's video-on-demand streaming service, and DVD copies of the TT in cases where TL dubs were omitted from Disney Plus's local regional content. Cases where DVD copies were required include the French dub of *Aladdin* (1992) and the French and German dubs of *The Princess and the Frog*. Transcribing the TT versions consisted of viewing the TL dubs and recording the dialogue from the films' audio tracks. A process not without its challenges, it was therefore necessary

to continue revisiting the TL audio tracks alongside the recorded transcripts up until the thesis submission in order to ensure accuracy. To assist the reader, I have included my own back translations of the TT examples in the thesis.

Once the transcripts were complete, the STs and TTs could then be analysed for CSRs using the taxonomies proposed by Ranzato (2012) and Díaz Cintas and Remael (2021). When analysing film as a text, it is vital to adopt a multimodal approach, hence the inclusion of accents in the discussion of cultural representation. Furthermore, deliberate attention was also paid to the visual channel accompanying the films' audio tracks as the selected films frequently included images in their cultural representations.

Since we are concerned with cultural representations, and their modification in translation, it is essential to identify which types of CSR are utilised in Disney's portrayals. The following taxonomy incorporates Díaz Cintas and Remael's (2021) taxonomy with Ranzato's distinctions between source, target, and third culture references. The development of this taxonomy was a continuous process as I moved through the corpus of films. Initially, the two aforementioned taxonomies were combined to guide identification of CSRs within the texts, however, as my analysis progressed, it became evident that an adapted taxonomy was required. The taxonomy presented below underwent steady modification during the data collection stages in order to ensure that the CSR categories accurately reflect those exhibited within the Disney films.

Table 1.1 Culture-Specific References Classification

Source culture / Target culture / Third culture references
• Real-world references

• Geographical references
  • To certain phenomena
  • To physical general locations
  • To physical unique locations
  • To endemic animal and plant species
• Ethnographic references
  • To food and drinks

• To objects from daily life • To work • To art, media, and culture • To monuments • To groups • To weight and measures • To brand names and personal names • Socio-political references • To countries, cities, and regions • To administrative or territorial units • To institutions or functions • To socio-cultural life • To military institutions and objects • To personal names and institutional names
• Intertextual references
• Overt intertextual allusion • Covert intertextual allusion
• Intertextual macroallusion
• Overt intertextual macroallusion • Covert intertextual macroallusion

This taxonomy is used to classify the various CSRs featured in the corpus of Disney feature films, in order to fully appreciate the observed means of cultural representation. For clarity, intertextual macroallusion refers to adaptations of other texts, for instance, Disney's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* is an overt intertextual macroallusion to Victor Hugo's (1831) novel. In contrast, a covert intertextual macroallusion is an adaptation of another text does not explicitly reference the text it is adapting, for example, *Clueless* (dir. Heckerling, 1995) is a covert macroallusion to Jane Austen's (1815) *Emma*. Because the depictions of cultures in Disney animated feature films rely heavily on stereotypes, the CSRs included relate

more to the narrating culture's image of the narrated culture. It is important to note here that we are not concerned with the 'accuracy' of the portrayals of various cultures in the films, but rather with the image of a culture presented and to what extent this image is adapted for French- and German-speaking audiences.

Additionally, despite many scholars stating that a CSR is only classified as a CSR when it poses a challenge in translation, I believe it is vital to include all CSRs in the analysis, even those which may be considered familiar to TT audiences. First, since we are examining cultural representations, it is important to include all CSRs as they appear in the texts as each CSR contributes to the portrayal of the cultures concerned. If we are to gain a comprehensive understanding how mass media cultural depictions travel between cultures, any analysis must encompass the cultural depiction in its entirety. Second, several of the films in the corpus were released well over two decades ago, and in the meantime dominant US culture has spread further around the world and deeper into local cultures. As a result, CSRs which may be considered familiar to TT audiences today may have been considered unfamiliar thirty years ago. Therefore, including all CSRs, regardless of TC recognisability, allows us to examine contemporary trends in cultural representation and compare these with the more recent portrayals in Disney's live-action remakes.

When analysing the representations of culture in Disney films, the cultural origins of the source material must also be taken into consideration in order to reveal how Disney constructs the source culture (SC) and adapts these cultural artefacts for a mass audience. It is also possible to uncover how the company presents Othered cultures within the USA, such as Native American cultures, for their international audiences. A further consideration is the fact that many of these tales have existing translations, therefore a comparison of the Disney TTs with any existing translations of the source material can provide some insight into the company's approach to adaptation in translation.

The following list of CSR translation strategies in dubbing was used to categorise the strategies observed in Disney's French and German-language dubs. In order to highlight the significance of the cultures involved in Disney's portrayals, I propose a modified version of Ranzato's dubbing strategies which clarifies which culture(s) are alluded to in the translations.

- **Official equivalent**: e.g. the Italian city Milan is known as Mailand in German.
- **Loan**: unaltered repetition of the CSR
- **Calque**: a literal, word-for-word translation of the CSR
- **Explicitation**: defining the CSR through an explanation
- **Generalisation**: replacing the CSR with a hypernym (a word with a broader meaning than the ST element) or a hyponym (a word with a more specific meaning that the ST element)
- **Substitution of SC reference**: replacing the CSR with a reference from the SC
- **Substitution of TC reference**: replacing the CSR with a reference from the TC
- **Substitution of Third culture reference**: replacing the CSR with a reference from a culture outside of the translation pair
- **Compensation**: compensating for a loss in another part of the translation
- **Creative addition**: insertion of CSR in the TT where none exists in the ST
- **Elimination**: the CSR is eliminated and not replaced by another CSR

Figure 1.1 CSR Translation Strategies

It should be noted that some overlap between each of the strategies can occur and occasionally, strategies may be combined. For instance, the strategy creative addition may appear as part of the strategy compensation.

This research contributes to knowledge of the translation of cultural Otherness in mass media through its examination of how cultural Otherness is presented in the ST and rendered in the TT. It seeks to reveal whether US attitudes to Othered cultures are transferred through translations of popular animated mass media. Chapter Five charts the shifts in public values and attitudes towards cultural representation in mass media and considers how these values are echoed in Disney's updated depictions featured in the live-action remakes *Beauty and the Beast* (2017), *Aladdin* (2019), and *Mulan* (2020). Across the following four chapters, the data is presented in the format of case studies for each film. As the corpus and methodology evolved, so did the choice in presenting data. Initially,

when quantitative data was considered, it was imagined that chapters would be dedicated to categories of CSR. After excluding quantitative data I still envisioned organising chapters by CSR category. However, as data analysis progressed it became clear that the most appropriate way to present my evaluations of the impact of translation strategies on cultural representation at the micro and macro textual levels was to present data within the context of its film unit. The case study format was chosen as it also facilitated presentation of contextual research taken from interviews, behind the scenes clips and broadcasts, as well as facilitating detailed qualitative analysis

This thesis advances the fields of Disney Studies, Translation Studies, and Cultural Studies by drawing attention to the signifance of hyperculture and its implications in mass media. The CSRs featured in Disney animations consistently share the quality of being easily recognised, simplistic emblems that serve as decorative icons alluding to the narrated cultures within the established framework of the narrating culture. It must be remembered that these cultural depictions are not necessarily representative of the cultural realities they suggest. In fact, their purpose within mass media texts is arguably not to reflect cultural reality. Instead, these allusions, removed from their cultural contexts, function as fabricated symbols of reality. Often, research into CSR translation focuses on how the CSRs do not conform to the cultural realities they purport to depict. This type of critique is still important as it facilitates identification and discussion of stereotypes and problematic representations, however, by incorporating Byung-Chul Han's (2022) framework of hyperculture, this thesis proposes a new paradigm for Translation Studies. Working from Han's assumption that mass media today is inextricably shaped by hyperculture, we can examine the modes of representation that define the current media landscape. The paradigm of hyperculture presents an opportunity to further critical approaches in TS by examining how hyperculture operates within and through translation, as well as how hyperculture is exported and adapted for foreign audiences. Disney films perhaps the perfect starting point for analysis because as mass media products they are rife with hyperculture and through translation they are exported around the world.

Chapter Two: Old-School Orientalism

The Disney Studio's output during the 1990s, which the company designates as its Renaissance, is marked by a series of films preoccupied with cultures other than dominant US culture. From *The Rescuers Down Under* (dirs. Butoy & Gabriel, 1990) and *Beauty and the Beast* to *Pocahontas* (dirs. Gabriel & Goldberg, 1995) and *Hercules*, the Disney Renaissance era presented audiences with tales in exotic(ised) places. Two films from this decade, *Aladdin* (1992) and *Mulan* (1998) offer Disney's imaginings of the Middle East and Ancient China respectively. The two case studies included in this chapter consider each film individually, examining the modes of cultural representation and the extent to which these are adapted for French- and German-speaking audiences.

2.1 *Aladdin* (dirs. Clements & Musker, 1992)

Disney's *Aladdin* (1992) received critical acclaim upon its release, garnering Academy Awards and Golden Globe awards for Best Original Score and Best Original Song. The film follows young orphan Aladdin, who spends his days stealing food in order to survive and dodging the guards on the streets of the fictional city Agrabah, which bears many Middle Eastern markers. He meets the princess Jasmine, who is in disguise, before the Sultan's megalomaniac vizier Jafar sends Aladdin into an enchanted cave full of treasure to retrieve a magic lamp. With the help of the Genie of the lamp, a flying carpet, and his monkey friend Abu, Aladdin returns to Agrabah as a prince with the intention of marrying Jasmine. However, his plan is thwarted by Jafar and his parrot minion Iago who steal the lamp in order to become all-powerful. With his ingenuity, Aladdin defeats Jafar, marries Jasmine and liberates the Genie. Some reviewers praised the film, such as Janet Maslin (1992) who applauded Robin Williams' performance as the Genie and the animators' ability to keep up with him. Duane Byrge (1992) similarly gave a glowing review for T*he Hollywood Reporter*, echoed by Olly Richards' (2000) retrospective article in *Empire* magazine. Richards even asserts that the boom in blockbuster cartoons enjoyed by other animation studios at the turn of the millennium was only possible due to the skill and success of Disney's *Aladdin* (Richards, 2000). However, other critics such as Roger Ebert and Ed Gonzalez, have been less complimentary and called attention to the film's use of cultural stereotypes. Originally writing for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Ebert observed: "Most

of the Arab characters have exaggerated facial characteristics - hooked noses, glowering brows, thick lips - but Aladdin and the princess look like white American teenagers" (Ebert, 1992).Writing a retrospective piece for *Slant* magazine, Gonzalez (2004) labelled Robin Williams' performance as the Genie an "elaborately narcissistic circus act" and remarked that "every Arab male in the film is shady and snivelling [...] whereas Aladdin looks like Scott Wolf and sounds like Clay Aiken" [1](Gonzalez, 2004). In fact, the original theatrical release of *Aladdin* (1992) proved controversial and prompted criticism from the American-Arab Discrimination Committee for its insensitive portrayal of Arab culture (Fox, 1993; Frook, 1993; New York Times, 1993). This resulted in a lyric change to the film's opening song 'Arabian Nights' for the home video release. Table 2.1 below shows the original lyrics of the first verse alongside the altered lyrics which have appeared in subsequent releases of the film and soundtrack.

Table 2.1 Aladdin (1992) Lyrics Revision

Theatrical Release lyrics	**1993 Revised lyrics**
Oh, I come from a land, from a faraway place Where the caravan camels roam Where they cut off your ear If they don't like your face It's barbaric, but hey, it's home.	Oh, I come from a land, from a faraway place Where the caravan camels roam Where it's flat and immense And the heat is intense It's barbaric, but hey, it's home.

As the table shows, the line "It's barbaric, but hey, it's home" was left unaltered, despite the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee also highlighting this line as a harmful stereotype (Scheinin, 1993; Associated Press, 1993). At this point, it is worthwhile considering the history of the tale of Aladdin and his magic lamp to understand some of the recurring themes in popular media portrayals of this folktale. As Ulrich Marzolph

[1] Scott Wolf is an American actor. Clay Aiken came second on televised singing competition *American Idol* in 2003. The inference made here is that Aladdin appears to bear closer resemblance to Caucasian, all-American male celebrities rather than a character from the Middle East.

(2019) states, the tale of Aladdin was inserted into the nineth edition of the collection of tales *Les Mille et une Nuits* by French translator Antoine Galland (1712), who was inspired by Hanna Diyab's performances in Paris (p. 276). In fact, the tale of Aladdin does not appear in any surviving Arabic manuscript of the collection of tales, prompting Marina Warner (2011) to describe the collection, also known as *Arabian Nights*, as "a hybrid, formed through cross-fertilisation over time between Europe, Asia and the Middle East" (p. 20). Initially, the Aladdin tale was set in a far-off kingdom in China. The enduring popularity of the *Nights* tales in Europe has resulted in the tale becoming embedded in European receiving cultures, as exemplified by the countless British pantomime performances of the tale every year. The tale continues to undergo processes of interculturalisation, albeit with differing Orientalist orientations. For example, Jennie MacDonald (2020) draws attention to the different orientations:

> Each culminating in culturally infused fantasies gesturing at literary authenticity and representing either the setting of Scheherazade's tale-telling (Arabia) or the settings named in the original story (China and Africa). The two approaches diverge geographically and visually, with English signifiers of British imperial history in China, India, and Africa, and American signifiers of its complex relationship with the Middle East (p. 103).

Here, we are reminded of Said's (1978/1995) assertion that representations serve a specific purpose, often dictated by the narrating culture, thus representations can alter depending on which culture is doing the narrating. US adaptations of the Aladdin tale focus on the Arabian setting and Disney's animated feature film is no exception. Leslie Felperin (1997) contextualises *Aladdin* (1992) against the backdrop of the Gulf War during the early 1990s and argues that Disney's film is a "projection […] of Western fears of and desires for the Orient (p. 138). Similarly, Alan Nadel (1997) provides a brief overview of the post-World War II relations between the USA and Iraq and Iran, highlighting the shifting US narratives of both nations which reveal American anxieties around overseas power, particularly nations with nuclear power (pp. 185-8). Many representations of Arabic cultures in Hollywood films fall into the Orientalist tradition and Ileana Baird (2021) lists some of the common stereotypes associated with Arabia and the Middle East:

> Arabia's things range from spatial landmarks (deserts, sands, oases, palm trees) to commodities (spices, perfumes, coffee, dates, tobacco, pearls, ivory, gold) to animals (camels, horses, goats, sheep) to slaves. They describe a space both hostile and alluring,

> barren and fertile, poor and lavish, deserted and extravagant. Its undisputable exoticism is a play of contraries that simultaneously signify danger and heavenly bliss (p. 85).

On screen, these stereotypes become what Di Giovanni (2007) defines as "*distorted* cultural metonymies", whose "function is to provide an exotic, suggestive and self-contained backdrop to the narration while emphasizing, by contrast, the lively and powerful role of the narrating culture" (pp. 96-7, original emphasis). These stereotypes and cultural metonymies, removed from their original contexts and manipulated by the narrating culture, serve as readily understood signifiers of cultural Otherness, reinforcing US fantasies of the exotic.

2.1.1 Arabian Delights: Disney's Cave of Cultural Blunders

Disney's *Aladdin* (1992) begins with red flames and smoke, accompanied by an instrumental which alludes to the film's Arabian setting. The title appears on screen in a gold script stylised to appear similar to the Arabic writing system. As the song 'Arabian Nights' begins, the visuals shift to show the Peddler traversing a large desert on camelback. The lyrics depict the Arabian location in exotic and threatening terms, echoing long-standing Orientalist imaginings of the Middle East. The first line describes the location as "a faraway place", while the closing lines "a fool off his guard/Could fall and fall hard/Out there on the dunes" emphasises a sense of danger and threat in the landscape. Furthermore, the repeated refrain "Arabian nights" constitutes an overt intertextual reference to the English translation of Galland's *Les Mille et une nuits*. In the French version, the refrain is rendered as "nuits d' Arabie" [BT: Arabian nights] which incidentally eliminates the intertextual allusion present in the ST. However, the subsequent line exhibits the compensatory addition "mille et une folies" [BT: A thousand and one follies], which creates a somewhat less overt intertextual allusion to Galland's text. Alongside highlighting the desert landscape, the French version also emphasises the magical which is traditionally associated with Orientalist portrayals in lines such as "les serpents t'encorsellent" [BT: snakes bewitch you], "tapis volant" [BT: flying carpet], and "la magie des nuits d'Orient" [BT: the magic of Orient nights]. Echoing the ST, the French version also conveys a sense of danger in the final line "Pour le fou qui se perd/ Au cœur du desert/ Fatal est l'amour" [BT: for the madman who gets lost deep in the desert, love is fatal]. Notably the French version did not receive any lyrical rewrites, as this dub of the song did not engender a

controversy about the representation of Arab culture. In contrast, both the Québécois and German versions had their lyrics altered for the film's home video releases. Table 2.2 shows both Québécois and German versions of 'Arabian Nights' first verse with the altered lyrics.

Table 2.2 Aladdin (1992) TT Lyric Revisions

Québécois TT		**German TT**	
Original TT lyrics	Revised lyrics	Original TT lyrics	Revised lyrics
Moi, je viens d'un pays, qui est certes très lointain, La caravane passe quand aboient les chiens, On vous coupe les oreilles si votre air nous revient pas, C'est barbare mais on se sent chez soi [BT : I come from a land which is very far away/ The caravan passes while the dogs bark/ They cut your ears if they don't like the look of you/ It's barbaric but it feels like home]	Moi, je viens d'un pays, qui est certes très lointain, La caravane passe quand aboient les chiens, Cette terre de mystères aux décors si sévères, Regorgent d'histoires légendaires [BT: I come from a land which is very far away/ The caravan passes while the dogs bark/ This land of mysteries with harsh landscapes/ Is brimming with legendary tales]	Komm mit mir in ein Land, ein exotischer Fleck, Wo Kamele durch die Wüste ziehen, Du riskierst deinen Kopf und sofort ist er weg, Tja, vergiss es, dann platzt der Termin [BT: Come with me to a land, an exotic place/ Where camels move through the desert/ You risk your head and suddenly it's gone/ Well forget it, then the plans fall through]	Komm mit mir in ein Land, ein exotischer Fleck, Wo Kamele durch die Wüste ziehen, Und steckst du mal im Sand, kommst du dort nie mehr weg, Tja, vergiss es, dann platzt der Termin [BT: Come with me to a land, an exotic place/ Where camels move through the desert/ And once you're stuck in the sand, you'll never get out again/ Well forget it, then the plans fall through]

Both versions of the original TT lyrics exhibit the violence associated with the Middle East, be it losing your ears in the Québécois TT's line "on vous coupe les oreilles" [BT: we'll cut off your ears], or losing your head in the German line "du riskierst deinen Kopf und sofort ist er weg" [BT: you risk you head and suddenly it's gone]. The Québécois revised lyrics go one step further than even the ST revisions by replacing the line "c'est barbare mais on se sent chez soi" [BT: it's barbaric but it feels like home] with the less insensitive "regorgent d'histoires légendaires" [BT: overflows with legendary tales]. Much like the French TT, the Québécois TT also inserts a compensatory overt intertextual allusion to Galland's text in the line "Une nuit d'Arabie, pour mille et une nuits" [BT: An Arabian

night, for a thousand and one nights], since the refrain "nuit d'Arabie" does not constitute an intertextual allusion as the ST refrain does. Furthermore, the Québécois TT portrays Arabia as a land of mystery in the line "cette terre de mystères", and one of danger in the song's closing lines "Soyez sur vos gardes, la chute serait fatale/ Quelles nuits infernales" [BT: Be on your guard, the fall would be fatal/ What infernal nights]. In the German TT, the landscape's magical qualities are highlighted in the line "Es herrscht eine Zaubermacht" [BT: there is a magic power], while the closing cautionary lines "Gewarnt sei der Tor, der hier was verlor/ Im ewigen Sand" [BT: Be warned the fool who lost something here/ In the eternal sand] convey a sense of threat common in Orientalist depictions of the Middle East. Within less than two minutes, the opening song locates the film in an exoticised, fictional approximation of the Middle East, and portrays this setting using long-standing Orientalist stereotypes about this region. Each TT version mirrors this Orientalist approach.

As the song ends, the Peddler dismounts his camel and addresses the audience. He greets them with "Salaam and good evening to you, worthy friend", using part of the Arabic greeting *As-salamu alaykum*. As Di Giovanni (2007) notes, the Arabic greeting is immediately followed by an English-language greeting "as if to compensate even for the faintest sense of estrangement the viewer might feel upon hearing «salaam»" (p. 98). This example perfectly illustrates the balance of exotic and familiar that Disney strives for in its cultural representations. The greeting "salaam" is fairly recognisable, although it may have been less familiar to Western audiences at the time of the film's release. Each of the three TT dubs retain this instance of foreign language. A pattern begins to emerge whereby Disney frontloads CSRs and linguistic markers in order to establish the foreign location of their animated films. In *Aladdin* (1992), the opening song 'Arabian Nights' and the Peddler sequence give explicit indications of the film's setting. The other films in the corpus have opening sequences which perform the same function and will be discussed in detail in the individual case studies. Returning to *Aladdin* (1992), the Peddler's monologue features several CSRs to Arab and Middle Eastern cultures, an excerpt of which appears below:

Peddler: Welcome to Agrabah, city of mystery, of enchantment, and the finest merchandise this side of the river Jordan on sale today. Come on down. [*Laughs*] Look at this. Yes, combination hookah and coffee maker, also makes julienne fries. Will not break, will not-. It broke. Look at this! I have never seen one of these intact before. This is the famous Dead Sea Tupperware.

First, Agrabah is described as being mysterious and enchanting, emphasising the magical qualities of the film's location. Suddenly the Peddler brings out a market stall and tries to sell his wares to the audience, a characterisation, which, as noted by Di Giovanni (2007), reinforces reductive stereotypes of Arab and Middle Eastern cultures (p. 98). This portrayal is compounded when the merchant is shown enthusiastically praising his unbreakable wares, only for the coffee maker to fall apart in his hands. Each of the TTs reproduce the depiction of Agrabah as a mysterious and magical city; their dubbed versions are displayed in Table 2.3 below. The Québécois dub features the direct translation "la cite du mystère et de l'enchantement" [BT : city of mystery and enchantment], where as the French and German TTs opt for the slightly modified translations "cite de la magie noire, de l'enchantement" [BT: city of black magic, of enchantment] and "Stadt voller Geheimnisse, voller Zauber" [BT: city full of secrets, full of magic]. Ultimately, all three TTs portray Agrabah, the fictional stand-in for the Middle East, using the terms of long-standing Orientalist stereotypes.

Table 2.3 Aladdin (1992) Peddler's Monologue TTs

French TT	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Bienvenue à Agrabah, cité de la magie noire, de l'enchantement, et des plus belles marchandises de ce côté du Jourdain en solde aujourd'hui, profitez-en. Regardez, oui, un combiné narguilé et cafetière qui fait aussi les pommes de terre frites. Incassable, incass-. Cassé. Regardez, c'est la première fois que j'en vois un aussi bien conservé. C'est le célèbre Tupperware de la Mer Morte.	Sois le Bienvenu à Agrabah, la cité du mystère et de l'enchantement. C'est de ce côté du Jourdain que tu trouveras les marchandises les plus raffinées. Regarde ça, oui. C'est un combiné narguilé-percolateur, ça fait aussi des juliennes. C'est incassable. Enfin, c'est ce qu'on dit. Oh, tu vois cette chose ? Je ne l'avais encore jamais vue intacte. Merveilleux. C'est le fameux Tupperware-de-la-mer-morte.	Willkommen in Agrabah, Stadt voller Geheimnisse, voller Zauber, und den verlockendsten Angeboten diesseits des Jordans, donnerstags bis halb neun. Seht her! Ja genau, Huka und Kaffeemühle in einem, und auch die Pommes. Perfekt, geht nie kaputt. Geht nie kap-. Kaputt. Was ist das? Ich habe noch nie eins in so guten Zustand gesehen. Original babylonische Tupperware.

Furthermore, the excerpt from the Peddler's monologue features three CSRs to Arab and Middle Eastern cultures, two of which are geographical references to a unique physical

location and the third an ethnographic reference to an object from everyday life. The first geographical reference “the river Jordan” is reproduced in the three TTs using the strategy official equivalent. With the second geographical reference, however, something more complex is at play. In the ST, the third culture geographical CSR “Dead Sea” is combined with “Tupperware”, an ethnographic reference to a US brand name. This US company, which specialises in kitchen and home storage containers, began exporting its plastic products to Europe and further afield in the 1960s, with the brand name becoming synonymous with the storage containers across the globe (Clarke, 2011, pp. 1484-6). Each of the TTs retain the Tupperware CSR, likely due to the global recognisability of the brand and both French-language dubs reproduce the CSR to the Dead Sea by once again using the translation strategy of official equivalent. However, the German TT diverges from the ST with its rendering “Original babylonische Tupperware” [BT: original Babylonian Tupperware]. Here we have an example of the TT substituting a different third culture CSR. A disparity between the contemporaneity of the narrated culture and narrating culture CSRs begins to emerge, a pattern which others have touched upon (Sardar, 1999; Di Giovanni, 2007, pp. 94-5). The references to Disney’s narrated cultures are overwhelmingly older than Disney’s references to US/the narrating culture. The SC references predominantly allude to contemporary US culture, whereas the narrated culture CSRs allude to more ancient cultural traditions and signifiers. As a result, Disney’s cultural depictions communicate that dominant US culture is current and dynamic, while the narrated cultures are less relevant to modern life and even stuck in the past. The German TT also exhibits this orientation in its substitution of the CSR “babylonsiche” [BT: Babylonian] for “Dead Sea”. The reference to the ancient Mesopotamian city carries connotations of antiquity and a fallen empire, intensifying the portrayal of the narrated culture as out-of-date.

Finally, the ST monologue includes a CSR to an object from everyday life: hookah. Originating in fifteenth century India, hookah smoking quickly spread to Persia and the Middle East where it became very popular with local populations (Aljarrah, Albabneh, & Al-Delainy, 2009). Again, this narrated culture CSR is combined with references to familiar objects for contemporary audiences, namely a coffee maker and fries, further evidence of Disney presenting audiences with the exotic and immediately following that with familiar, domestic references. All three TTs retain the CSR to hookah, although it should be noted

both French-language dubs use the direct translation “narguilé” [BT: hookah, narghile], itself a loan from the Persian language. Moreover, the Peddler is one of the few characters to speak with an Arabic accent, here affected by Robin Williams. The Peddler’s singing voice is provided by Bruce Adler who similarly adopts an exaggerated Arabic accent. In the ST Arabic accents are limited to side and minor characters, such as the thief Gazeem, the palace guards who antagonise the protagonist Aladdin throughout the film, and the various merchants. The distribution of accents within the source text maintains White/Anglo US domination while perpetuating cultural stereotypes. In the German TT Arabic accents are similarly limited to the minor characters Gazeem, the guards and the merchants. In both the Québécois and French dubs, Arabic accents are only heard from the same side and minor characters. In contrast, the other characters speak with standardised TL accents across the three dubbed versions, whereby Arabic accents serve as markers of cultural difference for minor characters while standardised TL accents are privileged, maintaining Western cultural dominance.

Agrabah’s bazaar serves as the backdrop for the introduction of the film’s protagonist and the meeting between him and Princess Jasmine. Animator Rasoul Azadani, who worked as Layout Supervisor on *Aladdin* (1992), used almost 2000 photos of his Iranian hometown as inspiration for designing Disney’s fictional city Agrabah (Culhane, 1992, p. 100). It is also at the bazaar where we see some of Disney’s most insensitive portrayals of Arab characters in the form of the Sultan’s guards and the city’s merchants. Audiences first encounter Aladdin in the streets of Agrabah while he is fleeing from the Sultan’s guards. Razoul, the leader of the guards, exclaims “I’ll have your hands for a trophy, street rat”, then, during the song ‘One Jump’, the guards deliver the lyrics “Rip him open, take it back, guys”. These lines portray the guards, who are drawn with large noses and thick dark beards, as inherently violent. Jack Shaheen (1993) challenges Disney’s depiction of Arab culture by asking “Why are Arabic names mispronounced? Why are storefront signs written in nonsensical scribble-scratch rather than a real language? Why do the palace guards and merchants have large, bulbous noses, sinister eyes, and idiotic accents?” (p. 49). Moreover, when Jasmine inadvertently steals an apple from one of Agrabah’s merchant vendors, the vendor grabs her arm and raises his sword to cut off her hand as a penalty for stealing. Earlier in the film, audiences are introduced to Jafar and

Gazeem, a thief who proclaims, “I had to slit a few throats”, establishing a link between the film’s Arab characters and physical violence. Trading in demonising stereotypes, Disney’s depiction presents Arabs as “ruthless, uncivilized caricatures” and Islam as “a brutal religion” (Shaheen, 2009, p. 57). Offering an opposed perspective, Jack Shaheen (2009) asserts:

> In reality, punitive laws apply only to repeat offenders, those refusing to repent for crimes that are far more serious than apple-lifting. And hand-chopping is not implemented anywhere in the Arab world, except for major criminal cases in one country, Saudi Arabia. Taking provisions is not a crime, provided one needs food. Islam teaches that any person who steals out of poverty or hunger should never be punished. Instead, Muslims are advised to give generously to such a person, to provide food and shelter. (p. 58)

Displayed in Table 2.4, each of the TT dubs perpetuate this portrayal of Arab people as violent and cruel with Gazeem admitting to slicing throats, and the vendor and Razoul threatening dismemberment.

Table 2.4 Aladdin (1992) TT Violence

French TT	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Gazeem: J’ai dû trancher quelques gorges. [BT : I had to slice a few throats]	Gazeem: J’ai dû trancher quelques gorges. [BT : I had to slice a few throats]	Gazeem: Ich musste erst ein Paar Kehlen aufschlitzen. [BT: First I had to slice a couple of throats]
Razoul: Je me servirai de tes mains comme presse-papier. [BT : I’ll use your hands as a paperweight]	Razoul: J’aurais tes mains en guise de trophées. [BT : I’ll have your hands as trophies]	Razoul: Gib mir die Hände, du Ratte! Ich hang sie in meine Trophäensammlung. [BT: Give me your hands, you rat! I’ll hang them with my trophy collection]
Guards: Qu’on décapite ce vaurien. [BT : We’ll behead this good-for-nothing]	Guards: Qu’on te saigne comme un lapin. [BT : we’ll bleed you like a rabbit]	Guards: Reißt ihn auseinander, Leute. [BT: Rip him apart, people]

It is clear that Disney upholds harmful stereotypes about the nature and trustworthiness of Arab people, but questions remain regarding the types of CSRs employed throughout the rest of the film.

When Jasmine first arrives at Agrabah's bazaar, several vendors call out and invite her to look at their wares. A disembodied voice exclaims "Oranges from Jaffa", then one vendor tries to tempt the disguised princess with "sugar dates! Sugar dates and figs! Sugar dates and pistachios!". Di Giovanni (2003) argues that "references to food are easily integrated in the dialogues and appear very frequently throughout the films, being an essential part of popular culture the world over", citing the popularity of foreign dishes in Western culture (p. 214). Elsewhere, she states that "cultural metonymies are very often related to specific domains such as food, which provides universally identifiable socio-cultural references and ensures easy, if strongly stereotyped identification of different nations and peoples" (Di Giovanni, 2007, p. 97). The foods referenced at the bazaar fulfil the ethnocentric requirement of being familiar enough so ST audiences recognise the foods, while also being unfamiliar enough to be identified as signifiers of a different and exotic culture. Within the context of the film, many Western audience members will recognise the references to dates, pistachios, and figs as indicators of the geographical and cultural setting depicted on screen. Each of the three TTs render these third culture references to food items using direct translation, so that the market is full of "oranges de Jaffa", "dattes", "figues", and "pistaches" for French-speaking audiences, and "Saftige Orangen aus Jaffa", "Datteln", "Feigen", und "Pistazien" for German-speaking audiences. Since each of the TTs employs the same third culture CSRs, it is evident that these cultural metonymies are shared between the cultures involved, indicating that each of the cultures here share similar perceptions of Arab and Middle Eastern cultures.

Moreover, the song 'Friend Like Me' includes a reference to food used as a cultural metonymy. As Genie introduces himself to Aladdin, he delivers the lyrics "How 'bout a little more baklava?" Again, this sweet pastry is closely linked to Arab and Middle Eastern cultures, especially in Western minds. This third culture CSR is similarly retained across the three dubbed versions analysed here, pointing to a common set of metonymies shared between European and North American cultures. Genie's dialogue also features another

third culture food CSR, this time referring to hummus: “wake up and smell the hummus”. This playful adaptation of the American idiom *wake up and smell the coffee* replaces the ubiquitous drink, which many Americans choose to start their day, with the Middle Eastern dip hummus. However, unlike the previous food CSRs, the TTs diverge in their renderings of this playfully adapted idiom. The Québécois dub exhibits direct translation with its rendering “réveille-toi et respire l’houmous” [BT: wake up and smell the hummus]. While the original idiom is uniquely American, having been popularised by advice columnist Ann Landers, and has not been calqued into the French language, it is likely that the close proximity of North American English and French variants in the Canadian TC results in American English having a considerable influence on the form of Canadian French. The French TT renders the dialogue as “réveille-toi, mon pote, faut faire la pause couscous” [BT: wake up, buddy, take a couscous break], substituting a different third culture food CSR. Instead of the Middle Eastern hummus, the French dub features couscous, a staple dish of Maghrebi cuisine. Owing to France’s history of extensive colonial projects in the North African region, couscous was introduced into French cuisine during the early 20th century, becoming a recognisable ‘exotic’ dish (Wagda, 1997). However, this substitution of a food CSR from a different culture to that referenced in the ST reveals a problematic, ethnocentric perspective of the various narrated cultures. While the Maghreb may form part of the Arab world and culture, Disney’s French translators equate North Africa and the Middle East, treating these two distinct regions as interchangeable. In contrast to both French-language dubs, the German TT rendering does not feature a food CSR, in fact it does not include any third culture food CSR, instead prioritizing creative adaptation of an established German idiom. The German rendering appears as “du siehst die Wüste vor lauter Sand nicht mehr” [BT: you don’t see the desert for the sand anymore], adapting the idiom *den Wald vor lauter Bäumen nicht sehen* [BT: to not see the wood for the trees] by substituting desert and sand for wood and trees. The shift from the real-world ethnographic CSR “hummus” to the real-world geographical general location “Wüste” [BT: desert] in the German TT gives prominence to the natural environment, instead of the cultures of the peoples living in these locations. In summation, the food CSRs featured in the dialogue perform the double duty of being exotic yet familiar in their exoticism. In some cases, the familiarity is enhanced by combining the third culture CSR with idioms or other CSRs

from the SC and TCs. Food and beverage is not the only category of CSR which appears as both exotic and familiar for Disney's audiences. In fact, *Aladdin* (1992) incorporates religious references into its dialogue, presenting audiences with allusions to Islam, and the translation strategies observed raise questions about cultural adaptation.

In the ST, religious CSRs appear in the form of references to Allah. As Di Giovanni (2003) notes, these references to Islam are combined with common English expressions, for example, "By Allah", "Allah forbid you should have any daughters", and "Praise Allah" (p. 215). These allusions to Allah function as exotic elements, however, their use remains just familiar enough in order to avoid completely alienating a WASP US audience. As Table 2.5 below shows, both German and Québécois dubs retain the references to Allah, producing a similar exoticising, yet still familiar effect on their target audiences. In contrast, the French dub removes the references to Allah.

Table 2.5 Aladdin (1992) TT Religious References

French TT	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Tous les saints ! [BT: All the saints]	Par Allah ! [BT: By Allah]	Allmächtiger Allah! [BT: Allah Almighty]
Je te souhaite sincèrement de ne jamais avoir de fille [BT: I sincerely hope you never have any daughters]	Qu'Allah te despense d'avoir des filles [BT: May Allah spare you from having daughters]	Möge Allah dich nie mit Töchtern beglücken [BT: May Allah never bless you with daughters]
Bonté divine ! [BT: Good heavens]	Par Allah ! [BT: By Allah]	Allmächtiger Allah! [BT: Allah Almighty]
Oui, hoorah [BT: Yes, hooray]	Allah soit loué [BT: Allah be praised]	Gepriesen sei Allah [BT: Blessed be Allah]

Instead, the French TT either removes all reference to religion as in the examples "Oui, hoorah" and "je te souhaite sincèrement de ne jamais avoir de fille", or replaces the references to Islam with more generalised exclamations "tous les saints" and "bonté divine". While the exact motivations behind this modification are unknown, it may be due to France's constitutional ideal of laicism, which strives for separation of the church and

state. A more extreme interpretation of laicism considers this ideal to prohibit any public expression of religious affiliation or practice. Another possible motivation may be the fact that some territories where Disney's French dubs are distributed have large Muslim populations, and the translators may have pre-emptively avoided references to Allah out of fear of sparking backlash. Nevertheless, whether the dialogue directly references Allah or not, Disney's engagement with the culture(s) it narrates in *Aladdin* remains shallow, falling under Leon-Boys's (2023) concept of "weightless flexibility", in other words, the filmmakers employ stereotypes "in accordance with what the content creators anticipate their viewers will be familiar with and accept" (p. 65). With Leon-Boys's continuum of flexibility as an analytical frame, we can also identify elements of hybrid flexibility in the CSRs Disney employs in its representation of the Middle East.

Hybrid flexibility, or "mixtures of many specific markers" can be seen in the real-world socio-political CSRs to countries, cities, and regions as well as socio-cultural institutions and functions, and objects from daily life. First, the ST features references to Arabia in the opening song, the river Jordan and the Dead Sea in the Peddler's monologue, Jaffa, Persia, and the river Nile. These location CSRs allude to a wide range of real-world locations in Western Asia and Egypt. Having discussed the first four CSRs above, let us now concentrate on the last two. During the triumphant song 'Prince Ali', the chorus sing "he's got ninety-five white Persian monkeys", referencing present-day Iran. Both French dubs reproduce the reference to Persia in their renderings, while also inserting an additional reference to Persia in the following line.

French TT lyrics

Venez voir ses deux cents singes persans,	[BT: Come see his 200 Persian monkeys]
Des singes persans, des singes savants.	[BT: Persian monkeys, clever monkeys]

Québécois TT lyrics

Il a une bonne centaine de singes persans,	[BT: He has over a hundred Persian monkeys]
Et tous des persans, et tous devant moi.	[BT: And all of them Persians, and all before me]

It can be argued that including a reference to Persia is diegetically intended as a boast about Prince Ali's wealth and we may be able to accept that on the microlevel. However, at the macrolevel and in the context of representation across the entire film, this reference fulfils Leon-Boys's hybrid flexibility. Moreover, the French dub inserts two additional location CSRs in this song, one to the specific geographical area of Arabia, and another to the city of Abu Dhabi. Table 2.6 below shows the ST lyrics alongside the French lyrics containing the additional CSRs.

Table 2.6 Aladdin (1992) French TT Additional Location CSRs

ST lyrics	**French TT lyrics**
Then come and meet his spectacular coterie	Venez voir le plus beau spectacle d'Arabie [BT: Come see the most spectacular show in Arabia]
Strong as ten regular men	Qui vous porte d'Abu Dhabi [BT: Who carries you from Abu Dhabi]

The German TT departs starkly from the ST reference, with monkeys from China instead of Persia: "er bringt schneeweiße Affen aus China/ weiße Affen, wir lieben Affen" [BT: He brings snow white monkeys from China/white monkeys, we love monkeys]. This substitution may have occurred in order to preserve the line's rhyme with a subsequent line "er bringt Sklaven, Lakaien und Diener" [BT: He brings slaves, lackeys and servants]; had the German dub used *Persien* [BT: Persia] this rhyme between lines would be lost. Towards the end of the film, after having been liberated by Aladdin, Genie tests whether he is truly free by asking Aladdin to make a wish. An excerpt of their exchange appears below.

Genie: Quick, quick, wish for something outrageous. Say I want the Nile. Wish for the Nile. Try that!

Aladdin: I wish for the Nile.

Genie: No way!

This exchange deploys wordplay to produce a comedic effect, specifically the phrase "the Nile" sounds very similar to the word *denial* when spoken aloud. Genie responds by

denying Aladdin his wish for the river. It is clear to see in Table 2.7 how the TTs diverge in their strategies for rendering this part of the film's dialogue. The German and French TT both retain the reference to the river Nile using their respective official equivalents. In contrast, the Québécois dub removes the CSR to the river Nile, instead prioritising the humorous wordplay. Here, Aladdin asks to become a father or "papa", to which Genie replies "pa-pas question" playing on the homophony between "papa" and "pas".

Table 2.7 Aladdin (1992) "The Nile" TTs

French TT	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Genie: Vite, vite, souhaite un truc démentiel. Vite, vite, demande-moi le Nil. Demande-moi le Nil, vas-y! [BT: Quick, quick, wish for something insane. Quick, quick, ask me for the Nile. Ask me for the Nile. Go on] **Aladdin**: Je souhaite le Nil. [BT: I wish for the Nile] **Genie**: Même pas en rêve! [BT: Not even in your dreams]	**Genie**: Vite, vite, souhaite quelque chose de ridicule. Dis, je veux être papa. Vas-y, je veux être papa. [BT: Quick, quick, wish for something ridiculous. Say I want to be a dad. Go on, I want to be a dad] **Aladdin**: Je veux être papa. [BT: I want to be a dad] **Genie**: Pa-pas question! [BT: No way]	**Genie**: Schnell, schnell, wünsch dir etwas Ausgefallenes. Sag, ich wünsch mir den Nil. [BT: Quick, quick, wish for something outrageous. Say I wish for the Nile] **Aladdin**: Ich wünsch mir den Nil. [BT: I wish for the Nile] **Genie**: Vergiss es! [BT: Forget it]

We have examined how location CSRs are utilised in the ST and translated in the TTs, now let us turn to intertextual references, objects from daily life, and functions and institutions. First, two intertextual references to the tales from the *Arabian Nights* collection appear in the song 'A Friend Like Me'. The song opens with "Well, Ali Baba had them forty thieves/ Scheherazade had a thousand tales". Each of the TTs retain these references, reproducing the intertextuality within the three dubbed versions. Several functions from a wide range of cultures are referenced throughout the ST dialogue,

including effendi, shah, nabob, and fakir. Aladdin affectionately addresses his monkey companion Abu as "esteemed effendi", incorporating the Turkish title of respect for scholars and government officials. The next two functions can be heard during the song 'Friend Like Me' when Genie delivers the lines "You're the boss, the king, the shah" and "I'm on the job, you big nabob". *Shah* is the title given to the monarch of Persia, whereas *nabob*, derived from the Urdu *nawab*, was a title given to governors of India's Mogul Empire and has come to mean a person of prominent wealth in English. Lastly, the final title can be found in the song 'Prince Ali' when the chorus lists the entourage travelling with Aladdin: "with his forty fakirs". The title *fakir* is used to refer to Muslim or Hindu ascetics. The various origins of these function titles again point to hybrid flexibility, wherein CSRs from distinct cultures are lumped together and presented as belonging to the same culture. In translation, only the titles *effendi* and *fakir* are retained across all three TTs. In the French TT, nabob is reproduced with the lyrics "Tu veux du rab/ Toi, Grand Nabab" [BT: You want more/ You big nabob]. In contrast, neither Québécois nor German dub replicate this CSR, instead rendering the lyrics as "Je vis pour ça/ Pour toi, mon roi" [BT: It's what I live for/ For you, my king] and "Gleich wirst du reich/ Nun werd ich weich" [BT: You're about to get rich/ Now I'm going soft] respectively. However, the German TT retains the CSR shah with its rendering "Du bist König, Kaiser, Schah" [BT: You are the king, the emperor, the shah]. On this occasion neither French-language TTs retain the CSR. The Québécois lyrics are rendered as "Le patron, c'est toi, crois-moi" [BT: you're the boss, trust me], while the French TT resorts to the strategy of generalisation with a hypernym with its lyrics "Ordonnez, O Prince, O Roi" [BT: Give orders, oh prince, oh king]. Additionally, the Québécois dub of 'Friend Like Me' features two instances of creative addition regarding functions CSRs. Genie sings to Aladdin "tu feras une vie de pacha" [BT: You'll live a pasha's life] and "Tu seras mon pharaon" [BT: You'll be my pharaoh]. Both these creative additions can also be considered compensatory strategies, particularly given the fact that the Québécois dub omits the other two titles of functions in 'Friend Like Me'. *Pasha* is a title of Turkish origin used for high-ranking military officials and provincial governors, while *pharaoh* was the title bestowed upon the rulers of Ancient Egypt.

Once again, it is evident that Disney adopts an approach of hybrid flexibility in its representations, but this is not necessarily influenced by the ST. With these two creative

additions in the Québécois TT, it is clear that the translators adopted a similar approach to representation involving hybrid flexibility, thus we can conclude that the SC and Canadian TC share similar perceptions and narratives of Arab and Middle Eastern cultures, and the modern-day countries alluded to onscreen.

Second, a number of objects from daily life feature in the ST dialogue which similarly exhibit weightless and hybrid flexibility. Before fulfilling Aladdin's first wish of becoming a prince, Genie exclaims "hang on to your turban", referring to the style of headdress worn across a myriad of cultures. In the West, turbans are frequently associated with Eastern cultures. The three TTs retain this CSR, indicating that the association of turbans with cultural otherness, in particular the cultures of South and Southwest Asia and North Africa, is shared across the four cultures involved. Similarly, when the Genie proclaims "First, that fez and vest combo is much too third century", all three TTs retain the fez CSR. The fez is a distinctive style of hat which was widely worn throughout the Ottoman Empire, and which forms part of traditional and/or everyday attire to this day in Morocco and Syria. Historically, the fez has served as a symbol of the Ottoman Empire and of adherence to Islam. Genie's assertion that the headwear is "much too third century" denigrates the narrated cultures by depicting them as old-fashioned, a sentiment which the TTs echo with their renderings. Finally, the bazaar, a Middle Eastern marketplace, appears once in the film's acoustic track, during 'Prince Ali'. Genie orders "Hey, clear the way in the old bazaar". Table 2.8 below shows the TTs renderings of this line, including the following TT lines to demonstrate how rhyme is maintained in the dubbed versions of this song.

Table 2.8 Aladdin (1992) Bazaar TT lyrics

French TT Lyrics	**Québécois TT Lyrics**	**German TT Lyrics**
Bande de veinards, dégagez le bazar, Et vous allez voir ce que vous allez voir [BT :You lucky bunch, clear the bazaar/ And you'll see what you're going to see]	Dispersez-vous, laissez-nous passer, Et vous dégagez pour le défilé [BT : Spread out, let us through/ And move aside for the parade]	Flott wird geprotzt jetzt im Stadtbazar, Mach Platz, dicker Klotz, denn der wunderbare Star [BT: Now it's time to show off at the city bazaar/ Make

		way, big guy because the wonderful star is here]

Later in the song, the French TT version also features the creative addition of "souk", a synonym of bazaar. From this examination of the CSRs, it can be concluded that Disney utilises weightless and hybrid flexibility in its representations of this 'fairytale' Middle East. However, the distribution and treatment of linguistic diversity within the film can also reveal attitudes towards the cultures being narrated on screen.

Despite being set in a fictionalised version of the Middle East, Disney's *Aladdin* (1992) only features two instances of the Arabic language, and the Arabic word in question is "salaam" on both occasions. The first appears during the Peddler's opening monologue and was discussed earlier in this chapter. The second occurs during 'Prince Ali', when Genie sings the line "brush up your Sunday salaam", combining an allusion to Arab culture and an allusion to the Christian holy day Sunday. In Islam, Friday is the holy day, thus this reference to Arab culture exhibits a lack of meaningful engagement and representation of this Othered culture. Just as the exposure to a foreign language was moderated in the Peddler's monologue, here we see again a balance of familiar and 'exotic' in the nonsensical combination "Sunday salaam". In both French-language TTs, this abridged Arabic greeting is retained, appearing as "criez vive Ali, salaam" [BT: shout long live Ali, salaam] in the French TT and "saluez du plus humble salaam" [BT: greet with the humblest salaam] in the Québécois TT. Neither French-language dub recreates the discordant collocation present in the ST lyric. However, the German dub exhibits quite a different strategy while reproducing a similar discordant effect between its choice of CSRs in the song line in question. It is rendered as "Zieh an den Sontagskaftan" [BT: Put on your Sunday kaftan], in a playful adaptation of the idiom *Sunday best*, which inserts a reference to kaftans. The kaftan originated in Asia, becoming widely popular in the Ottoman Empire and has been worn across a large range of cultures. Despite, or perhaps because of, its proliferation in Asia and Africa, the kaftan has remained as an exotic garment in the eyes of many Western cultures, but one which is recognisably exotic. Furthermore, the German rendering "Sontagskaftan" allows the song's rhyme scheme to be maintained as it creates

a rhyming couplet with the preceding line “Er schlägt dich in seinen Bann” [BT: He captivates you]. Semantically, the German rendering makes more sense than the ST lyric as it follows the structure of the idiom more closely.

It is evident from the preceding that Disney’s portrayal of the Middle East relies heavily on problematic stereotypes, and these remain in the TT versions as the TC share these distorted cultural metonymies. However, this film is not only concerned with the Middle East, but rather paints a fascinating picture of US popular culture.

2.1.2 “Call Me Al”: US Cultural Imperialism for the Family

Despite the setting of the film, the majority of the characters do not speak with Arab accents, in fact the protagonists, Genie, the Sultan, and Iago speak with American accents. This produces a familiarising effect on US audiences to whom the foreign culture becomes more palatable. While the argument can be made that this encourages White/Anglo US audience members to identify with the main characters, ultimately this erases cultural diversity and furthers US cultural domination. As mentioned above, each of the TTs replicate this distribution of Arabic and standardised TL accents. The blatant Americanism in *Aladdin* (1992) has already been remarked upon with many asserting that Disney’s cartoon has far more to say about the USA than it does the Middle East (Felperin, 1997; Byrne & McQuillan, 1999; Wells, 2002; Marzolph, 2019). Alan Nadel (1995) reads *Aladdin* (1992) as an allegory for US anxieties about a Middle East equipped with nuclear power and the atomic bomb. In fact, the character Aladdin was designed to be an All-American boy and his physical appearance was based on Tom Cruise (*Diamond in the Rough*, 2004). A marked US accent, that is a regional or socio-cultural accent, can be heard from the character Iago, the protagonist’s parrot minion. Voiced by US comedian Gilbert Gottfried, Iago speaks with the comedian’s trademark New York accent. However, when Iago is in the presence of characters other than Jafar, he reverts to communicating through squawks and repeated short phrases, typical of the mimicry exhibited by parrots. This code-switching is used for comedic effect when Iago begins to speak in his natural manner before quickly realising he is in the presence of the protagonists and reverting to mimicry. As a minion to the film’s villain, Iago serves as a humorous and evil side character. He is one

example among many of a side character, comedic or nefarious, having a marked or Othered accent. His New York accent is predominantly used for humorous effect but also roots the film in contemporary US culture. Occasionally, the TTs will contain instances of foreign language which are not present in the ST. For example, in the ST of *Aladdin* (1992), Iago, the antagonist's sidekick, shouts "Goodbye! See ya!". The French dub renders this as "Bye bye! Sayonara!", the Québécois as "Ciao! Hasta luego!", and the German as "Adieu! Arrivederci!". Again, in Iago we find a side character who performs a mostly comedic role and who is one of only three characters in the film to utter words/phrases in a language other than the TL. This indicates that even in translation, different cultures are still othered and words and phrases from other languages are decoratively sprinkled into the dialogue to make characters' language more fashionable or humorous. The linguistic diversity exhibited by Iago in this example could be considered a compensatory strategy. Perhaps the dubbing team chose to give him foreign language phrases as a means of alluding to the linguistic diversity represented by Iago. Each of the foreign language phrases uttered by Iago in the various TTs are all interjections that are easily recognised by Western audiences, further proving that even when portraying difference, Disney's films opt for the 'exotic' familiar.

The most overtly Americanised character in the film is Robin Williams' Genie, whose barrage of transmogrifications into a myriad of US cultural iconography undeniably imbues the film with elements of the SC. Arnold Schwarzenegger, Groucho Marx, Cab Calloway, Jerry Lewis, Ed Sullivan, Arsenio Hall, and Jack Nicholson are among some of the public figures Genie impersonates at various points in the film, with the animated medium allowing for his physical appearance to morph into the subjects of these impersonations. The visual sequence accompanying 'Prince Ali' is reminiscent of Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade, New York City's annual procession of floats, live bands, and large character balloons such as Mickey Mouse, the Pink Panther, and Barney the Dinosaur. Macy's Parade has been broadcast on television since the 1950s, and during the 'Prince Ali' parade, Genie transforms into two parade presenters complete with fur-lined coats, hats, and visible breath vapour much more befitting the chilly climate of November in New York than the warm, dry conditions of Agrabah. As revealed by the ST dialogue, these presenters are named Harry and June, however all three TTs make significant modifications

to their names. The Québécois dub omits their names completely, whereas the French and German TT substitute common TL names. In the French TT, the presenters become "Thierry" and "Simone", while in the German "Harry" is retained, the feminine name "Petra" is substituted for June. These alterations show the domesticating approach adopted by the French and German dubs. It is also Genie who calls Abu "Cheeta", alluding to the chimpanzee character featured in numerous Tarzan films and the television series. The German and French TT retain this CSR, whereas the Québécois dub substitutes the noun "ouistiti" [BT: marmoset]. Earlier in the film, when Genie first meets Aladdin, he comments on his name, asking "Can we call you Al? Or maybe just Din? Or how 'bout Laddie? Sounds like here, boy! C'mon, Laddie!" at which point he magically dons a tartan hat, kilt, and scarf and adopts of Scottish accent. In the French TT, Genie's dialogue is rendered as "On peut t'appeler Al ? Si tu veux jouer à quitte ou double, voilà déjà le kilt, et voilà mon double" [BT : Can we call you Al ? If you want to play double or quits. Here's the kilt and here's my double", incorporating the visuals of Scottish attire into the TL expression *quitte ou double* with the creative addition of the third culture reference "kilt" [BT: kilt]. The German TT similarly uses the strategy of creative addition with its rendering "Dürfen wir dich Al nennen? Oder lieber Din? Oder schottisch Laddie? Klingt wie Lassie. Hierher Lassie" [BT: May we call you Al? Or perhaps Din? Or Scottish Laddie? Sounds like Lassie. Here, Lassie]. In fact, the German dub inserts a direct reference to Scotland, followed by a reference to the fictional dog Lassie. Lassie began as a literary character and went on to become the subject of numerous films and televisions programmes. Neither TT has Genie adopt a Scottish accent, therefore the references to Scotland help to create coherence between the TT dialogue and the on-screen visuals. As for the Québécois dub, no references to Scotland, nor a Scottish accent are included.

Shortly after this scene, Genie impersonates Robert De Niro's iconic line "you talking to me?" from the film *Taxi Driver* (dir. Scorsese, 1976). Offended at Aladdin's suggestion that Genie is not able to free them from the cave, Genie asks "are you looking at me?". This covert intertextual reference is reproduced in the German TT with "Redest du mit mir? Du laberst mich an?" [BT: Are you talking to me? Are you wittering on to me], the which De Niro's character utters in the German dub of *Taxi Driver*. The French and Québécois TTs render Genie's line as "dis donc, je suis là ou pas ?" [BT: so tell me, am I here or not] and

“tu m’as bien regardé?” [BT: did you really look at me], neither of which were used in the French-language dub of Scorsese’s film. In the French dub, De Niro’s character delivers the line “c’est à moi que tu parles ?” [BT: are you talking to me], which gained further prominence when Vincent Cassel recreated the scene in Mathieu Kassovitz’s (1995) film *La Haine*. One particularly humorous sequence occurs when Genie searches for a recipe to make Aladdin a prince, an extract of which appears alongside the TT renderings in Table 2.9 below.

Table 2.9 Aladdin (1992) Genie's recipes in Translation

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Let’s see here. Chicken à la king? Nope. Alaskan king crab. Ow. I hate it when they do that. Caesar salad? Ah! Et Tu, Brute? No.	Euh, voyons ça. Poularde royale, non. Crabe à la gelée royale. Ça pince Monseigneur ! Salade césar ? Couché, Brutus. [BT: Let’s see. Royal chicken, no. Royal jelly crab. That pinches, sir! Caesar salad? Down Brutus.]	Recette royale, Poulet du Duc. Non. Mousse de crabe royale, la royauté pince. Salade césar. La brute, non ! [BT: Royal recipe, Duke’s chicken. No. Royal crab mousse, royalty pinches. Caesar salad. The brute, no!]	Mal sehen. Chinesisches Kaiserhähnchen. Nein. Kosmoskrabbe aus Alaska. Jedesmal das kneift. Spargel à la Cesar. Auch du, Brutus? Nein. [BT: Let’s see. Chinese imperial chicken. No. Alaskan king crab? It pinches every time. Caesar asparagus. And you, Brutus? No.]

Each of the TTs retain the reference to Julius Caesar and Brutus, most likely because these references are well-known across the cultures involved. The dishes themselves are slightly altered in the TTs renderings, however they continue the theme of royalty around which

Genie's joke of thumbing through a recipe book for the instructions to make a prince is centred.

Genie's dialogue features instances of foreign language on several occasions. The most frequently heard foreign language in the ST dialogue is Spanish, with Genie using Spanish words or phrases on four different occasions. The type of Spanish words and phrases that are included in the ST are already considered familiar to the ST's English-speaking mainstream US audience. The first instance, "uno, dos, tres" is heard when the Genie explains the rules of the three wishes. Its retention in the TTs demonstrates that each of the target cultures are familiar with this aspect of Spanish language, however another consideration here is the visual channel. As he counts in Spanish, the Genie appears wearing a sombrero, a hat typically associated with Mexico. By retaining the Spanish language, the target texts also reproduce the cohesion between the audio and visual channels. In fact, this instance may be an example of the visual channel restricting the translation options available to the dubbing teams, since the image on screen clearly shows a sombrero-wearing character counting to three. The options for translating this into a language other than Spanish while maintaining coherence with the image are severely limited.

Table 2.10 Aladdin (1992) Spanish Language ST and TTs

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
uno, dos, tres	uno, dos, tres	uno, dos, tres	uno, dos, tres
muy macho	muy macho	muy macho	muy macho
aqui	aqui	Por aqui	Huhu
Señor Psycho	psychopathe and co.	le psychopathe	den größten Spinner

As illustrated in Table 2.10 above, most of the ST Spanish words and phrases are retained in the TTs. However, the greatest translation shifts occur with the final instance of Spanish language. Each of the TTs eliminates the Spanish language and all opt for a TL rendering with an emphasis on Jafar's madness. The French TT mixes the TL with English in its rendering "psychopathe and co.". In her article 'Language, Race, and White Public Space', Jane Hill (1998) introduces the concept of mock Spanish, that is Spanish words or phrases

used by white non-Spanish speakers to produce a colloquial aspect to their speech. For Hill, this mock Spanish has two major functions: "'the elevation of whiteness' and the pejorative racialization of members of historically Spanish-speaking populations" (Hill, 1998, p. 683). Across the STs and TTs in the corpus, we certainly see instances of foreign language being used and it lends a fashionable quality to the dialogue. However, it is not clear whether Hill's second function is always enacted, especially in cases where the TTs feature other languages including English to give the dialogue a more informal tone. Before transforming Aladdin into a prince, Genie realises that Aladdin has fallen in love with Princess Jasmine, leading him to lament "Ami, c'est l'amour" [Friend, it's love]. The audience see the Genie, now wearing brown trousers, a white and black striped T-shirt, and a red beret, leaning against a tree smoking a cigarette, while Abu the monkey and the magic carpet sit at a small, candlelit table, both wearing berets and drinking a bottle of red wine. The smoke exhaled by the Genie morphs into a love heart. This brief on-screen image manages to contain many stereotypes of France and French people, from the clothing to the wine and cigarette, as well as the romance in the scene. Each of the three TTs shifts the utterance slightly. Both the French and German TTs opt for "Oui, c'est l'amour" [BT: Yes, it's love], whereas the Québécois dub renders the utterance as "Mon pote, c'est l'amour" [BT: My friend, it's love], substituting the more familiar *pote* [BT: friend], while maintaining the overall effect of the utterance. Naturally, in the German TT, the linguistic variation is reproduced, however, in the French and Québécois the utterance is in the same language as the rest of the films' dialogues. As a result, the linguistic variation is lost on this occasion, but with the aid of the accompanying visuals, the French-language dubs communicate the same French stereotypes which are present in the ST. Near the end of the film, the Genie leaves and during his farewell to Aladdin and Jasmine he uses the Italian borrowing "Ciao". This Italian word is often used by English speakers as a fashionable farewell (OED, n.d.). All three TTs retain this Italian borrowing which indicates that all three cultures are familiar with the word and suggests that they each use it in a similar way to US mainstream culture, i.e. it is a fashionable way to say farewell.

In the ST Genie's speech also features two Yiddish terms: "oy" and "punim" [BT: face]. The story of Yiddish in America begins in the nineteenth century with the mass immigration of Ashkenazi Jews to the USA, bringing the Yiddish language with them. As

Tony Michels (2013) recounts, Jewish intellectuals began using Yiddish for various purposes in the late nineteenth century, and these "Jewish intellectuals played an important role in the development of the English-speaking intelligentsia located primarily in Greenwich Village" (p. 69). Michels paints an image of mutual cultural and ideological exchange between the Yiddish-speaking Jewish intellectuals and their English-speaking counterparts in the New York area, arguing that the Jewish intellectuals' very use of the Yiddish language is what forged their place in the USA as culturally significant (p. 70). After World War II, the USA became aware that it now was home to "the world's largest and most prosperous Jewish community" (Shandler, 2005, p.16). Many American Jews wished to be seen as assimilated in US culture, and ideological tensions during the Cold War meant that Yiddish, which had been closely tied with socialist causes, was perceived as "an embarrassing vestige of immigrant difference" (Shandler, 2005, p. 16). Yiddish proficiency levels fell among the American Jewish population after WWII and, as Shandler (2005) notes, "the sudden absence of Yiddish speech became, especially for Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, a compelling metonym for the tragic loss of its speakers" and led to concerted efforts to restore Yiddish (p. 18).

For some members of the Jewish population, Yiddish took on an emblematic quality, a symbol of shared heritage and community, and became 'a post-vernacular language' that is not used for everyday expression, but to reconnect with heritage or other interests, often involving widely varying levels of proficiency. For Shandler (2005), in post-vernacular Yiddish culture "ordinary Yiddish words acquire new meaning as markers of Jewish ethnicity" (p. 165). Discussing T-shirts emblazoned with Yiddish words, Shandler classifies this particular engagement with Yiddish as "an example of ethnic branding, transforming the Yiddish word into a logo for folkhood" (Shandler, 2005, p. 160). The wearer of the T-shirt need not be able to speak any Yiddish yet participates in a symbolic promotion of Yiddish language and culture. In a similar vein, Shandler (2005) mentions various other objects such as mugs and figurines that bear Yiddish inscriptions, suggesting how these may be mocking Yiddish culture in a satirical way (p. 162). Revived as a symbol of cultural identity, Yiddish in America evolved into a post-vernacular which later collided with US consumerism. In this new context, the language was merchandised to younger generations as isolated segments and overwhelmingly through a humorous lens.

The comic associations of Yiddish also extend to the non-Jewish population's use and reception of Yiddish-origin words and phrases in mainstream US culture. Some Yiddish words will also be familiar to other English-speaking communities around the world such as *schmooze* [to engage in casual conversation, sometimes to gain favour], *nosh* [food], and *klutz* [a clumsy person]. The spread and preservation of Yiddish in US popular culture owes part of its success to Jewish Americans working in the entertainment industry, who could embed elements of Yiddish language and culture into mainstream entertainment.

The on-screen representations of American Jewish characters, Yiddish language and culture are still predominantly associated with comedy. In the Québécois dub of *Aladdin* (1992), the Genie exclaims "oy!" as he is released from the magic lamp, retaining the ST dialogue. Instead of rerecorded dialogue, the Québécois dub reuses the original recording featuring Robin Williams' performance for this. It is possible that the dubbing translators did not recognise the cultural significance of the exclamation, opting to the keep the ST track instead of adapting the dialogue for Canadian audiences. It could also be argued that the original track was kept in an attempt to retain the Yiddish exclamation because of the significance of the loan word and Robin Williams, the actor who provides the voice of the Genie in the ST. Or, quite inversely, it may be that the dubbing team did not recognise the exclamation as an actual word belonging to a specific variety of English. Sometimes in dubbing, translators may choose not to rerecord background sounds and other sounds such as screams as they do not require translation in order for audiences to understand them. Aladdin's monkey friend Abu mostly produces monkey grunts and squeaks throughout the ST, and the ST recording of Abu's 'dialogue' is reused in the Québécois and French TTs. The German TT also reuses the unintelligible noises produced by Abu in the ST, however, Abu's utterings of Aladdin's name are dubbed and delivered with the intonation typical of a German speaker. It is perhaps more than likely that the dubbing translators did not recognise the ST "oy!" as a linguistically and culturally significant word. Individual TT renderings cannot be viewed in isolation. Instead, they perform as a network producing an overall effect.

The German TT features a number of creative additions not present in the ST. First, after being released from the lamp, Genie begins to boast about his magical powers,

impersonating Arnold Schwarzenegger. In the ST, he states “the ever impressive”, which the German dub renders using Schwarzenegger’s catchphrase from the film *Terminator 2: Judgement Day* (dir. Cameron, 1991) “Hasta la vista-mäßigen” [BT: Hasta la vista-esque]. This creative addition reproduces the contemporary feel of Robin Williams’ original performance, while making the Schwarzenegger impersonation more transparent. The German dub features another intertextual reference, for example, “Freude, schöner Götter-“, which Genie begins to sing to celebrate Aladdin, is a covert intertextual reference to Friedrich Schiller’s (1785) poem ‘An die Freude’, later set to music by Beethoven. At other points in the film, Genie’s dialogue recalls the advertising slogans of two German car manufacturers. First, he utters “Freude am Fahren” [BT: joy of driving], the slogan of BMW. Second, Genie utters “dein guter Rüssel auf allen Straßen” [BT: your good trunk on all roads], a modification of Mercedes-Benz’s slogan “Ihr guter Stern auf allen Straßen“ [BT: your good star on all roads]. These domesticating creative additions manage to produce a similar effect as that of the ST by including references from the audience’s culture. Moreover, creative additions are not only limited to CSRs but include foreign language phrases as well. The German TT features two additional instances of French-language phrases, both uttered by Genie: “oui, tout suite” and “merci”. These additions produce moments of linguistic difference for the character, perhaps as a compensatory strategy given his ST Yiddish phrases are eliminated from the German dub.

A creative addition can also be observed in the French TT when Genie refers to Abu the monkey as “King Kong”, which contributes to the characterisation of Genie as an amalgamation of references to popular culture. Another instance of creative addition can be found in the French and Québécois TTs, where both dubs insert references to fictional characters. In the ST, genie asks “how’s our little beau doing?” which is rendered in the French TT as “Où il en est, le Roméo du coin?” and as “Comment se comporte notre Don Juan ?” in the Québécois dub. In contrast the German dub uses the generalized TL phrase “Herzensbrecher” [BT: heart breaker] to refer to Aladdin. Both French language dubs feature these creative additions most likely because of the discrepancy in usage of the noun beau between the SL and TL. Similarly, the German TL opts for a more explanatory rendering, perhaps because *Beau* in German is most often used in a mocking context which would not quite fit the tone of this particular scene (Duden, n.d.).

In conclusion, the paradigm of hyperculture offers a way of understanding the modes of representation Disney employs in its feature films and, those featured in its theme parks. Han (2022) argues that we experience hyperculture as a “space of cultural sightseeing” and as such we experience culture less as an engagement with meaningful practices, but rather “as cul-tour", linking tourism with our experiences of culture (p. 41). Disney's choice of CSRs would not be out of place in a travel guide, presenting audiences with the illusion of a whistle-stop tour. It is clear that the *Aladdin* (1992) ST and TTs cater to target audience expectations with their exotically familiar portrayals of the Middle East. The following case study will demonstrate how Disney continued to prioritise the familiar to such an extent that their film *Mulan* (1998) scarcely engages with Chinese culture, replacing it with mainstream perceptions of Chinese American culture.

2.2 *Mulan* (dirs. Cook & Bancroft, 1998)

Disney's *Mulan* (1998) marked the first time the animation studio featured an Asian protagonist. The film tells the story of Fa Mulan, a young woman living in ancient China who struggles with conforming to the expectations of her parents and her village. Huns, led by Shan Yu, launch an invasion on the Chinese Empire, prompting the Emperor to decree that one man from every family in China must join the imperial army. Fearing for her elderly father's life, Mulan steals his armour, sword, and horse, and enlists in the army in his place while disguised as a man. Accompanied by Mushu, the small dragon sent by the family ancestors, and a lucky cricket, Mulan trains alongside the other recruits, under the leadership of Captain Li Shang. The recruits leave for the frontline, where they encounter the Hun army. Mulan causes an avalanche which buries the Huns, but in the chaos she is injured. While receiving medical treatment, her true identity is revealed and she is banished from the army. Mulan discovers that the Huns survived the avalanche and are advancing on the imperial city to attack the Emperor. Mulan decides to ride to the city in order to warn Captain Li Shang and his battalion of the threat. The Huns seize the Imperial Palace, taking the Emperor hostage. Mulan defeats Shan Yu and the Emperor praises her for having saved China. He offers her a position on his council, which Mulan declines in order to return home, where she presents her father with the imperial crest and Shan Yu's sword, gifted to her from the Emperor. According to Disney Feature Animation Executive Vice President Thomas Schumacher, the studio had been looking to Asia for inspiration for some time and eventually approached children's author Robert San Souci who had a book manuscript for a retelling of the Chinese legend of Mulan (Kurtti, 1998, p.27). As part of its promotional material for the film, Disney recorded and released a behind-the-scenes documentary *From Legend to Life: The Making of Mulan* which offered viewers a glimpse into the background of the tale and how the studio approached their adaptation of this ancient Chinese legend. The documentary's narrator states "after 2000 years, the ancient legend of a young woman named Mulan comes to life", despite the numerous stage and screen adaptations the legend has received in Asia prior to Disney's version. Suggesting that the tale has lain dormant all these years, the narrator's comments reveal an ethnocentricity in which this Chinese tale is an antique, compared to the vibrant creative force that America injects into it with Disney's animated feature. Disney also

released the book *The Art of Mulan* (Kurtti, 1998), which provides greater detail of the studio's adaptation process, as well as a full English translation of the original poem. In contrast to the documentary, Kurtti's (1998) book concedes that "in Asia, the story of Mulan is as well-known as the story of Cinderella is in Western culture – the fable of this daring woman has been told through the centuries, providing inspiration for artists, poets, writers, and composers" (p. 11). The book also offers insight into the research that Disney's creative teams carried out before making the animated film. During a research trip to China, director Barry Cook discovered that "everybody there had a different story", adding that it seemed as if:

> [Mulan]'s from 20 villages. She's from 20 cities. She's from 20 different regions. Everybody wants to claim her proudly […] In the end what became very clear to the team was that all Chinese people wished to claim Mulan because of what she stands for. (Kurtti, 1998, p. 20)

Kurtti's book also acknowledges the varied background of the legend, a hybridity which Barry Cook viewed as an asset in adapting the tale: "when I discovered the broad history of the legend – the many different versions of the story in China and across Asia, I began to see that there was freedom to enhance and change" (p. 25). While stressing that the studio wanted to be respectful of the legend's origins, Cook's co-director Tony Bancroft ultimately asserts that "we weren't going to make a Chinese picture. We couldn't. We're not Chinese. We have a different sensibility, a different storytelling style" (p. 24). When faced with the question of cultural appropriation in their adaptation, Disney Feature Animation Executive Vice President states:

> Storytellers for all time have taken core story material and adapted and changed it for their audience, their era, and their point of view. Giambattista, The Brothers Grimm, Charles Perrault, Hans Christian Andersen, every storyteller throughout time. To say that we 'Disneyfy' something as a pejorative in terms of adapting a narrative is to reveal one's complete naivete about the process and history of storytelling. (Kurtti, 1998, pp. 23-4)

The Mulan legend itself is much older. It is generally agreed that the earliest written record of the folktale, *The Ballad of Mulan*, dates to the Northern Wei Dynasties (386–581 CE), however this version no longer exists (Dong, 2011; Feng, 2003). The tale was later included as a poem consisting of around 300 words within the anthology *Yuefu Shiji*, collected in the twelfth century by Song dynasty anthologist Guo Maoqian (Feng, 2003;

Yin, 2011). Although other versions are featured in different Song dynasty anthologies, the *Yuefu Shiji* version is generally considered the definitive version and it is this which Chinese schoolchildren memorise from their textbooks (Feng, 2003, p. 231). Many scholars have attempted to locate the culture from which the tale of Mulan, the female warrior who takes her frail father's place in the army, originated (Dong, 2011; Feng, 2003; Hsiung, 2022; Wang, 2022; Xu & Tian, 2013; Yin, 2011). From analysing the linguistic and diegetic content of the poem, it is very likely that the anonymous folk ballad originated from the Xianbei people, a nomadic group who formed the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534 CE), but the poem contains evidence of a mixture of Han and Xianbei cultures (Dong, 2011, p.53). In an attempt to chart to origins of the legend, Xu & Tian (2013) state:

> It is generally believed that the transfer process of the ballad occurred as follows: it was first composed in the Northern Wei, then spread and transferred from the north to the south of China during the Liang and Chen dynasties of the Southern Dynasties, when a monk named Zhijiang (智匠) refined it and recorded it in the Musical records of old and new; a northern governor named Yuanfu Wei (韦元甫) picked it up from ordinary folk during the Tang dynasty, but it had already undergone many modifications and the governor had it amended and polished again; finally its present form was recorded in the *Collection of music bureau poems* compiled by Maoqian Guo. (p. 202)

The legend of Mulan, which seemed to originate as a hybrid product, underwent further processes of hybridisation within China "becom[ing] a Chinese icon of heroic patriotism only after a historical process of appropriation – fuelled especially by the powerful tradition of orthodox Confucian ethics – turned the folk tale to the service of an imperial hierarchy" (Feng, 2003, p. 230). A lot of the criticism directed at Disney's *Mulan* focuses on its cultural authenticity, or lack thereof, yet, if the so-called original source material is itself a hybrid cultural product and has undergone multiple processes of hybridisation over its long history, where does cultural authenticity lie exactly? Moreover, Disney's animated adaptation has been described as "another hypertext continuing Mulan's metamorphosis" (Wang, 2022, p. 231), "a hybrid product that is neither Chinese nor American" (Dong, 2011, p. 174) and "a hotchpotch of cultural elements" Zhao, Ang & Toh, 2022, p. 130). In the East, the figure of Mulan has been the subject of numerous rewritings as well as stage and screen adaptations (Dong, 2011, pp. 51-92; see also Yin, 2011, p. 65). In the West, Disney's animated feature film is not the first time the legendary figure has appeared. The

first English translation of the *Ballad* has been traced to W.A.P Martin's (1881) *Mulan, the Maiden Chief* where it appeared in bilingual form, however the most widespread English translations are those by Arthur Waley (1946) and Hans H. Frankel (1976) (Liu, 2024). Jianwen Liu (2024) observes that in the translations "the true voice of our heroine, Mulan, is reconstructed by the translators' renditions" (p. 3). Due to the nature of translation, any English rendering of the *Ballad* will undoubtedly be inflected with the attitudes and values of its translator. According to Dong (2011), it was not until Maxine Hong Kingston's (1976) *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts*, a retelling that blends traditional Chinese folktale and autobiography, that the legend of Mulan became more widely recognised in the US (p. 93). *The Woman Warrior*'s narrator recounts her first-generation Chinese immigrant mother's life in China, her retellings of traditional Chinese tales, and both characters' experiences as Chinese women in America. It is perhaps Kingston's reimagining which most clearly demonstrates the hybridisation of the folk legend as it "marks Mulan's development from a Chinese folk heroine to an extraordinary Chinese American woman warrior" (Dong, 2011, p. 94). In 1990s America, the legend of Mulan was the basis of at least five children's illustrated books, with American children's book author Robert San Souci's version forming the basis of Disney's story (Dong, 2011, p.123).

As the first Disney animation to have an Asian protagonist, *Mulan* generated a lot of excitement. Gina Mei's (2018) article presents a small selection of Asian Americans' reflections on the film. While acknowledging that the film takes many liberties in its depiction of Chinese culture, Lilian Min argues "its lasting nostalgic appeal for so many codifies its Chinese American canon status" (Mei, 2018). Gina Mei (2018) echoes this in her concluding comments "despite the movie's problems, I'd be foolish to deny its value in the Chinese American diaspora". *Mulan* was released at a time when Asian and Asian American screen representation in the US was minimal, so for many young Asian Americans the release of the Disney animation was a watershed moment, for instance Shannon Liao, who explains that "Mulan was the only Disney princess who looked like me, so she resonated with me" (Mei, 2018). Looking back on the impact of Disney's animated feature, Brian Chen (2020) recounts how the organization Media Action Network for Asian Americans lauded Disney for its inclusion of Asian American actors and

presented the studio with an award in 1999. His article also features a statement from graduate student Eleni Kapoulea, attesting to the importance of Mulan for Asian Americans. Kapoulea, who is of Cambodian descent was mocked for her Asian features by her schoolmates, but "'Mulan have me the chance to show my pride a little bit even though the culture wasn't necessarily directly connected to me'" (Chen, 2020). However, Vivian Lee recalls "I found a mishmash of different-era touch points from China and even references to Japan, an entirely different country", characterising Disney's portrayal as "a costume that could easily be consumed by white people" (Mei, 2018). Although the studio's decision to tell a Chinese story and include Asian American actors was widely celebrated and the film could have offered an opportunity to probe hybrid identities within the USA, *Mulan* betrays the values of its narrating culture.

It is impossible to escape the fact that as an international mass media company, Disney looks to create commercially viable screen products with international appeal. It achieves this by "prioritiz[ing] the values that can be universally accepted" Ward, 2002, p. 112) and presenting viewers with "a hybridised character with a renewed identity marked by transnational cultural elements" (Zhao, Ang & Toh, 2022, p. 136). What this means, however, is that these values and cultural elements are set by the narrating culture, in this case dominant US culture, and as such exhibit dominant US perceptions of Chinese culture. Yu Hongmei (2014) observes that "on the one hand, the theme of Mulan caters to the Orientalist fantasy of an ancient China for Western audiences; on the other hand, as a well-known Chinese legend, it would undoubtedly attract Asian audiences as well" (p. 19). The implications of this packaging of an Orientalist view of China within a family cartoon intended for global audiences extend to modifying conceptions of Chinese culture for viewers across the world, spreading harmful and reductive stereotypes (Yin, 2011, p. 54). Xu & Tian (2013) assert that cultural deformation is present within the animated *Mulan*. For them, the manner in which Disney appropriates tales from various cultures, adding iconic images that are readily recognised by global audiences, and inserting values from their own Disney formula results in a distorted portrayal of Chinese culture in the animated film (p.191). The stereotypical nature of the references to Chinese culture is also remarked upon by Yin Jing (2011), who asserts that:

> The Chinese story of Mulan was decontextualised, deracinated, and displaced. Chinese cultural elements were stripped away to the extent that only the most superficial ones were strategically retained to ensure a façade of otherness. Stereotypical Chinese icons, such as the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, giant pandas, dragons, ancestor worship, and martial arts were used as mimicry of Chinese culture. (p. 60)

Moreover, Tang (2008) argues that these distorted images of Chinese culture are "supposed to be perceived by American and international viewers as distinctly Chinese", subsequently adding that:

> Lion dancers as well as Chinese food and utensils seem to reflect the American concept of 'Chinatown', i.e. a globalized China, whereas acupuncturists, panda bears, the Great Wall, the Imperial City, Chinese calligraphy and Chinese martial arts are used in the Disney version of Mulan as elements conveying an Americanized index of 'Chineseness'. (p. 153)

Defenders of Disney may contend that the audiovisual medium of their animations and their aims for universal family entertainment greatly limit their options for cultural representation, hence their reliance on readily understood shortcuts for communicating information about characters and the cultures they find themselves in, such as stereotyping. However, as Yin (2011) asserts:

> Universalisation imposes the perspectives or values of the dominant on the dominated, and does not allow the dominated to use their own perspectives or values. Through the claim of universality, dominated groups are constructed as the abnormal Other, which in turn sustains the myth of the dominant group as the normal Self. Consequently, universalisation works as a mechanism of exclusion that perpetuates the existing hierarchy of discourse and power structure. (p. 58)

It cannot be denied that Disney's animation *Mulan* is a culturally hybrid adaptation of a culturally hybridised text, however, the cultures involved and the power relations between them have significant ramifications. With its use of shallow stereotypes, Disney struggles to shake off accusations of being "an agent of Western cultural imperialism" who only pursues its financial interests rather than a respectful handling of culture (Giunta, 2018, p. 156). While demands for authentic cultural representation can be dismissed by pointing to the heterogeneity of all cultures and even texts involved in the process of adapting folktales and stories into international screen products for family entertainment, what warrants continued critique is the dissemination and perpetuation of a narrating culture's conceptions of narrated cultures, especially when these narratives masquerade as universal conceptions and values. By viewing *Mulan* through the lens of cultural hybridity, potential

new readings reveal themselves, and as Georgette Wang and Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh (2005) conclude:

> By losing what was there, we are presented with something new, something unique, something that represents yet another culture. It is only when we lose sight of the dynamic nature of culture and lock ourselves into a quest for cultural essentialism that the hybridization of cultural products will necessarily lead to stale homogeneity. (p. 190)

This clashes with Han's (2022) perception of hyperculture, in which he argues "contexts that provide meaning and identity are disappearing, and the symptomatic results are fragmentation, a kind of pointillism, and pluralization", not homogenisation (p. 50). Cultural elements from a range of origins are held together side by side. Nevertheless, this pluralisation involves the forgetting or intentional erasure of the very contexts that produce, maintain, and give meaning to cultural elements. I argue that these dislocated cultural elements take on a new, perhaps shallower meaning within hyperculture, where they are predominantly deployed not as meaningful representations of various cultures, but rather as exotic decorations fundamentally preoccupied with the narrating culture's imaginings of those it narrates. They do not encourage further engagement with nor deeper understanding of the narrated cultures. Let us now turn to the cultural elements featured in Disney's *Mulan* (1998) and their German and French-language dubs.

2.2.1 Made in Chinatown: Disney's Visions of Ancient China

With its Chinese ink drawing-inspired title sequence and American composer Jerry Goldsmith's score which incorporates elements of traditional Chinese music, *Mulan* (1998) immediately announces the Chinese setting of this animated feature film. The dynamic brushstrokes transform into Disney's unmistakable 2D animation style, as viewers are met with a visual representation of the iconic Great Wall of China. Shan Yu and his Hun army are then seen breaching the Great Wall. A guard lights the signals along the wall, proclaiming "Now all of China knows you're here", with this direct reference to China serving to explicitly locate the film geographically in case there were any misunderstandings. This reference, along with the nine other references to China within

the ST dialogue are classified as real-world socio-political countries, cities, and regions in the taxonomy of CSRs, and are displayed alongside their TT renderings in Table 2.11 below.

Table 2.11 Mulan (1998) China CSRs in Translation

ST Dialogue	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Guard: Now all of **China** knows you're here.	Maintenant toute la **Chine** sait que vous êtes ici. [BT : Now all of China knows that you're here]	Maintenant la **Chine** entière sait que vous êtes ici. [BT : Now the whole of China knows that you're here]	Nun weiβ ganz **China**, dass ihr hier seid. [BT: Now all of China knows, that you're here]
Chi Fu: The Huns have invaded **China**.	Les Huns ont envahi la **Chine.** [BT : The Huns have invaded China]	Les Huns ont envahi la **Chine**. [BT : The Huns have invaded China]	Die Hunnen sind in **China** eingefallen. [BT : The Huns have invaded China]
Mulan: There are plenty of young men to fight for **China**.	Il y a des milliers de jeunes gens prêts à se battre pour la **Chine**. [BT : There are thousands of young people ready to fight for China]	Il y a plein de jeunes hommes prêts à se battre pour la **Chine**. [BT : There are lots of young men ready to fight for China]	Es gibt genug junger Männer, um **China** zu verteidigen. [BT: There are enough young men to defend China]
General Li: We'll toast **China's** victory at the Imperial City.	Nous fêterons la victoire de la **Chine** au Palais impérial. [BT : We'll celebrate China's victory at the Imperial palace]	Nous célébrerons la victoire de la **Chine** dans la Cité impériale. [BT : We'll celebrate China's victory in the Imperial City]	Wir werden in der kaiserlichen Stadt auf den Sieg anstoβen. [BT: We'll drink to the victory in the Imperial City]
Shang: Leader of **China's** finest troops.	Commandant la plus grande troupe. [BT : Commanding the greatest troop]	A la tête de nos meilleures troupes. [BT : In charge of our best troops]	Der Anführer der besten Truppe **Chinas**. [BT: The leader of China's best troop]
Parade leader: Make way for the heroes of **China**.	Faites place aux grands héros de la **Chine.** [BT : Make	Laissez passer les plus grands héros de la **Chine**. [BT : Let	Macht Platz für die Helden **Chinas**. [BT: Make way for China's heroes]

	way for the heroes of China]	China's greatest heroes through]	
Emperor: Heaven smiles down upon the **Middle Kingdom**. **China** will sleep safely tonight.	Le ciel protège **le grand empire du Milieu**. La **Chine**, cette nuit, dormira en paix. [BT : Heaven protects the great Middle Empire. China will sleep peacefully tonight]	La divine bienveillance a secouru **le royaume du milieu**. La **Chine** dormira sans crainte cette nuit. [BT: Divine benevolence has saved the Middle Kingdom. China will sleep without fear tonight]	Der Himmel lächelt wieder über **dem Reich der Mitte**. **China** kann heute Nacht ruhig schlafen. [BT: Heaven smiles again on the Middle Kingdom. China can sleep peacefully tonight]
Mushu: Our little baby is all grown up and saving **China**.	Mon gentil bébé a tellement grandi qu'il a sauvé la **Chine**. [BT : My sweet baby has grown so much she saved China]	Notre petit bebe est une grande fille, maintenant, elle a sauvé la **Chine**. [BT : Our little baby is a big girl now, she's saved China]	Unser Kleines ist nun erwachsen und rettet **China**. [BT: Our little one is now grown up and saving China]
Emperor: And this, so the world will know what you have done for **China**.	Et ceci pour que le monde sache ce que tu as accompli pour la **Chine**. [BT : And this so that the world knows what you achieved for China]	Et cela, afin que le monde sache ce que tu as fait pour la **Chine**. [BT : And this so that the world knows what you have done for China]	Und das, damit die Welt weiβ, was du getan hast für **China**. [BT: And this, so that the world knows what you have done for China]

In the overwhelming number of cases, all three TTs use their TL official equivalent for ST references to "China". Unlike *Aladdin* (1992) which was not explicitly located in any specific Middle Eastern country, *Mulan* (1998) is firmly rooted in China, and as such the various dubs emphasise this by the repeated references to the country. Although each of the TT's feature one elimination of the CSR China, this is most likely due to the restrictions of dubbing synchrony and these omissions have little overall effect on the TT portrayals of China. In the Imperial City the Emperor praises the soldiers for defeating the Huns, stating "heaven smiles down on the Middle Kingdom", using an established term for China which is actually a calque of *Zhongguo*, the Standard Chinese name for the country. In this instance, each of the TTs use their TL equivalents of *Zhongguo*. Another location CSR

repeated throughout the ST dialogue is that of “Imperial City”, referring to the area of Beijing surrounding the Forbidden City. The French-language TTs render this using the calque “Cité impériale” [BT: Imperial City], except in one instance (included in Table 2.11 above) where the French TT substitutes the third culture CSR “palais imperial” [BT: Imperial Palace] which is actually located within the Forbidden City complex. The French TT also includes the CSR “l’Orient” [BT: the Orient] during its version of the song ‘A Girl Worth Fighting For’, where this creative addition is observed three times with each repetition of the song’s chorus. In fact, the French TT features several other creative additions referencing location and cultural groups at other points in the film. During the song ‘Honor to Us All’, the French dub includes the lyric “poupées de Chine/ Mandarines à la peau opaline” [BT: Chinese dolls/ Mandarin women with opaline skin], as well as the CSR “Mandchous” referring to the Northeast Asian ethnic group Manchu. The latter forms part of aural patterning in the lyric “Tu rendras fou les Mandchous, mon chou” [BT: You’ll drive the Manchus crazy, my darling]. Curiously, the former uses the feminine form of *mandarin,* which can signify the bureaucrats of Imperial China, who were male scholars, or, as the term as entered the French language, an educated and powerful person (Le Petit Robert, n.d). Later, when Mulan complains about the hygiene habits, Mushu replies with the line “il y a trois pauvres pékins qui lavent pas leurs chaussettes” [BT: there are three poor people who don't wash their socks], with *pékin* meaning ‘a person’. It can also be considered a reference to the Chinese city Beijing, which is referred to as Pékin [BT: Peking, former English-language name of Beijing] in French. This playful addition demonstrates how Disney often utilizes third culture CSRs in humorous wordplay and as decorative elements providing an exotic feel to the narration of third cultures. Furthermore, while the ST version of ‘A Girl Worth Fighting For’ makes no reference to any nationality or cultural group, the French version ‘Une belle fille à aimer’ features a creative addition with the exonym “Tonkinoise” [BT: Tonkinese]. This refers to the northern region of Vietnam which borders China and can be considered another example of Western cultures conflating multiple East Asian cultures into one monolithic representation, an example of what Leon-Boys (2023) defines as hybrid flexibility. Neither the German version nor Quebecois version of this song feature a reference to Nationality/Cultural Group. This approach of including additional references to location or nationality/cultural group can be

seen elsewhere in the French version of the film and the increased level of specificity in the French TT may suggest that French audiences have greater familiarity with the various regions and cultural groups referenced throughout the film.

As Di Giovanni (2003; 2007) has observed, references to food and drink are some of the most frequently employed CSRs within Disney's films, and *Mulan* (1998) is no exception. Among the references to food and drink, audiences find items that are typically associated with Chinese cuisine such as tea, rice, noodles, egg rolls, and bean curd. While the consumption of rice and tea is not solely confined to China or Chinese cultures, tea and the traditions surrounding it carry deep cultural significance in China, and rice is a staple of Chinese cuisine. Each of the TTs renders the references to rice and tea using direct translation. The following series of food and drink references exhibit greater creativity in their use within the ST and the TT renderings. First, after Mulan gets off on the wrong foot with the matchmaker, her grandmother sarcastically utters "Who spit in her bean curd?" This reference to the staple of East Asian cuisine adds an element of Chinese or East Asian flavour to the ST. Bean curd, or tofu, would be familiar to the ST audience as it is a common ingredient found in many dishes readily available to SC audiences at Chinese takeaways and restaurants. Table 2.12 shows this utterance alongside the TT renderings.

Table 2.12 Mulan (1998) Bean Curd in Translation

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Who spit in her bean curd?	Elle n'est pas à prendre avec des baguettes. [BT : She's not to be trifled with]	On dirait qu'elle a mal digéré son bol de riz. [BT : Looks like her bowl of rice went down the wrong way]	Die ist ja muffiger als 'ne Stinkmorchel. [BT: She's mustier than a stinkhorn mushroom]

The French TT renders this utterance as "Elle n'est pas à prendre avec des baguettes", a modification of the French-language expression *ne pas être à prendre avec des pincettes* [BT: to not be messed with] which is used figuratively to describe someone who is ill-humoured. The French TT rendering replaces *pincettes* [tongs] with *baguettes*, which signify chopsticks in this context. Thus, the French TT combines a target language expression with an allusion to the narrated third culture, while retaining the humorous tone

of the ST utterance through creative wordplay. The Quebecois TT substitutes a different narrated third culture reference with its rendering “On dirait qu’elle a mal dirigé son bol de riz”. This TT replaces the bean curd of the ST with a bowl of rice, a Chinese staple with which Western audiences are familiar. In contrast, the German TT removes the reference to Chinese cuisine and renders the utterance as “Die ist ja muffiger als ‘ne Stinkmorchel”, replacing the culturally charged bean curd with the non-specific food stinkhorn mushroom and playing on the double meaning of the adjective *muffig* [BT: musty; fig. grumpy]. Although the third culture reference is lost in the German TT, the humour remains.

Second, following a brief altercation with recruit Yao at the training camp, Mushu calls the trainee soldier a “limp noodle”, with noodles being another staple of Chinese cuisine familiar to SC audiences. Table 2.13 shows the three TT versions, where we can see that both the German and Quebecois TTs translate this CSR directly.

Table 2.13 Mulan (1998) Limp Noodle in Translation

French TT	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Porc aigre-doux [BT: sweet and sour pork]	Grosse nouille molle [BT: big soft noodle]	Du schlappe Nudel [BT: you limp noodle]

However, the French TT substitutes “porc aigre-doux”, a dish found in many Chinese restaurants that is familiar to Western audiences. In French the noun *porc* can also be used figuratively to refer to an unpleasant, ill-mannered man. Again, the French TT displays great creativity with its merging of figurative TL expressions and references to the narrated third culture, illustrating Disney’s process of hybridisation.

Third, towards the end of the film, Mushu exclaims “call out for egg rolls”, utilising the CSR referring to the Chinese American variety of spring roll. Egg rolls are typically thicker than their Asian counterparts which are widespread across East and Southeast Asian cuisines. The French and German dubs render this CSR as “pâté imperial” [BT: spring roll] and “Frühlingsrollen” [BT: spring rolls] respectively substituting the third culture CSR for the ST’s SC CSR. However, the Québécois dub exhibits a rather different strategy with its generalised rendering “un numéro quatre” [BT: a number four], alluding to the common

practice of numbering menu items in Chinese restaurants, particularly in non-Chinese speaking areas. At an earlier point in the film, Mushu comments "that's what you call a Mongolian barbecue" after scorching Shan Yu's bird. His dialogue features a humorous reference to the popular dish developed by Chinese comedian Wu Zhaonan. Here we see again, culture-specific references which are combined with humour and spoken by the comedic side character. Both the French and Quebecois dubs maintain the reference to Mongolian barbecue, the French TT by using the translation strategy calque to produce the rendering "la barbecue mongole", and the Quebecois TT by rendering it as "Avec des frites en Mongolie, ils appellent ça le barbecue". The German TT substitutes the third-culture reference "Pekingente" [Peking duck]. Arguably this food reference links with the visuals better than the ST reference as the bird who has lost all its feathers is reminiscent of a cooked duck. Here it is clear that Disney relies heavily on the hybrid and weightless flexibility of the references it employs, which frequently result in a conflation of various cultures, while integrating comedic elements alongside these CSRs.

A particularly humorous exchange between Imperial Advisor Chi Fu and the recruits provides the backdrop for a further group of references to the narrated third culture's cuisine. An instance of wordplay occurs in the ST when Chi Fu calls "Order! People, order!", to which the recruits respond with their food orders. The first food order is "pan-fried noodle", the second "sweet and pungent shrimp", followed by "moo goo gai pan". Each of these are Chinese-American dishes which are familiar to a US audience owing to the popularity of Chinese fast food in the US. The French TT loses the wordplay with its rendering "Silence, j'ai demandé le silence" [BT: Silence, I asked for silence]. One of the recruits responds by saying "Moi, j'ai demandé un bol de nouilles frites" [BT: And I asked for a bowl of fried noodles], and others follow suit with the dishes "un pâté imperial" [BT: a spring roll] and "un rouleau de printemps" [BT: a spring roll]. The French TT substitutes food references which are not specific to China or Chinese-American cuisine, but rather these dishes appear across South East Asia. Here, we see a conflation of many East Asian cultures. In the Québécois TT, Chi Fu announces "Attention, je prends tout en note" [BT : Attention, I'm noting everything] and the recruit replies "Et moi, je prendrais des nouilles frites" [BT: I'll have fried noodles]. The dishes that follow are "des crevettes sauce aigre-douce" [BT: sweet and sour prawns] and "moo goo gai pan". In the first instance the

Quebecois TT directly translates the third culture reference. In the second, it substitutes a very similar third culture reference, and in the final instance it retains the third culture reference featured in the ST. This indicates that Quebecois audiences are familiar with the same dishes as the ST audience, whereas French audiences are perhaps less familiar with those dishes, hence the substitution of other Asian food references. The German TT alters the food references completely. Instead of Chinese or Chinese-American dishes, the recruits place sausage orders. This is because Chi Fu uses the German idiom "eine Extrawurst braten" to make clear to the recruits that nobody will receive special treatment. The extract below shows the German TT exchange.

Chi Fu: Es werden keine Extrawurst gebraten. Ist das klar? [BT: No special treatment will be given, lit. No extra sausages will be roasted. Is that clear?]

Recruit 1: Ich wollte meine mit Sauer-Scharf-Soße. [BT: I wanted mine with hot and sour sauce]

Recruit 2: Ich meine mit Senf. [BT: And mine with mustard]

This omission of references to Chinese or Asian food in order to respond appropriately with the idiom suggests that, in this instance, the translators privileged wordplay over referencing the third culture. Earlier in the film, the German dub features a third culture creative addition, however in this case the CSR refers to Japanese cuisine rather than Chinese or Chinese American culture. In the TT he exclaims "Jeden, aber auch jeden, der unsere Familie bedroht, den macht Mushu zu Sushi" [BT: Anyone, I mean anyone, who threatens our family, Mushu will make sushi out of them]. This example demonstrates the unmistakable conflation of Asian cultures by inserting a Japanese CSR despite the film depicting Ancient China, albeit Disney's rather loose imagining of Ancient China. A similar phenomenon was remarked upon by Kat Moon (2021) in relation to the depiction of Southeast Asian cultures in Disney's *Raya and the Last Dragon* (dirs. López Estrada & Hall, 2021). Futhermore, the French dub includes a creative addition with its reference to "canard laqué" or Peking duck. When Mulan complains about the smell of the recruits, Mushu states "Moi j'adore cette vieille odeur de canard laqué" [BT: I love that old Peking duck smell]. This traditional dish from Beijing has become internationally recognised and frequently serves as a symbol of Chinese cuisine. In this instance, the French TT

demonstrates how the references to Chinese culture featured in the film are already familiar to audiences who expect to see the narrated cultures represented through certain elements. In the ST, Mushu likens the odour from their feet to the snack food corn chips: “Myself, I kinda like that corn chip smell". In 1930s USA, C.E. Doolin purchased the recipe for *fritos* from Mexican American restauranteur Gustavo Olguin and began producing his own fried corn chip snack (National Museum of American History, n.d.). In the 1940s, Doolin partnered with Herman Lay of Lay's crisps company, eventually merging to form the internationally successful Frito-Lay Inc., now a subsidiary of the global food and beverage giant PepsiCo (Frito-Lay, n.d.). With this reference to a widely popular snack, the ST dialogue evokes not only the musty, cheesy aroma of corn chips, but also ethos behind contemporary US mass production practices, which is pasted onto the ancient Chinese context of the film. The Québécois TT removes the cultural specificity of the ST by substituting a generalised reference to cheese, as shown in Table 2.14 below. Similarly, the German TT likens the odour to cheese, however, this time the dub adds a more specified TC reference “Harzer Käse”, a variety of cheese from the Harz region in Germany. Here, the creative addition of a TC CSR reveals the domesticating approach adopted by the translators, and contributes to the characterisation of Mushu as a contemporary figure within the film’s depiction of Ancient China.

Table 2.14 Mulan (1998) Corn Chip in Translation

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Mushu: Myself, I kinda like that corn chip smell.	Moi, j’adore cette vieille odeur de canard laqué. [BT : Me, I love that old Peking duck smell]	Et en plus, je ne déteste pas cette petite odeur de fromage. [BT : And what’s more, I don’t hate that little cheese smell]	So ein bisschen Harzer Käse ist doch ganz nett. [BT: A little bit of Harzer cheese is quite nice]

Overall, there are only two instances of foreign language in the ST dialogue, both from the Chinese language. Mulan cries “Ai-yah” as she realises she is late for her appointment in town. This is an attempt to add some Chinese linguistic elements to the film. In the French version this is erased as the line is dubbed as “Oh la”. Similarly, the German version erases the Chinese linguistic element with its dubbing of “Oje”. Furthermore, the Quebecois dub renders the exclamation as “Aïe”. It is possible that the dubbing teams for the target languages did not recognise “ai-yah” as a distinctly Chinese linguistic element and therefore rendered it using the most appropriate target language equivalent. At the end of the film, when Mulan returns home and presents her father with the gifts from the Emperor, she uses the vocative “baba” to address her father in the ST. The use of the Chinese *baba* produces a moment of intimacy between father and daughter as Fa Zhou forgives Mulan for having risked dishonouring her family. Both the French and Québécois dubs directly translate this to “papa”, whereas the German TT retains the Chinese “baba”. In French, *baba* has a number of meanings, especially as an informal term. Le Petit Robert (n.d.) lists its meanings as slang for bottom, a synonym for hippie, a casual expression for astounded, and of course the dessert. It is likely that this Chinese word was replaced with TL equivalents in the French and Québécois TTs because of the pre-existing meanings associated with it in the target language. However, the effect this has on the texts overall is that no Chinese language is featured in the French and Québécois versions, thus the meagre spattering of foreign language which serves to create some linguistic diversity in the ST is not replicated in the French language dubs. However, for German audiences the meaning of *baba* may be familiar as *baba* also means father in Turkish, therefore it is possible that the Chinese word was retained in this TT because the dub producers assume that German speakers will already recognise baba as father owing to the historical links between German and Turkish cultures. Ultimately, as Peng Shao asserts “the inclusion of Chinese cultural elements exists merely to satisfy the novelty-seeking mentality of [American] viewers” (p. 12). From the above analysis of the dubbed versions of the film, it can be concluded that the three TTs adopt a similar approach, deploying Chinese or Chinese diaspora CSRs which are familiar to TC audiences, often combining them with TL expressions in creative and humorous ways.

2.2.2. Mushu Chop Suey: An American in China

In his book *Chop Suey, USA*, Chen Yong (2014) describes chop suey, a popular dish in 1900s USA consisting of stir-fried meat and vegetables, as "the epitome of such 'Chinese-American' food", with this hybrid cuisine being created at the sites of interaction between US culture and Chinese immigrants (p. 158). While the dish and its cooking method have roots in China, it is generally believed that the ubiquity of chop suey is due to the position is occupies in US cuisine. Liu Haiming (2015) states:

> Popular as it was, chop suey essentially embodies cheap exoticism in the eyes of American customers. It succeeded mostly as a bargain-price food in racial America […] It shows the formation of Chinese American ethnicity was more than a simple blending of Western and Asian cultures. It reflects how Chinese Americans negotiated with a hostile racial environment, explored new opportunities, and creatively adapted their food culture to American society. (p. 69)

Having established that the Ancient China depicted in *Mulan* (1998) pertains more to 20th century Chinese American culture and non-Asian experiences of Chinese American culture in particular, let us now examine the allusions to US culture within Disney's film, however incongruous they may be. First, many of the film's characters speak with US accents, such as Mulan, Mushu, Li Shang, Yao, Ling, Grandmother Fa, and several of the Fa family ancestors. Zhao, Ang, and Toh (2022) claim that characters belonging to the older generation tend to speak English with a strong Chinese accent while the protagonist and her companions speak with American accents (p. 132). Certainly, the Emperor, voiced by Japanese American actor Pat Morita, known for his role as Mr Miyagi in *The Karate Kid* (dir. Avildsen, 1984), is one such older character who speaks with a heavy accent. Another is Mulan's father Fa Zhou; Korean American actor Soon-Tek Oh provided the voice of Fa Zhou. Grandmother Fa is an exception here, speaking with a clear North American English accent. Hye Seung Chung (2013) cites the longstanding stereotypical portrayals of Asian characters in US films such as the Dragon Lady, Fu Manchu, and Madame Butterfly, as well as the stereotypical "mock Asian speech characterised by confusion between the letters 'l' and 'r', subject-verb disagreements, the omission of articles and other grammatical mistakes" as contributing to the stigmatisation of Asian people and cultures (p. 173). The few characters who speak with Asian accents in *Mulan* (1998) are spared the stereotypical speech, but the fact that the film's other characters speak a variety of US

English sets apart the Asian accented characters as linguistically different. It has been argued that the various accents present in *Mulan* demonstrate the cultural hybridity of the text which is in fact a transnational cultural product rather than an attempt at authentic representation of any one culture (Zhao, Ang, & Toh, 2022). What is clear, however, is that once again the protagonists speak with standardised Anglo-American accents while marked accents, be they marked US accents or accents from other world regions, are only heard from side characters, minor characters, and comedic characters. Across the TT dubs, the majority of characters speak with standardised TL accents, while Mulan's father and the Emperor speak with Chinese accents, which clearly differentiate them from the protagonist and younger characters throughout the film.

Voiced by American actor and comedian Eddie Murphy, the dialogue of Mulan's sidekick Mushu exhibits clear elements of African American English (AAE), one of the few examples of a marked US English accent and dialect in the film. The term African American English or AAE (other terms include African-American-Vernacular-English, and Ebonics) refers to a number of varieties of English mainly used by African American people. For centuries, enslaved people from Africa were brought to the USA and, subsequently, varieties of English associated with these enslaved people developed. Debate over the precise origins of AAE is still ongoing. Erik Thomas (2008) highlights the similarity between some rural Southern white varieties of English and African American vernaculars, stating that it is unclear in which direction the influence runs (p. 111). Thomas also notes that, more recently, a division between the speech patterns of AAE speakers in the South and Southern white vernaculars has appeared (p. 111). Today, AAE is spoken by Black Americans from working-class backgrounds or living in urban areas across the USA, including the north. The racial segregation in the USA contributed to the "preservation of AAVE and partially explains its apparent homogeneity" (Edwards, 2008, p. 182). Beatriz Naranjo Sánchez (2015) explains that "Hollywood commercial-style comedies with African American superstars resorted mainly to this sociolect [AAE] as a tool to achieve a humorous purpose" (p. 417).

Because of its cultural and linguistic specificity, AAE presents a challenge to translators. Raphael Berthele (2000) analyses thirteen translations of the novel *Adventures of*

Huckleberry Finn. Berthele argues that for German audiences Mark Twain's book "was an important contribution to the construction of a very specific image of America in which the issue of Black-White cultural and linguistic relations no doubt played a significant role" (p. 579). He finds that "in almost all German translations African-American characters can easily be distinguished from others" based on dialect (p. 592). One strategy through which linguistic difference is portrayed in the original novel is sound loss, where parts of words are dropped, and this is replicated in the German translations (Berthele, 2000, p. 592). Berthele states that sound loss "generally characterizes spoken language and colloquial style, and is often (but not categorically) used for the speech of persons belonging to lower social classes" (p. 593). The frequency of sound loss to depict the linguistic otherness of Jim varies across the translations Berthele evaluates, but this device becomes more common in recent translations (p. 593). Another common strategy found in the German translations is eye dialect, which changes the orthographic presentation of the words. Berthele also counts morpho-syntactic features as one of the techniques of depicting characters' linguistic otherness, for example, use of incorrect gender or case (p. 599). Instead of markers of racialised dialect, Berthele associates these morpho-syntactic elements with the status of a learner of the German language (p. 600). He cites examples of undeclined infinitives in Jim's speech, a style of speech which "is widely used for the speech of idiots, savages or, of course, for L2-learners of the German language" (p. 600). He claims that the strategies used to depict Jim's speech in the German translations of the novel "do not simply serve to situate a character on a certain level in the sociolinguistic stratum, but also brand that character as being 'other' as well as deficient" (p. 604). He concludes with a comment on equivalence, stating that "there is no perfect equivalent of Black:White race relations (and corresponding sociolinguistic relationships) in the German-speaking world" (p. 608). The decision to render Jim's speech with existing German dialects (Swiss German, Berlin working class) alters the connotations of Jim's language, aligning it along the lines of German social class which struggles to provide a comprehensively equivalent representation.

With dubbing, translators can resort to phonological means of depicting linguistic difference. In an analysis of the German dubbing of AAE across a number of popular US films, Robin Queen (2004) argues that linguistic difference is associated with sociocultural

position more than ethnicity. Starting with the film *Boyz in the Hood* (dir. Singleton, 1991), Queen (2004) finds that the characters' speech is dubbed into a style of German which includes features from informal German, *Jugendsprache*, the speech style of inner-city working class populations, and varieties from Berlin and the *Ruhrgebiet* (p. 521). In the film *Clockers* (dir. Lee, 1995), the character Victor speaks using features from AAE, yet in the German dub Victor speaks a mostly standard variety of German which "help[s] locate Strike [Victor's brother] as part of the local street culture while also differentiating him from Victor, who is not part of the local street culture" (Queen, 2004, p. 527). Moreover, in the film *Jungle Fever* (dir. Lee, 1991), this urban German dubbing style is used to dub the Italian American characters whereas "characters who don't have a strong affiliation with local street culture are dubbed using only those features that are generally common in spoken German" (p. 533). Queen also cites examples of films where the linguistic difference between the white characters and black characters is erased by dubbing them both into the same style of German (p.531). Queen does not provide any information on the voice talent used to dub these Black actors/characters.

Focusing on the popular US television series *Family Matters* (ex. prods. Miller et al, 1989-1998), Patrick Ploschnitzki (2023) states that the character Steve Urkel is dubbed into German by Santiago Ziesmer who has Spanish roots (p. 1). Ploschnitzki recalls a 2020 Instagram post by Black German voice artist Thelma Buabeng, in which she criticises the German dubbing industry for adding a racial slur to the German dub of *Home Alone 2: Lost in New York* (dir. Columbus, 1992), and recounts an experience where she was asked to dub a Black Sudanese character with a Sudanese accent whereas the character spoke British English in the original version. In the same post, Buabeng criticises the dubbing of Eddie Murphy into German: "Anderes und bekanntestes Beispiel ist die clowneske Synchronstimme von Eddie Murphy…seine Original Stimme hat mit der Karikatur im deutschen überhaupt nichts, so gar nichts gemein…" [Another well-known example is the clown-like dubbed voice of Eddie Murphy…his original voice bears no resemblance to the caricature in German, none at all…] (Buabeng, 2020). In light of Buabeng's Instagram post, it is perhaps little surprising that the German dub features the white German comedian Otto Waalkes as the voice of Mushu. However, it is important to note here that Mushu's characterisation as African American in the ST is only presented through his dialogue.

Visually, the dragon has no recognisable indicators that he belongs to any ethnic or cultural group, thus giving translators and TT voice actors greater freedom in their portrayal of the character.

Mushu stands out in the Ancient Chinese setting because of his twentieth-century AAE which has been noted by many (Ebert, 1998; Maslin, 1998; O'Sullivan, 1998; Lippi-Green, 2012: Xu & Tian, 2013;). Within the ST, examples of AAE features observed in Mushu's speech include the exclamatory "Yo!", the zero copula "We clear on that?", the use of double negatives such as "And don't you slap me no more" and "I ain't bitin' no more butts", as well as the use of the contraction 'ain't': "This ain't gonna be pretty". In the three TTs analysed, Mushu's dialogue is delivered in a very informal register, with slang terms littered throughout. Take for instance "c'est capiche?" [BT: is that clear], and the slang combined with a rhyme "on s'arrache, la vache" [BT: let's go, cow] in the French dub. He also retains the AAE greeting from the ST "yo" when he tries to awaken the Great Stone Dragon. Elsewhere, he uses the familiar expressions "Ping m'a piqué ma gonzesse" [BT: Ping stole my girl]. Similarly, the German dub features the slang phrase "der hat mir mal die Freundin ausgespannt" [BT: he stole my girlfriend], and addresses the Great Ancestor using an English-language vocative "Big Boss". In the Québécois dub he uses the child-like expression "le dodo" [BT: sleep] and the colloquial expression "ça vous en bouche un coin" [BT: that threw you for six] which lend an informal tone to his dialogue.

Across the three TTs, Mushu's informal register and use of slang words and English-language expressions sets him apart from the other characters in the film who predominantly use more standardised language in the respective TLs. To some extent, the linguistic otherness of Mushu is retained in the TTs even though an equivalent of AAE does not exist in the target languages. His characterisation as a wise-cracking sidekick is reproduced in the TTs through the style of language he uses and how it differs from the characters around him. On one occasion in the ST, Mushu utters "Gesundheit" [BT: bless you], which is used in German and Yiddish as a verbal response to sneezing. Mushu's use of this loan word in the ST forms part of humorous wordplay based on the phonetics of Chinese names. While suggesting names that Mulan could adopt while disguised as a male solider Mushu says "uhhhh, Chu" which Mulan mishears as a proper name "Ah-Chu".

Mushu responds to this with “Gesundheit” indicating that foreign loan words are often associated with humour in Disney animated films. Perhaps unsurprisingly the German TT retains “Gesundheit”, however, its ST associations with Yiddish and Jewish culture are lost through its transmission to the TC. Both the French and Québécois TTs use the phrase “À tes souhaits”, the standard French response to sneezing, thus preserving the humorous wordplay, but erasing the cultural significance of the ST word. This recurrent standardisation across the three TLs suggests that Yiddish loan words and phrases are unfamiliar to the target culture audiences, especially the French-language audiences, and that the nuance of the loan words’ association with New York archetypes is lost when transplanted to another culture.

Finally, in the German TT, a reference to popular video game *Tomb Raider* (dev. Core Design, 1996) is uttered by Mushu. In the ST he represents a modern voice in an ancient, Chinese setting. As a side character whose main function is comedic, he draws on contemporary references to produce moments of humour. The German TT includes this reference to the video game in an attempt to reproduce some of the contemporaneity of the ST Mushu. The first *Tomb Raider* game was released in the mid-1990s followed by four sequels released in November of each year. Critically and commercially successful, the first instalment of the franchise sold three million copies during its first year of release and spawned an internationally popular franchise which still releases spin-offs and remastered versions of the games to this day (Brown, 2008, pp. 83-4). The action-adventure game sees players assume the role of archaeologist Lara Croft and search for ancient artefacts. The game was an international success. Owing to its popularity, Lara Croft became somewhat of a cultural icon. As an archaeologist-adventurer, she embodies an alternative mode of femininity to the one traditionally depicted in Western mainstream media. The ‘riot grrrl’ subculture of the 1990s also contributed to a climate in which women and girls were revolting against traditional femininity. This allusion to the iconic video game character aligns the legendary Mulan with the contemporary, and similarities between Mulan’s adventure with the Chinese army and Lara Croft’s exploration of ancient temples can be drawn. Both concern female characters entering traditionally male spaces, engaging in physical activities typically reserved for male characters.

Janet Wasko (2020) identifies the Classic Disney model, "a generally recognized package of styles, themes, and values, as well as a standard formula for stories and characters" which she applies to the animated feature films pre-Disney Renaissance (p. 121). She then introduces the Revised Classic Disney model to describe the animated films released since the 1990s, encompassing the Renaissance and Revival eras of Disney animation. This updated model accounts for the ways in which Disney has adjusted to contemporary values, particularly regarding the representation of race and gender (Wasko, 2020, p. 129). *Mulan* (1998) is one clear example of this Revised Classic Disney formula, drawing on the changing attitudes to what female characters can do in mass media. Not only does the German version tap into popular media of the time but clearly makes a statement on the mode of femininity presented in this Disney film, a mode which subverts the representations of femininity traditionally associated with Disney. Why should the German TT include such a specific CSR where none exists in the ST? It is possible that this TT can be more specific with the CSRs it employs because its intended audience is considerably smaller than that of the ST. Disney's English-language versions are distributed in regions ranging from North America, Africa, Europe, and Oceania, and the company is acutely aware that the films they release need to appeal to a wide variety of people. In contrast, the smaller audience for the German dubs means that the translators can narrow down their references as we see in *Mulan* (1998). This is not the only film whose dubbed versions feature more specific CSRs than the ST, as the following chapter demonstrates.

In conclusion, the two case studies here show how, even when Disney locates its films within geographically and temporally distant settings, the content nevertheless remains preoccupied with the SC, be it through allusions to SC CSRs or its representations of narrated cultures which are imbued with the narrating culture's imaginings of those 'exotic' places. The TTs' handling of these depictions has revealed that most of these imaginings of the narrated cultures are shared between the SC and TCs, especially in the cases of *Aladdin* (1992) and *Mulan* (1998). Across the STs and translated dubs, we have observed a reliance on hybrid and weightless flexibility, indicating a disregard for cultural 'authenticity' and a prioritisation of depictions which conform to audiences' expectations, in other words, a dependency on the exotically familiar. The following chapter deals with

Disney's portrayals of US culture(s) and how the TTs handle these for their respective audiences.

Chapter Three: US Self-Portraits

America is not a cultural monolith; within the USA numerous different cultural groups reside, collide, and intermingle. Some of these cultures, such as those of Black Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans, have been subject to historical and systemic discrimination, the aftereffects of which are still felt in US society today. People belonging to the above groups have been depicted through problematic and often harmful stereotypes in mass media and popular culture, alongside religious minorities and regional and/or socio-economic groups. The manner in which a mainstream mass media producer such as the Disney company depicts characters belonging to the above cultural groups reveals what the studio filmmakers deem appropriate representation for the above cultural groups, how dominant US culture perceives itself, the kaleidoscope of cultures collected under the umbrella term US culture, as well as providing examples of developing approaches to the portrayal of Otherness in popular culture. Two of the films in the selected animated corpus, *Hercules* and *The Princess and the Frog*, offer audiences unmistakable portrayals of US culture; the latter takes place in 1920s New Orleans, whereas while *Hercules* may appear to be the stuff of Greek mythology, this is revealed to be a facade for the studio's self-referential allegory for contemporary US celebrity culture. With these two films, Disney casts its cartoon eye on its very own source culture in two distinct ways. First, in *Hercules* the studio employs the guise of cultural exoticism with its Ancient Greek themes and characters in order to showcase a self-referential depiction of contemporary US popular culture, while *The Princess and the Frog* finds itself firmly rooted in the culture of 1920s New Orleans. Admittedly, *Princess* offers viewers a rather romanticised and oversimplified take on race relations, an approach which shares similarities with that present in Disney's earlier US-based animation *Pocahontas*. The following case studies deal with Disney's treatment of US cultures, contemporary forms of dominant US culture, and historically othered American cultures.

3.1 *Hercules* (dirs. Clements & Musker, 1997)

Inspired by the tales of the Greek demi-god, Disney's *Hercules* charts the rise of its eponymous character from awkward teenager to celebrated hero who enjoys everything

that late-twentieth century fame has to offer from screaming hordes of fans to merchandise with his name on. Despite its setting in a mythical version of Ancient Greece, the film features clear allusions to real-world CSRs and intertextual references to items of popular US cultures, offering a pastiche of US celebrity culture and all its trappings. The visuals accompanying the song 'Zero to Hero' bombard audiences with a montage of Hercules' trials and the adulation of the masses as he gains recognition for his heroic deeds. Countless vases depicting the hero's face and latest feats are shown in rows across the screen, reflecting the factory lines of mass production. Other merchandise depicted include Hercules action figures, and the beverage 'Herculade' which is sold in a large, Ionic column-style cup with a straw. Elsewhere, a short clip of 'The Hercules Store' shows long lines of people queuing to enter the shop. The protagonist is seen carving autographs into stone, parading through screaming crowds who wear clothing emblazoned with his initial, and receiving his very own green 'Grecian Express' card in a visual allusion to the American Express payment cards (which feature a centurion figure). Other visual allusions to US culture include him kicking the Nemean Lion through H-shaped columns, recalling the goalposts in American football, and the sandals 'Air-Herc' featuring the hero's face on the side, which allude to the Air Jordan line of Nike sport shoes developed and marketed in collaboration with American basketball player Michael Jordan.

Another vignette sees Hercules and his horse Pegasus flying across the starry night sky, with constellations in the form of a bear, a fish, and a woman wearing a pleated, halter-style dress which blows up as if by a gust of wind, mirroring the iconic flying skirt scene with US actress Marilyn Monroe in *The Seven Year Itch* (Wilder, 1955). Elsewhere, Hercules and Pegasus are shown making imprints of their hands and hooves in wet cement, alluding to the tradition of celebrity handprint ceremonies outside Grauman's Chinese Theatre in Hollywood. These images remain intact in each of the TTs and, as a result, imbue the TTs with visual references to the source culture which itself stretches across the globe. Close analysis of the TT dialogues reveals the extent to which the translators mediated these on-screen references in the dialogue, be it through the addition of an elucidating vocal reference or letting the image itself communicate to TT audiences. This case study is concerned with two main types of CSR: CSRs to Ancient Greece and CSRs to US culture.

Both types of CSR and their TT renderings are dealt with following a brief summary of the animation's plot.

Disney's 35th animated feature film draws inspiration from the mythology of Ancient Greece, a first for the studio and to which they have not since returned. In their story, Hercules is born to the happily married gods Zeus and Hera. Dissatisfied with his position, god of the underworld Hades concocts a plan to depose Zeus and rule Mount Olympus. After receiving a prophecy from the Fates, Hades has his minions Panic and Pain kidnap Hercules from Mount Olympus, forcing him to drink a potion which will render the infant mortal. However, failing to drink the potion in its entirety, Hercules retains his superhuman strength. Before Pain and Panic can assassinate Hercules, the couple Alcmene and Amphitryon discover the child, taking young Hercules to their modest home to raise as their own son. As Hercules grows, he finds his strength unwieldy and destructive, leading him to feel out of place among the other villagers. One night, his adoptive parents Alcmene and Amphitryon reveal that they found the abandoned Hercules, wearing a medallion bearing the lightning bolt symbol of Zeus. Determined to find his origins, and a place where he feels he truly belongs, Hercules visits the temple of Zeus where the god informs him that he is in fact his son, but he is unable to return to Mount Olympus because he has become mortal. Only by becoming a 'true hero' can Hercules rejoin his parents and the other gods. Reunited with Pegasus, a childhood gift from Zeus, Hercules seeks out Philoctetes, under whose guidance the young hero acquires the necessary skills for becoming a hero. While travelling to Thebes, which serves as a not-so-thinly veiled allegory for New York, Hercules meets his love interest Megara, a mortal woman who, as the audience soon learn, is bound to serve Hades. At Thebes, Hercules rescues two young boys from a cave, but all is not as it seems. The boys are in fact Pain and Panic in disguise, and the audience realises Hades has set a trap, forcing Hercules to confront the monstrous Hydra.

After defeating the Hydra, Hercules is lauded as a hero and the inhabitants of Thebes launch him to superstar status. The ensuing 'Zero to Hero' sequence depicts Hades sending various monsters from Greek myth such as the minotaur, Medusa, the Nemean lion, and the Erymanthian boar, all of whom are vanquished by the rising hero. Simultaneously, the

audience witnesses Hercules's growing popularity with the public and the different merchandise voraciously snapped up by Hercules' hordes of fans, mirroring the treatment of real-world US sports stars like basketball player Michael Jordan. Believing himself a 'true hero' and thus worthy of returning to Mount Olympus, Hercules visits the temple of Zeus once more, however, the god informs Hercules that public adoration and stardom are not enough to return the demi-god to Olympus. Megara and Hercules' affection for each other grows and, realising this, Hades tricks Hercules into relinquishing his strength for one day in exchange for Megara's safety. With his greatest obstacle now powerless, Hades releases the Titans and directs them to Mount Olympus where they capture the gods, allowing Hades to take over. The now powerless Hercules must face the cyclops attacking the city of Thebes. During their battle, Megara is injured and subsequently dies, thus breaking Hades's deal with Hercules and restoring the demi-god's strength. Now able to confront Hades, Hercules manages to release Zeus and the father and son duo defeat Hades who is again banished to the underworld. Distraught at the death of Megara, Hercules enters the underworld to demand retribution from Hades, who tells Hercules he must retrieve Megara's soul from the river Styx. As he swims in the river to rescue his love, Hercules's life is drained from him, a sacrifice worthy of a 'true hero', restoring Hercules to an immortal god who is now able to return to Mount Olympus. However, on arrival, Hercules realises becoming a god again would mean being separated from Megara. Instead, the hero chooses Megara and a life on Earth.

The studio's 35th classic animation is a prime example of the Disney formula being applied to extant tales in order to create a product of mass-entertainment that appeals to the conservative family values championed in mainstream US media. According to the myths of Ancient Greece, Hercules, or Herakles as he is known in Greek, was born to Alcmene. His father, Zeus, disguised himself as Alcmene's husband Amphitryon and seduced the human woman. Additionally, Hera features as an antagonistic figure throughout Hercules' life, seeking revenge for Zeus' infidelity. Driven mad by Hera, Hercules kills his wife Megara and their children, prompting him to undertake the twelve labours as punishment. While Disney's film shows a satyr Philoctetes training the young hero, in legend Hercules received training from a number of figures, including the centaur Chiron. Philoctetes was

a human whose interactions with Hercules were limited to lighting the pyre on which Hercules self-immolated in order to escape the pain from the poisoned shirt of Nessus.

3.1.1 Artefacts of Ancient Greece: The Olympians Go to Disneyland

Given the sexual and violent content of ancient versions of the Hercules tale, this legend may seem an unlikely choice of inspiration for a Disney animated film, and Disney's treatment of the hero is one of the clearest examples of the studio's sanitisation efforts. For instance, Zeus is transformed into a loyal family man living in harmony with his wife Hera, and Hercules's murder of his children and Megara is omitted. Lisa Maurice (2020) observes that "the Disney version of Hercules has almost nothing to do with the Herakles myths and is more a spin on modern ideas about ancient Greece than a representation of the traditional tale" (p. 478). Reviews of *Hercules* focus on the contemporaneity of the film with Janet Maslin (1997) designating the characters as "not-so-ancient Greeks", while Rita Kempley (1997) concludes "choc-full of celeb cameos, puns and contemporary camp, the movie is annoyingly hip". In a behind-the-scenes special feature recording, director John Clements explains the studio's decision to modify the Hercules tale: "we call this thing sort of an epic comedy. So, playing comedy against people's expectations of Greek mythology, which are often kind of stuffy or it's something academic, and we tried to make it very contemporary and accessible" (*The Making of Hercules*, 1997). Clements' comments illuminate the studio's approach to portraying Ancient Greece and its myths, which is also reflected in the film's opening sequence. US actor Charlton Heston, known for his performances in Hollywood epics *The Ten Commandments* (dir. DeMille, 1956) and *Ben-Hur* (dir. Wyler, 1959), as well as appearing as Marc Antony in *Julius Caesar* (dir. Bradley,1950) and *Julius Caesar* (dir. Burge, 1970), as well as *Antony and Cleopatra* (dir. Heston, 1972), begins an introductory narration. This voice which echoes with the memory of epics depicting the ancient and Classical world is swiftly interrupted by five Muses who come alive from a painting on an item of Greek pottery. The Muses launch into a three-part musical narration of Zeus's entrapment of the Titans, Hades's dissatisfaction in the Underworld, and the kidnapping of Hercules. Within this film, Greek myth literally comes alive, and the filmmakers reiterate that this is not your grandfather's Greek mythology. Nevertheless, the allusions to Greek mythology within *Hercules* are informed by previous images of Greek myth and ancient Greek culture in mainstream US culture, visible in films such as Don

Chaffey's *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963) and Desmond Davis' (1981) *Clash of the Titans*. These perceptions of Ancient Greece and its mythology derive from representations of Classical Antiquity found in wider society such as museums and even children's 'edu-tainment' literature like *Mythology* (Hamilton, 1942) or *D'Aulaires' Book of Greek Myths* (D'Aulaires, 1962). These cultural outlets offer audiences images and narratives of Ancient Greece and its mythology which, over time, are accepted and expected in portrayals of the narrated culture, thus forming a shared repertoire of images for use in depictions of Ancient Greek culture (see DiGiovanni, 2003 & 2007 for shared repertoire of cultural representation). Under the frame of hyperculture, these cultural elements are removed from their original sites and presented to consumers as decontextualised motifs, recognisably 'exotic' and able to be donned like a costume for a themed party with little regard for original cultural significance. British cartoonist Gerald Scarfe provided designs for the production and characters in Disney's *Hercules*. In a documentary charting his process of creating the characters, Scarfe shared that he visited the British Museum in London and studied their collection of artefacts from Ancient Greece as inspiration for the characters he would create (dir. Wason, 1997). Disney also sent a creative team to Greece and Turkey to gather information and inspiration for the design of the film.

Disney's film integrates various figures from Greek mythology in its selection of characters and the dialogue within the film. Characters with speaking roles in the film such as the eponymous Hercules, his parents Zeus and Hera, the antagonist Hades, Megara, Amphitryon and Alcmene, Philoctetes, the Fates, the Muses, and Hermes all originate from Ancient Greek mythology. Other figures from Greek mythology referred to in the film's dialogue may only appear as background characters or, as in the cases of the Greek war hero Achilles and the mythical first woman Pandora, do not appear on screen at all but are instead featured as part of witty utterances. Allusions to these figures perform the function of familiar references to the narrated culture; audience members, particularly older children and adults, recognise the references from previous encounters with the narrated culture, yet these references still maintain an aura of temporal and geographical exoticism. Owing to the familiarity of Ancient Greek mythology to many French- and German-speaking cultures, these cultural allusions and references do not pose a significant challenge when they come to be dubbed into the three different TT versions. Each TT dub uses the TL

official equivalents for the names of characters from Greek myth. For example, when Hermes presents Hera with a bouquet of flowers, he states "I had Orpheus do the arrangement", which is rendered as "j'ai demandé à Orphée d'en faire la composition" in the French dub, as "j'ai demandé à Orphée de nous faire cet arrangement" in the Quebecois dub, and as "Orpheus hat sie zusammengestellt" in the German dub. One discrepancy between the two French-language dubs can be found in the terms used to refer to the Fates. The French dub uses the rendering "les Moires", from the Greek Moirai, whereas the Québécois dub uses "les Parques", derived from Parcae, the term used in Roman mythology.

After meeting Philoctetes, Hercules tries to convince the satyr voiced by Danny Devito to agree to train the young hero. Initially Philoctetes refuses, having been let down previously by other Greek heroes. The dialogue extract below illustrates the ST's usage of references to figures and objects from Greek mythology, as well as objects from daily life and even a historical figure from Ancient Egypt.

> **Phil**: Watch it! That was part of the mast of the Argo.
>
> **Hercules**: The Argo?
>
> **Phil**: Yeah. Who do you think taught Jason how to sail? Cleopatra? I trained all those would-be heroes: Odysseus, Perseus, Theseus. A lot of yeuses. And every single one of those bums let me down flatter than a discus. None of them could go the distance. And then there was Achilles. Now there was a guy who had it all - the build, the foot speed. He could jab, he could take a hit, he could keep on coming. But that furschlugginer heel of his! He barely gets nicked there once and kaboom! He's history.

As Hercules enters Phil's home, he bumps into a large piece of wood, revealed to be part of the ship the Argo, on which the mythical Jason and the Argonauts sailed in search of the Golden Fleece. The tale of Jason and his quest on the Argo remains a popular story, having spawned many adaptations across Western cultures. Don Chaffey's fantasy adventure *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963) is one of the most widely recognised and celebrated adaptations of the ancient myth which includes his return home with Medea. Although Chaffey's film performed poorly at the US box-office and disappointed critics on its initial release, it was more warmly received in the UK and has "gained iconic status as well as the great affection of many" (Blanshard & Shahabudin, 2011, pp. 134-5). Thus, this

Hellenic tale is recognisable, through the lens of the source culture's myths and perceptions of reality, to contemporary source culture audiences. The popularity and interest in the mythology of Ancient Greece among European audiences throughout the centuries contributes to the familiarity of these ancient myths to contemporary audiences. Phil continues to list the figures "Odysseus, Perseus, Theseus" and "Achilles", all from Greek mythology and literature and all similarly familiar to source culture audiences thanks to extended interest in Hellenic culture and more modern retellings of these figures' tales, ranging from Racine's tragedy *Phèdre* (1677), to Rilke's cycle *Die Sonette an Orpheus* (1922) and Hollywood films, such as the Kirk Douglas-fronted epic adventure film *Ulysses* (dir. Camerini, 1954), the classic *Clash of the Titans* (dir. Davis, 1981), and US television series *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (Raimi & Joyce, prods.,1995-1999), memories of which remain in the collective consciousness of the source culture and inform audience expectations of depictions of Greek myth in subsequent adaptations. Here again, the rendering of these heroes' names for the French and German-language TTs of Disney's *Hercules* pose no significant challenge for translators, bar substituting the target languages' official equivalents. The French-language TTs use "Odyssée, Persée, Thésée" and "Achille", except the Québécois replaces "Odyssée" with Odysseus", and the German TT uses the German pronunciations of "Odysseus, Perseus, Theseus" and "Achilles". The German dub exhibits the translation strategy of compensation in place for the Jason CSR, having Hercules directly connect the Argo with the mythical figure Jason, which makes the reference more explicit, instead of having Phil utter the Jason reference as he does in the ST and both French-language TTs. The extract below shows the German TT dialogue for this small part of the exchange between Phil and Hercules.

> **Phil**: Vorsicht! Das war mal der Mastbaum von der Argo. [BT: Careful! That was once the mast of the Argo]
>
> **Hercules**: Jasons Argo? [BT: Jason's Argo]
>
> **Phil**: Wer hätte ihm wohl sonst das Segeln beigebracht? Colombos? Ich habe sie alle trainiert, diese Möchtegern-Helden: Odysseus, Perseus, Theseus. 'n Haufen EUSes. Und diese Traumtänzer wurden alle plattgemacht. Platter als 'n Diskeus, Diskus. Und keiner, nicht einer hat's geschafft. Und dann, dann kam Achilles. Achilles hatte alles. Diese Statur, dieses Tempo! Er konnte austeilen, er konnte einstecken! Er war einfach nicht aufzuhalten. Aber diese verflucht-verflixte Ferse! Du hast sie nur schief angeguckt und bumm! Aus und vorbei! [BT: Who else would

> have taught him how to sail? Columbus? I trained them all, these would-be heroes: Odysseus, Perseus, Theseus. A bunch of euses. And these dreamers were all crushed. Flatter than a disc-eus. Discus. And none, not one of them, made it. And then, then came Achilles. Achilles had it all. The stature, the speed. He could dish it out, he could take it. He was simply unstopppable. But that damn-cursed heel! You only had to look at it wrong and boom! Over and done with].

As shown in the extract above, the German dub makes some content alterations in its rendering of the ST. The third-culture reference to Cleopatra, uttered by Phil when he sarcastically asks “Who do you think taught Jason to sail? Cleopatra?”, is replaced with the international CSR “Colombus”. Perhaps the translators for the German dub felt that a reference to navigator Christopher Columbus would be more accessible to the TT audience. Or perhaps they use "Colombus” as a reference to the source culture. The USA has adopted Italian explorer Christopher as a symbolic figure in the history and identity formation of US culture. Olivia Waxman (2021) describes Columbus as “the individual with the third most public monuments, after Abraham Lincoln (193) in first place and George Washington (171)”. Of the four versions discussed in this case study, it is the German dub which features more explicitly American CSRs. Furthermore, the German TT adds a comical mispronunciation not present in the ST. When Phil refers to the discus when expressing his disappointment in his previous heroes, he initially mispronounces the word as “Diskeus”, building on the phoneme patterning from the preceding list “Odysseus, Perseus, Theseus”. In contrast, both the French and Québécois renderings remove the CSR to discus. In the Québécois dub, the line dialogue is rendered as “et ensuite ils m’ont tous laissé tomber, ces polichinelles. Tout juste bons à décorer de la vaisselle”, substituting the discus reference with a less explicit allusion to Ancient Greek painted pottery. In the French TT, the ST utterance is rendered as “Et il y pas un seul de ces ploucs qui ne se soient dégonflés, rétamés, ramassés” [BT: And not a single one of those bumpkins didn’t chicken out, fall, or come a cropper], completely removing the reference to the discus, an object which is commonly associated with modern athletics and ancient Greek Olympics. Instead, the French dub employs the informal, slang associations of *se dégonfler*, *se rétamer*, *se ramasser* to give Phil’s dialogue a contemporary feel, while maintaining the sound patterning of the heroes’ names. With this strategy, it is evident that the phonetics have been given priority over the CSR here.

Other objects featured in the different dialogue versions serving as CSRs include references to chariots, togas, and Greek pottery. First, the inhabitants of Thebes react sceptically when Hercules arrives and announces he is a hero. One inhabitant responds "Oh listen to this. He's just another chariot chaser", an allusion to *ambulance chaser*, an American term referring to lawyers who frequent disaster sites and follow ambulances in order to procure clients. Here, the ancient world and modern US culture are combined. The Québécois TT echoes the cynicism with its rendering "Vous allez voir dans une minute, il va nous proposer une assurance" [BT: You'll see in a minute, he's going to offer us insuance], alluding to individuals who sell, perhaps unnecessary, personal insurance. Furthermore, the CSR to chariot is absent. In contrast, the French and German TTs remove the allusion to the predatory practices of modern lawyers and insurance brokers. Instead, the French rendering "Ecoutez-moi ça, c'est encore un de ces esbroufeurs" [BT: Listen to this, it's another one of those show-offs] focuses on the boastful nature of those who claim to be heroes and omits the ST CSR to chariots. However, the German "Vergiss es. Schon wieder so 'ne Säulenklette" [BT: Forget it. Just another column clinger] substitutes pillars for chariots, bringing to mind to the columns and pillars often associated with the architecture of the classical world.

Second, a reference to the toga, a garment worn in Ancient Rome, appears in the ST dialogue when Philoctetes tries to calm an increasingly exasperated portrait artist by saying "keep your toga on, pal". While the Ancient Greeks did not wear togas, the inclusion of this third-culture CSR can perhaps be explained by the overlapping of Ancient Greek and Roman cultures, particularly in modern day depictions of the classical world. Table 3.1 below shows the three TT versions.

Table 3.1 Hercules (1997) Toga in Translation

French TT	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Nous casse pas les pinces, maestro. [BT: Don't bust your brushes, maestro]	Il y pas le feu, calme-toi. [BT: There's no fire, calm down]	Was regst du dich so auf, Pablo? [BT: What are you so upset about, Pablo?]

Surprisingly, the German rendering features the CSR “Pablo”, presumably a reference to Spanish artist Pablo Picasso. The inclusion of this anachronistic third-culture CSR indicates that the translators did not prioritise cultural authenticity, opting instead for references that audiences can recognise and appreciate the humour.

Third, references to Greek pottery appear on screen and in the dialogue throughout. In the song ‘Zero to Hero’, the Muses sing “what’s a Grecian urn?” a common joke playing on the homophones urn and earn. The German TT removes the CSR and the linguistic playfulness, whereas both French-language TTs substitute references to Greece and Antiquity respectively with their renderings “pour s’offrir la Grece et ses merveilles” [BT: to enjoy Greece and its wonders] and “s’y connait même en Antiquité” [BT: even knows all about Antiquity]. Elsewhere, the TTs feature additional references to Greek pottery, such as “j’en ai ras l'amphore” in the French TT, which combines the phrase *en avoir ras le bol* [to be fed up with] with a CSR to amphora, and the German dialogue “das bringt die Amphore zum Überlaufen” [BT: it makes the amphora overflow], similarly combining the third-culture CSR with the established TL phrase *der Tropfen, der das Fass zum Überlaufen* [BT: the straw that broke the camel’s back]. Finally, the French TT also contains an additional CSR by using the expression *attendre jusqu’aux calendes grecques* [BT: to wait until the cows come home], which is used to signify something that will never happen. When Hades convinces Hercules to refrain from any heroic actions for 24 hours, he pushes the hero to decide quickly, stating “je peux pas attendre jusqu’aux calendes grecques” [BT: I can’t wait until the cows come home]. This creative addition produces play-on-words not present in the ST.

Food and beverages are commonly used CSRs as seen in Disney’s previous animated films, and *Hercules* is no exception. When the hero arrives in Thebes, a man selling fast food from a roadside cart is heard shouting “Pita bread, pita bread! Get your pita here!” Each of the TTs replicate the CSR through direct translation into the TLs, indicating that the associations of pita with Greek cuisine are equally recognisable across the French- and German-speaking cultures targeted by Disney’s dubs. Variations of pita exist across the cultures of the Levant, Turkey, and Greece, with the Greek version traditionally served as a wrap for gyros and souvlaki. Outside these regions, pita is

frequently associated with Greek cuisine and culture. In the ST, pita is again referenced when Meg tells Hercules “everyone in Greece thinks you’re the best thing since they put the pocket in pita”, playing on the English saying ‘best thing since sliced bread’ by substituting the familiar Greek pita for sliced bread. The French TT is the only dub to retain the reference to pita with its rendering “Tout le monde en Grèce pense que tu es le plus grand événement depuis l'invention de la pita” [BT: Everyone in Greece thinks that you are the best thing since the invention of pita]. In contrast, both Québécois and German dubs substitute different third-culture references, with the German TT opting for the Greek street food gyros in its rendering “Ganz Griechenland hält dich für die größte Entdeckung seit sie Gyros erfunden haben” [BT: The whole of Greece thinks you’re the greatest discovery since they invented gyros]. The Québécois dub substitutes a slightly more generalised reference to kebabs in its rendering “Tellement, que tous les Grecques disent que t’es ce qu’on a fait de mieux depuis les brochettes” [BT: So much that all the Greeks say that you’re the best thing we’ve made since kebabs]. Although utilising different CSRs to the ST, the cultural associations of the references found in the Québécois and German dubs are similar, thus these two dubs achieve an equivalent effect to the ST by alluding to dishes from Greek cuisine, with which their audiences are familiar.

Earlier in the film, Hades sarcastically taunts the other gods by saying “I haven’t been this choked up since I got a hunk of moussaka caught in my throat”. Both French-language dubs retain the reference to moussaka by using the translation strategy of direct translation. In contrast, the German dub substitutes a reference to chilli pepper in its rendering “Das letzte Mal, dass mir so warm ums Herz war, hatte ich eine Peperoni verschluckt” [BT: The last time I felt so warm inside, I’d swallowed a chilli pepper]. In contemporary Greek cuisine, moussaka is typically made with aubergine, minced lamb, and béchamel sauce. However, moussaka or similarly named dishes also appear in Balkan, Turkish, Egyptian, and Middle Eastern cuisines. In Turkey, *mussaka* differs from the layered, Greek dish; instead, fried aubergine is served in a tomato-based meat sauce with a spiced rice accompaniment. Other Balkan variants of moussaka use potato instead of aubergine, with pork or beef mince replacing lamb, and a milk or savoury custard topping. It is possible that the German translators opted for a different CSR to avoid associations or confusion with other Balkan cultures, references to which would appear out of place in Disney’s film

about Ancient Greece. The German dub also features some additional Greek culinary CSRs which do not appear in the ST. First, a reference to tzatziki, a sauce commonly associated with Greek cuisine, is uttered by Phil when trying to convince the citizens of Thebes that Hercules is a hero: "Habt ihr alle Tzatziki im Kopf?" [BT: Have you all got tzatziki for brains]. Phil's dialogue in the ST appears as "Don't you peabrains get it?". Second, a minor character shouts "hast du Oliven auf den Augen?" [BT: Have you got olives in your eyes] after almost crashing his chariot into Phil, whereas in the ST, the reckless driver shouts: "Look where you're going numbskull". By diverging from the ST and combining the structure of the common German phrase Tomaten auf den Augen haben [BT: to have tomatoes in your eyes, i.e. are you blind] with a reference to olives, which are often associated with Greek cuisine, the German dub succeeds in creating a CSR which is familiar to target culture audiences and simultaneously denotes an exotic culture.

From the CSRs to Greece discussed above, it is evident that Disney employs references that are easily recognisable to its source and target culture audiences. The vast majority of these references form a shared repertoire and are frequently used to communicate cultural information to audiences in the short time that the medium of film grants creative teams. DiGiovanni labels these reoccurring references "distorted cultural metonymies", which are essentially stereotypes and have come to be associated with lazy and/or problematic cultural representations. *Hercules* presents audiences with a basic, Western understanding of Greek culture and myth, despite the resources available to the studio for research trips and cultural advisors. However, as the film runs on, it becomes clear that the filmmakers are less interested in depicting Greek culture, be it ancient or modern. In fact, the directors have stated:

> We felt strongly that a Greek movie with a score full of beautiful bouzouki music would conjure a tone that wasn't as much fun as how we were thinking. So, we thought, the Muses were the goddesses of the arts and they're natural story-tellers and we are making a musical and we wanted something hipper than a stage Greek chorus. (Rebello, 1997, p. 163)

Clements and Musker's comments indicate a lack of interest in Greek culture due to a perceived lack of fun and contemporaneity. In order to bring in "something hipper", the filmmakers looked closer to home, resulting in an adaptation of the Hercules tale which has a lot more to say about contemporary US culture than the myths of Ancient Greece.

3.1.2 Disney's Trojan Horse: More Nashville Parthenon than Athenian Acropolis

The limited range of images used to portray Ancient Greece and Greek mythology pale in comparison to the sheer volume of American CSRs across *Hercules'* runtime. Furthermore, Disney's 35th animated feature film is a palimpsest, with layers of mainstream 1990s US culture, the cultures of Ancient Greece, and contemporary US perceptions of Ancient Greek culture and mythology overlaying each other. Critics have noted the effacement of Greek myth in favour of contemporary US popular culture (Ebert, 1997; Mathews, 1997; Maurice, 2020; Summers, 2020). Sam Summers (2020) describes Hercules as "a more typically American story" and "a complex synthesis of ancient Greek and contemporary culture" (p. 490 & p. 503). Summers' critique echoes that of Jack Mathews (1997), who labelled Disney's protagonist "an all-American boy". Critics have noted the similarities between Disney's Hercules and the story of another US pop culture icon: Superman (Mathews, 1997; Summers, 2020). Directors Clements and Musker admit to drawing inspiration from superhero comic books (Rebello, 1997, p. 52). Within the ST, Megara affectionately gives Hercules the nickname "Wonderboy", hinting at the superhero tradition which influenced Disney's treatment of the Hercules myth. The Québécois dub retains the English word "Wonderboy" for the nickname bestowed by Megara, the use of English language here perhaps emphasising the Americanness of the film. The German TT opts for the direct translation "Wunderknabe", whereas the French TT features the moniker "Supermâle", sharing many aural similarities to the iconic American comic book superhero.

The allusions to US culture do not stop here. In fact, the ancient city of Thebes is presented as a simulacrum of New York City. After training with Philoctetes, Hercules travels to Thebes to test his mettle by serving as a hero to the city's inhabitants. The city is shown as a bustling metropolis with streams of chariots travelling down the cobbled streets. Pedestrians wait for a Greek-style vase to change from a painted red hand to a green walking figure before crossing the road. One man accosts Philoctetes and Hercules by opening up his robe to reveal a number of sundials that he is trying to sell, another clad only in a hollow column proclaims "The end is coming". While crossing the road, a chariot speeds past, almost crashing into Philoctetes. The man shouts "Look where you're going,

numbskull" to which Philoctetes replies "Hey, I'm walking here", imitating a scene from *Midnight Cowboy* (dir. Schlesinger, 1969), another film in which a naïve protagonist arrives in a bustling metropolis in order to achieve his dream. As they arrive, Philoctetes offers a description of Thebes which draws direct parallels between the ancient city and contemporary New York (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Hercules (1997) Translating New York City Allusions

ST	One town. A million troubles. The one and only Thebes. The big olive itself. If you can make it there, you can make it anywhere. Stick with me, kid. This city is a dangerous place.
French TT	Ouais, une ville et un million de problèmes. La seule et unique Thèbes. Le joyau de la Grèce. Celui qui perce en Grèce, fera de la graisse en Perse. Ne me lâche pas, petit. La cité est un vrai guêpier. [BT: Yeah, one town and a million problems. The one and only Thebes. The jewel of Greece. He who succeeds in Greece will make a fortune in Persia. Don't let go of me, kid. The city is a real hornet's nest]
Québécois TT	Une cité, cent mille embûches. La seule et unique Thèbes. La ville noirceur par excellence. Quand on réussit ici, on peut réussir n'importe où. T'éloigne pas, petit. Ici un danger n'attend pas l'autre. [BT: One city, a hundred thousand dangers. The one and only Thebes. The city of darkness par excellence. If you can make it here, you can make it anywhere. Don't stray too far, kid. Here one danger follows another]
German TT	Eine Stadt mit Millionen von Problemen. Wie sagt man so schön: Theben erleben und sterben! Wenn du's in Theben schaffst, dann schaffst du's überall! Bleib in meiner Nähe, Kleiner, in der Großstadt kann's gefährlich werden. [BT: A city with millions of problems. As the saying goes: Experience Thebes and die! If you can make it in Thebes, you can make it anywhere! Stay close to me, kid, it can be dangerous in the big city]

The above dialogue contains two covert allusions to the city of New York. First, Phil calls Thebes "the Big Olive", evoking New York's moniker the Big Apple while substituting olive as a food item that is commonly associated with Greek cuisine, especially outside of Greece. While the exact origins of the nickname are unclear, the phrase became associated with New York during a tourism campaign for the city in the 1970s (Gonzalez, 2017). The French TT renders this first allusion to New York as "Le joyau de la Grece" [BT: the jewel of Greece], omitting the CSR to New York completely, while substituting an explicit reference to Greece. The Québécois dub similarly removes the reference to New York with its rendering "la ville noirceur par excellence". The German dub utilises a modified version of the expression *Neapel sehen und sterben*, itself taken from the playful Italian expression *vedere Napoli e poi muori*, with *muori* referring to a region outside Naples and the verb to die. The German-language calque has become a recognised expression, being applied to other cities and, more recently serving as the German title for the dark comedy *In Bruges* (dir. McDonagh, 2008): *Brügge sehen … und sterben?* Second, Philoctetes' utterance "if you can make it there, you can make it anywhere" constitutes a covert intertextual allusion to 'Theme from *New York, New York*' (Liza Minelli, 1977), a song later popularised by Frank Sinatra. In the French TT, Phil's statement is rendered as "Celui qui perce en Grèce, fera de la graisse en Perse", a play-on-words between *percer* [to become famous] and *Perse* [Persia], and between *Grèce* [Greece] and faire de la graisse [to get rich]. This playful use of language replaces the source culture reference with references to the narrated culture and Persia. Although semantic equivalence and equivalent effect are not pursued here, this rendering exhibits a playfulness which characterises much of the film's themes. In contrast, both the Québécois and German TTs offer more direct translations of the ST dialogue. The renderings "quand on réussit ici, on peut réussir n'importe où" and "wenn du's in Theben schaffst, dann schaffst du's überall" both transmit the semantic meaning of the utterance however, the intertextual allusion and source culture reference is lost in the two TT versions. Consequently, the removal of source culture references alters the portrayal of Thebes between the source and target texts. While Thebes serves as a stand-in for New York in the ST, in the three TTs analysed Thebes becomes a generalised depiction of a bustling metropolis.

Additionally, the film utilises linguistic difference to mirror US linguistic diversity. All of the characters in the ST speak with American accents and there is little variation in the accents featured in the film. However, elements of Yiddish dialect appear in the dialogue of Philoctetes and Hades. Before we turn to the instances of Yiddish in the film, it is worthwhile to provide some further information about Yiddish in the USA. Yiddish words and phrases are not only limited to Jewish characters or real-world populations, as Yiddish-origin words are frequently used by non-Jewish people. Although Yiddish proficiency levels may have decreased, Sarah Benor (2013) reports an increase in the use of Yiddish-origin words and grammar constructions due to the increase of Yiddish words being used by non-Jewish Americans, to the extent that these words and phrases "have clearly become part of the American English language" (p. 322). These words and phrases from the Yiddish language entered American English as loan words and have become part of everyday language for non-Jewish Americans (Wolfram & Schilling, 2015; Schultz, 2019). Marv Rubinstein (2014) explains that Yiddish words such as "mishmash (a hodgepodge) and tush or tushy (one's behind or buttocks)" were readily adopted by American people due to the popularity and success of Jewish writers, comedians, actors, and producers (p. 6). While many Yiddish words are recognised throughout America, and may be used by Jewish and non-Jewish people, their usage often remains tied to an informal register of American English. Sol Steinmetz (1986) argues that Yiddish loan words entered American English because of their slangy and informal quality (p. 2). Similarly, Julia Schultz (2019) remarks that "a typical feature of the Yiddish-derived vocabulary is the considerable number of colloquial terms, which mostly occur in informal usage" (p. 6). Although Yiddish-speaking Jewish communities can be found in English-speaking regions around the globe, Yiddish loan words in English are overwhelmingly associated with American English to the extent that "Yiddish loan words may often be perceived as Americanisms by speakers of other English varieties, because of the considerable international social and cultural impact of Jewish communities in the United States (especially New York)" (Durkin, 2014, p. 364). English speakers from outside the US may first encounter Yiddish loan words through exposure to US English.

While it is true that some Yiddish loan words have been mostly assimilated into English, many of these words and phrases still carry strong cultural associations with American

Yiddish culture, the city of New York, US slang, and comedy, and it is these cultural associations which are communicated through *Hercules'* dialogue. The interjection *oy* or its variant *oy vey* appear twice in *Hercules*. This Yiddish interjection is used to express pain, dismay, or surprise. The first instance appears in Hades's response to the Fates delivering a prophecy in verse: "Ah, verse. Oy". It has been observed that Yiddish words and phrases possess a cultural specificity within the USA that means their representations are not readily transplanted to other cultures (Ferrari, 2010). Instead, the loan words and cultural stereotypes undergo a process of adaptation to the target culture. In the French dub, "oy" is standardised to be "Ça rime en plus" [BT: it rhymes too]. Similarly, the German dub presents its standardisation "Schon wieder ein Gedicht" [BT: a poem yet again] and in the Québécois dub Hades's utterance is rendered as "et c'est en vers, oh là" [BT: and it's in verse, oh dear]. "Oy vey" appears a second time following Philoctetes's agreement to train young Hercules, and in both French-language TTs, this interjection is again standardised. The Québécois dub uses "amen", and the French dub "quel calvaire" [BT: what an ordeal]. The German dub also renders the ST interjection using the TL interjection "o weh". The phonetic proximity of the ST and German TT interjections may suggest that the German TT retains the original phrase, however it must be noted that *o weh* exists in German and is not associated with Jewish culture or identity in the same manner as it is within the source culture context. Therefore, the ST Yiddish phrase is once again standardised in the TT. Elsewhere, the Yiddish terms "furschlugginer" and "schlemiel", uttered by Philoctetes and Hades respectively, are likewise rendered using TL expressions that lack the linguistic diversity of the ST version. Table 3.3 below shows the renderings of the two Yiddish phrases in context marked in bold.

Table 3.3 Hercules (1997) TT Renderings of Yiddish

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Phil: But that **furschlugginer** heel of his [Achilles]. He barely gets nicked there once and kaboom! He's history.	Mais cette **foutue cochonnerie** de talon. Il l'a à peine effleuré un jour et boum ! Kaput. C'est de l'histoire ancienne. [BT: But	Mais c'est son **satané** talon qui a tout foutu en l'air. Il se fait à peine effleurer à cet endroit-là, et boum ! Il s'écroule. [BT:	Aber diese **verflucht-verflixte** Ferse. Du hast sie nur schief angeguckt und bumm! Aus und vorbei. [BT: But

	that damn heel. He barely grazed it one day and boom ! Kaputt. It's ancient history]	But it was his damn heel that ruined everything. He barely grazed it, and boom! He collapsed]	that darn heel. You only had to look at it and boom! It was all over and done with]
Hades: And the one **schlemiel** who can louse it up is waltzing around in the woods!	Et ce **bâtard de demeuré** est en train de valser, de flirter dans les bois ! [BT: And that moronic half-breed is waltzing around, flirting in the woods!]	Et le seul **guignol** qui peut me mettre des bâtons dans les roues se promène tranquillement dans la forêt ! [BT: And the only idiot who can throw a spanner in the works is walking around peacefully in the forest!]	Und der einzige **Ochse**, der mir in die Quere kommen kann, tänselt friedlich über die Wiesen! [BT: And the only oaf who can get in my way is skipping through the meadows!]

Each TT uses standardised terms from the respective TL to render the two Yiddish words above. The French TT includes "kaput", a borrowing from German that is typically used informally. This helps with characterising Philoctetes in his role as a streetwise sidekick. In another instance, the French TT substitutes a Yiddish word with a target language variant. In ST, the antagonist Hades uses the Yiddish word "yutz" to refer to Hercules. In the French dub, Hades uses the word "schnock" (var. *chnoque*), which is semantically equivalent to the ST dialogue. According to *Le Trésor de la langue française informatisé* (n.d.) the word *schnock* is used in informal contexts as an insult and its origin may be the Alsace song 'Hans in Schnokeloch'. Here, the French TT employs a word derived from the Alsatian dialect in a similar fashion to the ST's use of Yiddish-origin loan words and phrases. However, both the Québécois and German dubs use standardised TL terms "taon" [BT: horsefly], used figuratively to describe a tormentor, and "Esel" [BT: fool].

Both Hades and Philoctetes speak with varieties of accent associated with New York and their use of Yiddish words recalls the US city. When the TT renderings of Yiddish loan words and phrases are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the TTs erase the cultural specificity present in the ST and exhibit largely domesticating approaches in their

standardised TL translations. Furthermore, Philoctetes is the only character to use the foreign language words such as “excelente”. This borrowing from Spanish serves a mainly decorative purpose and each of the TTs retain this word and the effect the linguistic variation produces within the context of the surrounding dialogue. The French and Québécois TTs retain “excelente”, however the German TT directly translates it as “ausgezeichnet”. By directly translating this instance of ST foreign language into the TL, the German dub loses some of the linguistic difference associated with the character Phil. Later in the film, when trying to help Hercules escape from the hordes of fans, Phil calls for “escape plan beta”, a modification of the English-language phrase *plan B*. Here, the Greek *beta* is substituted as a means of alluding to Ancient Greek culture. Each of the TTs retain the second letter of the Greek alphabet in their renderings of this phrase, thus the allusion to Greek culture is retained in the translations analysed. The one use of Greek language is recognisable to ST audiences and TT audiences owing to the status of the Greek language as a language of science across the cultures involved.

However, each of the TTs contains a number of additional instances of foreign language. In the ST, Hercules is called “Wonderboy” by Megara. The Québécois dub retains this, producing linguistic variation in the TT where none exists in the ST. By including the English-language name, the Québécois TT emphasises the theme of US contemporary culture, and this moniker serves as a recurrent allusion to US culture. So far, the Québécois dub of Hercules is the only film to have a main character using a language other than the TL. Both the French and German TTs also feature some English words, for example, “Baby”, and “cool” in the French TT, and “Fulltime Job”, and “Let’s get ready to rumble” in the German TT. In both the French and German TTs, it is the character Hades who utters these English-language words and phrases. Although he is the film’s villain, Hades still performs a comedic role in the film and arguably the inclusion of English in his speech in the French and German dubs is a compensatory strategy for representing his linguistic difference. In the ST he uses lots of colloquial language associated with US English, and some Yiddish discussed above. For the French-language and German dubs, the English words/phrases are easily recognisable for target culture audiences. By including the source language, the TTs maintain a link with the source culture which helps to uphold the parody of US popular culture in the dubbed versions. In the ST, Hades shouts: “Let’s get ready to

rumble!" before Hercules battles the Hydra, an allusion to boxing and wrestling matches. Ring announcer Michael Buffer made *let's get ready to rumble* his catchphrase, even obtaining a trademark for the use of the phrase in advertising and entertainment (Ready to Rumble, Inc., 2000). The German TT's retention of this phrase not only creates linguistic difference, but also alludes to the source culture which reinforces the theme of mainstream US culture even after undergoing translation.

It is clear from the above examples that *Hercules* and its dubbed versions are films primarily about US culture, more so than about Ancient Greek culture. In the French dub, Megara bids farewell to Hercules by saying "Ciao". The character of Megara is supposed to be a 'cool' girl and her use of *ciao* as a fashionable farewell reinforces this characterisation. Another case of foreign language words being used in a fashionable manner or to lend some informality to a character's dialogue is found with Hades' use of the Russian word "nyet" [no], which gives him a cool, international quality. Arguably, it partly aligns with Jane Hill's (1998) concept of mock Spanish, whereby the foreign language is used by non-speakers of that language to elevate their speech and make the character appear 'cool'.

Furthermore, the filmmakers drew on distinctly US musical traditions to give Hercules a more contemporary feel, particularly for US audiences. A glaring, albeit intentional, anachronism in Disney's *Hercules* is presented to audiences in the form of the five Muses who serve as musical narrators throughout the film. Dressed in white togas, each of these five Black women have their own individual looks, drawing similarities with modern girl groups, and the songs they sing feature elements inspired by Black Gospel music. Black Gospel traces its roots back to the transatlantic slave trade and the conversion of enslaved African people to Christianity, as well as Black oral tradition and Black Pentecostalism in the USA. In 1930s America, Black gospel became increasingly more popular and commercially successful in large part thanks to the efforts of musician Thomas Andrew Dorsey, who had a profound influence on two celebrated gospel singers Sister Rosetta Tharpe and Mahalia Jackson (Peretti, 2009, pp. 125-134). Although the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses was formed in 1933, non-Black artists were less inclined to adopt Gospel elements, and as a result of this racial separation, Gospel

became a significant component of Black identity in America (Ramsey, 2003, p. 121; Peretti, 2009, p. 126). In the Hercules press kit, director John Musker explains the decision to feature elements of gospel music, stating "gospel music is very exhilarating and is often associated with hope, idealism and larger-than-life things. This seemed to be the perfect kind of music for our Muses because their traditional role is to tell of the gods' heroic accounts" (Hercules Press Kit, 1997). However, Disney's portrayal of the Muses has been criticised, for instance, Annalee Ward (2002) asserts that:

> What Disney does with the Gospel content not only cheapens gospel music to nothing more than style but also extirpates it from its religious roots. What remains are empty illusions to 'Gospel truth' that in reality have no connection to the New Testament Gospels. (p.87)

Both religious and cultural traditions, Ancient Greek mythology and Black Gospel/Pentecostalism, are treated as shallow aesthetics applied to Disney's animation whose simultaneous familiarity and exoticism are intended to appeal to audiences. As storytellers the Muses use song as a medium of narration throughout the film. Their first song, 'The Gospel Truth', exhibits this merging of US cultural elements with those of Ancient Greece by recounting the tale of Zeus defeating the Titans and narrating the infant Hercules' abduction and transformation into a mortal. The Muses repeat the refrain "that's the Gospel truth", creating a playful connection between Gospel music and the idiom *the gospel truth*, which indicates that something is an absolute truth. However, this wordplay poses a challenge in translation as despite *gospel* existing as an anglicism in French and German, it refers solely to the musical style and songs in both languages. Opting to transmit the figurative meaning of the idiom rather than the CSR to Gospel music, the Québécois dub renders the refrain using variations of the phrase *la pure verité* [BT: the honest truth], for example "c'est verité pure" and "c'est la pure verité". Similarly, the German dub renders the refrain as "jedes Wort ist wahr" [BT: every word is true], omitting the reference to Gospel music in favour of semantic equivalence to the SL idiom. However, the French TT features the refrain "c'est du gospel pur" [BT: it's true gospel], a combination of *la pure verité* with the anglicism referencing the style of Christian music developed by Black Americans. The source culture reference is retained in the TT alluding to a distinctly American form of Christianity and associated style of music.

Elsewhere in the film, the dialogue makes references to elements of everyday life familiar to US audiences. These include references to products and even emergency service helplines. First, having been abducted by Pain and Panic, the infant Hercules is given a baby bottle containing the potion that will render him mortal. As Hercules drinks the potion, Pain states "here you go kid. A little Grecian formula", combining the North American term for a milk substitute given to infants with the reference to the narrated culture "Grecian" to produce a reference to a North American brand of hair colouring products marketed to men. This contemporary source culture reference constitutes a culture bump and poses a challenge to translators whose audiences are assumedly unfamiliar with this CSR. The French TT removes the source culture reference, retaining only the allusion to the narrated culture with its rendering "Tiens, mon gars. Biberonne-moi ça à la grecque, cul sec" [BT : Here you go boy. Knock this back Greek style, down in one]. In the Québécois TT, Pain's dialogue is rendered as "C'est l'heure de la tétée. Avale ça, c'est bon pour ce que tu as" [BT: It's feeding time. Swallow this, it's good for what you have] removing any reference to the source or narrated cultures. In a similar vein, the German TT omits the CSRs in the ST and replaces them with the counting rhyme "ene, mene, muh und raus bist du" [BT: eenie meenie miney mo and you're out]. This example supports Di Giovanni's finding that source culture references pose a greater challenge than references to the narrated culture.

Another significant culture bump appears in the ST when Hercules rescues two young boys, who incidentally are Pain and Panic in disguise setting a trap for the film's hero. The two young boys are stuck just outside Thebes, a large boulder traps them following a landslide. As Hercules arrives on scene to rescue the children, one of the boys calls out "Somebody call IX-I-I" with the Roman numerals referring to the US emergency services number 911. For the Québécois dub, this culture bump is minimised since Canada's emergency services number is also 9-1-1. However, for both French and German TTs, this CSR constitutes a significant culture bump. The French TT renders the dialogue as "Que quelqu'un appelle le XVII" [BT: Someone call 17], substituting the roman numerals for 17, the emergency number for the police within France. The German dub replaces the roman numerals with the fire brigade in its rendering "Ruft die Feuerwehr" [BT: Call the fire service]. The domesticating strategies exhibited by the French and German dubs could very well be due

to concerns over confusing young audience members in the target cultures who could mistake the North American emergency service number for the equivalent number in their locations had the dubbed versions retained this source culture reference. This CSR example also illustrates Disney's tactic of combining elements from the narrated culture with contemporary cultural references. Here, the mixing of roman numerals, which imbue the dialogue with a fabricated antiquity, with the modern concept of telephone number for emergency services produces a manufactured Classicism that nevertheless remains intelligible to audiences. Although the Ancient Greeks had their own numeral systems, roman numerals are considerably more readily understood by audiences, particularly older audience members.

The above discussion has dealt with CSRs present in the ST and how the TTs handle these culture bumps. However, there are a considerable number of instances in which the TTs contain additional source culture CSRs. First, the French TT features an overt intertextual reference to an iconic Hollywood film. In the world of *Hercules*, great heroes are commemorated in the stars. As Phil explains in the ST, his aspirations involve training the greatest hero in the world whose feats garner him his very own constellation: "I dreamed I was gonna train the greatest hero there ever was. So great the gods would hang a picture of him in the stars all across the sky, and people would say, 'That's Phil's boy.'" During the 'Zero to Hero' sequence, Hercules flies across the night sky with Pegasus while stars arranged in various constellations twinkle behind them. In the stars, viewers see a bear and a fish representing the ursa major and Pisces constellations. A third constellation, in the form of a woman wearing a halter-neck dress, is also featured on screen. The skirt of her dress is blown up echoing the iconic scene from Billy Wilder's *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), where Marilyn Monroe's character stands above a New York subway grate. The image of Monroe with her white skirt billowing in the updraft was further cemented as an emblematic image of the 20th century by set photographer Sam Shaw's stills which were published internationally as part of the film's promotion. Here, Disney draws on the literal and figurative meanings of star in English, namely a luminous celestial object and a famous entertainer or sports person in popular culture, presenting viewers with a semantic commingling that emphasises the importance placed on celebrity in contemporary US society. Similarly, the final song of Disney's animation, 'A Star is Born', is accompanied

by a visual sequence depicting Hercules' own constellation in the sky, signalling that he has finally 'made it'. The song's refrain "a star is born" refers both to the new constellation and Hercules status as a true hero, drawing parallels between the immortalisation of mythical heroes and celebrities. In the French version, the image of Monroe in the stars is accompanied by the lyrics "certains l'aiment chaud" [BT: some like it hot], an overt intercultural reference to another of Billy Wilder's films featuring Monroe *Some Like It Hot* (1959). The collocation of the visual and verbal references reinforces the allusion to this icon of US, and by extension international, celebrity culture.

Second, both the French and German dubs contain references to the Academy Awards, a significant event in the US film industry which garners attention from the public. The French dub features this reference to the Academy Awards during the film's final song 'Une étoile est née': "Il n'a pas gagné par hasard/Tous les oscars de la victoire" [BT: He didn't win by chance/ All the Oscars for victory]. In the German dub, Hades praises Pain and Panic's performance as trapped young boys, stating "das war oscarreif" [BT: That was Oscar worthy]. These additional source culture CSRs help to make the allegory of US celebrity culture all the more explicit in the TT versions.

Broadly speaking, the German TT leans into the Americanism of the ST by retaining, substituting, and adding source culture references which are significantly more direct than the ST as illustrated by the following examples. First, when the three Fates visit Hades in the Underworld, the German dub features the additional source culture reference "Elvis lebt, aber erzähl es niemandem" [BT: Elvis is alive, but don't tell anyone]. This real-world, ethnographic reference to American, and internationally successful, singer Elvis Presley is uttered by Atropos in a light-hearted aside to Hades' minions Pain and Panic. In contrast, the ST dialogue "indoor plumbing; it's gonna be big" features no culture-specific reference. The French and Québécois dubs feature the semantically equivalent renderings "les WC changeront la face du monde" [BT : bathrooms will change the world] and "La tuyauterie intérieure, ça va faire un vrai malheur" [BT: interior piping is going to be a real disaster]. When compared to the French-language TTs, the additional source culture CSR inserted into the German TT stands out for diverging from the semantic meaning of the ST, and for the specificity of the reference to the source culture. Elvis Presley, christened the King of

Rock and Roll, revolutionised American popular culture and became an international celebrity thanks to his music and film performances. His image, typically dressed in a white jumpsuit with combed black hair and his distinctive on-stage mannerisms, developed into an emblem of US popular culture, celebrity and international stardom. Although his career launched in the late 1950s and came to an end with the singer's death in 1977, Elvis remains a subject of modern fascination and celebration.

The German dub features additional explicit source culture references after Hercules's love interest Megara is introduced. Once Hercules and Phil leave for Thebes upon Pegasus, it is revealed to the audience that Megara is bound to work for Hades after selling her soul to save a former lover who subsequently left her for another woman. As Megara walks deeper into the wood away from Hercules, a rabbit and a chipmunk interrupt her path. The animation style of these two animals is reminiscent of the exaggeratedly cute animal companions in the studio's earlier films, which came to define the Classic Disney Formula and Disney Formalism (see Pallant, 2011 for Disney Formalism). Drawn in a style which recalls that of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, *Bambi* (dir. Hand, 1942), *Cinderella* (dirs. Geronimi, Luske & Jackson, 1950), and *Sleeping Beauty* (dir. Geronimi, 1959), the two animals stand out against the updated, Disney Renaissance animation style of *Hercules.* The juxtaposition of the two animation styles is then bolstered by Megara's verbal confrontation with the animals which appears in the extracts in table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4 Hercules (1997) SC CSRs in German TT

ST	**German TT**
Megara: Aw, how cute. A couple of rodents looking for a theme park. Pain: Who you calling a rodent, sister? I'm a bunny. Panic: And I'm his gopher. Megara: I thought I smelled a rat. Hades: Meg. Megara: Speak of the devil.	Megara: Oh, wie süß! Zwei Stinktiere auf dem Weg nach Disneyland. [BT: Oh, how sweet! Two skunks on the way to Disneyland] Pain: Hast du einen an der Waffel, Schwester? Ich bin ein Häschen. [BT: Are you crazy, sister? I'm a bunny] Panic: Ich wollte auch nicht glauben. [I didn't want to believe it either]

Hades: Meg, my little flower, my little bird, my little nut, Meg.	Megara: Ich wusste doch, dass hier was stinkt. [BT: I knew that something smelled funny here] Hades: Meg. Megara: Ah, der Chef persönlich. [BT: Ah, the boss himself] Hades: Meg, mein Blümchen, mein Vögelchen, mein Chicken-Meg-Nugget. [BT: Meg, my little flower, my little bird, my Chicken Meg-Nugget]

The German TT dialogue exchange between Megara, Pain, Panic, and Hades features the second and third examples of additional source culture references in the German TT. The first of these forms part of Megara's sarcastic comment upon coming across Hades' minions disguised as cute, woodland creatures: "Oh, wie süß. Zwei Stinktiere auf dem Weg nach Disneyland", a real-world source culture reference to one of the theme parks owned by the Disney corporation. As areas of entertainment and product consumption, theme parks build on older traditions of medieval fairs, leisure parks and gardens, amusement parks, and universal expositions (Clavé, 2007, pp. 3-20). Much of the literature on the history and development of theme parks state that it is impossible to discuss theme parks without mentioning Disney's theme parks and their influence on the industry as a whole. For instance, Wasko (2020) remarks that the creation of Disneyland in California is widely considered as "the beginning of the concept of theme parks" (p. 170). Clavé (2007) concurs with his observation that the theme park industry is commonly agreed to have begun on 17th July 1955, the date Disneyland, California opened its gates (p. 3). However, the authors also draw attention to Efteling, a theme park located in the Netherlands which opened three years prior to Disneyland (p. 3). Clavé clarifies that:

> When Disneyland is spoken about as being the 'first' theme park, this is especially because, despite the fact that prior to its existence there may have been other parks with a structuring theme, it materializes for the first time and synthesizes the characteristics pertaining to the new type of parks which have ended up being called theme parks - more due to the incorporation of themes than to the existence of a single structuring theme. (p. 24)

Clavé's comments indicate that in the US, the theme park may be synonymous with Disneyland, a phenomenon which Janet Wasko (2020) also observes.

The second additional source culture reference in the extract above is uttered by Hades, when he lists a series of pet names for Megara: “Meg, mein Blümchen, mein Vögelchen, mein Chicken-Meg-Nugget". The dialogue interpolates Megara's name with Chicken McNuggets, a popular food item sold at McDonald's fast-food restaurants. These references, particularly the first to Disneyland, could be considered an attempt to satirise Classic Disney given the sarcastic delivery of the line by Megara. However, while adults may be able to read into the film as a parody, young children, the target audience of Disney feature animations, are less likely to be able to appreciate this quality. Blanshard and Shahabudin (2011) illuminate this further:

> In promoting *Hercules*, Disney followed its standard combination of print and digital media promotion. One feature that makes Disney promotion strategies distinctive from other film companies is the opportunity to cross-promote its films through its Disney stores, theme parks, and television channels. Stores started to receive Disney merchandise in advance of the film in order to whet the audience’s appetite. Another cross-promotion strategy was use of a strategic tie-in arrangement with McDonald’s restaurants. In January 1997 McDonald’s and the Disney corporation signed a ten-year agreement to facilitate large-scale cross-promotion and *Hercules* was the first film to benefit from this arrangement. *Hercules* merchandise such as figurines, soft-drink cups, and tray inserts all appeared throughout the campaign to help launch the film. In Europe, Disney entered into an arrangement with the confectioner Nestlé to promote *Hercules* through the incorporation of Hercules figurines in their range of chocolates. (p. 199)

Ultimately:

> The tension plays out in the plethora of tie-in merchandise that was produced for the film. The film may specifically ridicule the notion of Hercules merchandise such as action figures, soft-drink bottles, and sneakers. Yet it was precisely these items that the corporation and its affiliates produced to sell in its Disney-branded stores or to accompany the Hercules-themed fast-food meals at McDonald’s. Disney’s Hercules proves to be an exercise in doublethink where viewers are simultaneously encouraged to reject and desire consumer products. (Blanshard & Shahabudin, p. 207)

Another additional source culture reference in the German TT can be found when Hercules and Megara arrive upon Pegasus at the gorge. Megara, who appears to suffer from travel sickness, delivers the line “Es wird schon wieder aber hol mich runter, bevor ich Fury

vollkotze" [BT: It'll be alright but get me down before I puke over Fury]. Here, “Fury” is an overt intertextual source culture reference to the US television series by the same name which was produced between 1955-1960. Starting in 1958, the series was broadcast weekly in Germany, with the last series of reruns ending in 1997 (WDR, 2013). Recounting the adventures of a young orphan boy and the wild horse he befriends at his adoptive father's Californian ranch, the series, which has been described as “der Startpunkt für die Amerikanisierung der Kinderprogramme in anderen Ländern” [trans: the beginning of the Americanisation of children's television in other countries] (Bleicher quoted in WDR, 2013). The inclusion of this source culture intertextual reference reinforces not only the film's ‘American-ness’, but also its humour.

Although the German dub adopts a strategy that emphasises the source culture, one exception occurs when Hades realises that his minions had not killed Hercules when he was an infant. Hoping to assuage Hades’ wrath, Pain tries to convince the god that the Hercules encountered by Megara is not the same infant Pain and Panic were tasked with assassinating years prior. Claiming that the name Hercules has become a common name, he states “Remember, like, a few years ago every other boy was named Jason and the girls were all named Brittany?”, combining another reference to Ancient Greek hero Jason and contemporary culture by referencing the popularity of the names Brittany and Jason in the US owing to celebrity influence. The French dub retains the two ST names, and the Québécois dub substitutes “Jean-Guy” for Jason. The German TT playfully modifies both names with its rendering “Weißt du noch wie vor ein paar Jahren jeder zweite Junge Steffi heißen musste und alle Mädchen Boris?” [Do you remember a few years ago every other boy had to be called Steffi and all the girls Boris]. The inclusion of the names Steffi and Boris constitutes a domesticating strategy with the target culture references to German tennis superstars Steffi Graf and Boris Becker, whose success in the late 1980s and 1990s granted international prominence to the two tennis players. By using the names of two famous Germans, the TT domesticates the joke, removes any reference to the narrated culture, and amplifies the humorous line by suggested Boris, a traditionally masculine given name, be used as a girl's name.

Just as *Aladdin* (1992) utilised a fairytale version of the Middle East as an exotic backdrop for what was effectively a film about American values, so too does *Hercules*, only this time much more explicitly. In fact, this film, and more specifically the animated sequence that accompanies the song 'Zero to Hero', offer a perfect vignette of hyperculture where elements from various cultures mingle within the same space, immediately accessible albeit with little regard for their original sites of production. The dubbed versions adopt similar approaches, mixing Greek CSRs with TL idioms and, in the case of the German TT, creatively inserting additional CSRs to the American SC. While there is no doubt that Disney's *Hercules* is an all-American tale, the Ancient Greek setting and the Greek CSRs provide an exotic embellishment at the shallowest of levels. Let us now examine how Disney treats US culture on US ground.

3.2 *The Princess and the Frog* (dirs. Clements & Musker, 2009)

When Disney's *The Princess and the Frog* arrived on cinema screens it created a watershed moment, featuring the studio's first Black princess, Tiana. Set in a 1920s-inspired Deep South, the film shows Black and white Southerners, as well as Cajun characters in Disney's reimagining of jazz-age New Orleans and Louisiana Bayou. A bayou is a swampy habitat surrounding the lakes and rivers in the American Deep South and is strongly linked to Creole and Cajun culture. The selection of CSRs present in the film outlines the boundaries of cultural groups within the US and demonstrates how Disney and dominant US narratives conceive of US cultures that are othered within the context of US national and regional narratives. Ron Clements and John Musker reunited again in their direction of this 49th Disney Animated Classic, which also witnessed a return to the studio's traditional hand-drawn animation and fairy tale themes after a period of experimenting with computer animation techniques.

The film's plot is summarised as follows: in 1920s New Orleans, a young Black girl called Tiana plays with Charlotte, the child whom her mother is employed to care for. Charlotte's father, Big Daddy La Bouff, arrives home and Tiana leaves with her mother. They return home where Tiana cooks gumbo with her father James, and invites her neighbours to join them for food. Time leaps forward; Tiana is an adult now, working two waitressing jobs to save up enough money to open her own restaurant, a dream she shared with her father before his passing. Charlotte and Big Daddy visit the restaurant Tiana is working at where it is revealed that Prince Naveen of Maldonia is visiting the city. Charlotte asks Tiana to make beignets, a square or rectangle shaped piece of fried dough sprinkled with powdered sugar, for her masquerade ball to welcome Naveen. Meanwhile, Naveen and his valet Lawrence meet Dr Facilier, a voodoo witch doctor who hopes to gain control of New Orleans. Dr Facilier transforms Naveen into a frog, and uses his magic to disguise Lawrence as Prince Naveen, with the goal of having Charlotte marry the disguised Lawrence and granting access to the La Bouff fortune to Dr Facilier. Frog Naveen escapes from Dr Facilier, meeting Tiana who is dressed in a princess costume. Mistaking her for a real princess, Naveen persuades Tiana to kiss him, hoping to be returned to his human state. To their surprise, Naveen does not transform back into a human and Tiana is herself transformed into a frog. The two frogs flee to the bayou where they meet the alligator,

Louis. Louis dreams of becoming a famous jazz musician and agrees to take Naveen and Tiana to Mama Odie, a hoodoo practitioner who lives deep in the bayou and can return the frogs to their original human states. In the bayou, Louis and the frogs meet Raymond (Ray), a Cajun fly who helps direct them to Mama Odie's treehouse. Mama Odie realises that only a princess can break Dr Facilier's spell, and Tiana remembers that since Big Daddy will be crowned king at the Mardi Gras parade, Charlotte will become a princess. They decide to travel back to New Orleans so that frog Naveen can kiss Charlotte and break Dr Facilier's spell, despite the growing feelings Naveen and Tiana have begun to feel for each other. In New Orleans, Tiana confronts Dr Facilier who fatally injures Ray. After his magic talisman is smashed by Tiana, the spirits drag Dr Facilier to their realm. Unfortunately, by the time Naveen and Charlotte kiss, midnight has past and with it the opportunity to break Dr Facilier's spell. Naveen and Tiana decide to go back to the bayou where they are married by Mama Odie. As they seal their marriage with a kiss, both frogs are transformed back into their human forms. The happy couple return to New Orleans and Tiana opens her restaurant.

In the years since its release, *Princess* has provoked conversations around depicting Black characters on screen, particularly in mainstream media. Initially, the announcement of Disney's first Black princess was met with controversy with some calling the film "'not only offensive and ignorant of history, but highly insensitive as well'" (Maher, 2010). Chris Ayres (2009a) details some of the changes made to Disney's initial storyline and characterisation, such as renaming her Tiana instead of Maddy, and making the protagonist "an aspiring restaurant entrepreneur instead of a chambermaid". Moreover, love interest Prince Naveen's racially ambiguous, and exoticised, identity was met with disapproval from some who would have preferred a Black prince for Disney's first Black princess (Ayres, 2009a). Film producer Peter Del Vecho states "'our intention was to make an American fairytale set in New Orleans [...] We didn't set out to give the world Disney's first Black princess; it evolved organically'" (Watson, 2010). Del Vecho concludes "'my hope is that next time Disney has an African-American lead character, it doesn't become a central issue [...] I hope that Princess Tiana opens the door for many more animated movies where the characters just happen to be Black'" (Watson, 2010). Responses to the film are mixed with some such as Catherine Shoard (2009) reporting audiences' positive reception

of the first Black Disney princess. Moreover, the film was warmly received by the NAACP at one LA screening (Merriman, 2009). However, Manohla Dargis (2009) describes Tiana as "a character whose shoulders and story prove far too slight for all the hopes already weighing her down". Moreover, many critics drew comparisons between the representation of Black Americans and historical race relations in *Princess* and the studio's earlier hybrid film *Song of the South* (Panaram, Rogers & Stoddard; Breaux, 2010, McCoy Gregory, 2010; Terry, 2010; Foundas, 2009). Scott Foundas (2009) decries the fact that "Disney's first Black 'princess' lives in a world where the ceiling on Black ambition is firmly set at the service industries, and Tiana and her neighbors seem downright zip-a-dee-doo-dah happy about that". That *Princess* deals in cultural stereotypes should come as no surprise, and Disney's loose grip on history, most egregiously displayed in *Pocahontas*, returns, this time to brush the realities of 1920s New Orleans neatly under a rug of Disney's traditional animation style, a feel-good soundtrack, and the classic fairytale narrative that has entertained audiences for decades. Scott Foundas (2009) observes:

> *Princess'* rampant a-historicism gives way to a veritable Mardi Gras parade of risible stereotypes: an Acadian firefly with the most exaggerated Cajun dialect this side of celebrity chef Justin Wilson, I gua-ran-tee; a 197-year-old voodoo priestess named Mama Odie; and, lest no Deep South caricature remain unturned, a trio of toothless hillbillies.

Studio executives responded to accusations of racial stereotypes stemming from the film's voodoo-inspired elements by asserting that "New Orleans is an ideal setting for an American fairytale set in the jazz age - it's all part of the fabric of the story" (Ayres, 2009a). Elsewhere, Del Vecho reveals the motivation behind setting the film in New Orleans stating "we chose New Orleans mainly because it has a European feel" (Ayres, 2009b). African-American screenwriter Rob Edwards reveals:

> We wanted to show that the forces were against her - it could be sexism, racism, classism. But we didn't want this story to be one that teaches people about racism. That just doesn't seem to be the thing to do with a Walt Disney princess movie. (Ayres, 2009b)

However, this did little to convince critics, with some adopting a more cynical stance. Writer and broadcaster Bonnie Greer asserts that Disney's decision to animate a Black princess is financially motivated: "'since Disney is always looking at the bottom line, they

figured it's about time" (Merriman, 2009). Similarly, Vince Mitchell (2009) labels the studio's first Black princess the result of "sheer, commercial opportunism", capitalising on the impact of Barack Obama's inauguration as 44th President of the United States in January 2009. Despite the criticism, Anika Noni Rose, who voices Tiana in the original version, is hopeful that *Princess* will have a positive impact on audience members: "being the first Black Disney princess, that was such a first and it really has changed the way young brown children are looked at in school and fantasy when they are playing" (Hume, 2019). In another interview, Rose reiterates "when I'm thinking of Black or brown-skinned adults, we spent so much time growing up trying to fit into another standard of beauty. And now, at this point, those children, these new children, are comfortable within themselves in different ways" (Flam, 2024). With a film that has prompted such controversy around its depictions of race and cultural otherness, questions are certainly raised regarding the extent to which this cultural otherness is reproduced in the dubbed versions.

3.2.1 "Way Down in New Orleans": Disney's Crescent City Shines on Screen

The filmmakers chose to locate this animated feature in New Orleans at the height of the jazz age. As well as the visual depictions of the city of New Orleans and the bayou, the ST dialogue features numerous references to the film's location, including Louisiana, the bayou and overt and covert references to New Orleans, such as "the Quarter" and "the crescent city". First, where "New Orleans" appears in the ST dialogue, the French and German TTs use their respective official equivalents "la Nouvelle-Orléans" and "New Orleans". Officially founded in 1718 by Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, New Orleans has had various names reflecting the socio-political history of the region. In pre-colonial times, indigenous people used the name *Balbancha*, while the name *la Nouvelle-Orléans* was given to the city in the eighteenth century to honour Philippe II, Duke of Orléans. During the period of Spanish possession of Louisiana, the city was referred to as *Nueva Orleans* before reverting to *la Nouvelle-Orléans* for a brief period before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, when the city was named New Orleans, an anglicisation of the French name (New Orleans & Co., 2025). Second, the ST contains two more covert references to

the city of New Orleans: “the Quarter”, referring to the city’s oldest neighbourhood, and “the Crescent City”, a nickname for the Louisiana city which was founded on a curve in the Mississippi river giving the city the appearance of a crescent. In the first case, “the Quarter” is rendered as “la Ville” [BT: the city] in the French TT and “die Stadt” [BT: the city] in the German TT, simultaneously removing the specificity of the original dialogue and the ambiguity of the reference for international audiences unfamiliar with the nicknames for New Orleans and its districts. In the second case the French dub employs the translation strategy of specification by substituting the official equivalent “la Nouvelle-Orléans” where the ST employs one of the city’s nicknames. However, the German TT uses a calque to render “Crescent City” as “d[ie] Sichelstadt” [BT: the crescent city. Third, the ST makes two references to the state of Louisiana which are replicated in both TTs using the respective official equivalents. Similarly, both TTs retain references to the bayou.

In contrast, the ST reference to the city of Shreveport, which is used as a humorous device, poses a greater translational challenge. When Tiana and Naveen meet Ray, Naveen tries to explain that they are not frogs by saying that they “come from a place far, far away from this world”, to which Ray replies incredulously “Go to bed. Y’all from Shreveport?”. The different strategies exhibited by the two TTs demonstrate the difference in approach that can be adopted by translators. On one hand, the French TT retains the reference with its rendering “Sans blague ! Vous venez de Shreveport ?” [BT: No way! You're from Shreveport] suggesting a foreignising approach to dubbing the film. Since the location plays a significant role within the film, the French TT rendering reinforces the setting and the exoticism of the location for French-speaking audiences. On the other hand, the German dub not only removes the reference to Shreveport but also modifies the semantics of the utterance with its rendering “Ich glaub’ ich spinn’, ihr seid Ausserirdische?” [BT: I must be mad, you're aliens]. Here Ray’s misunderstanding results in him believing that Tiana and Naveen are aliens, which recreates the comedic effect present in the original dialogue.

Initially the geographical and historical specificity of the film may seem to limit the translators, however the strategy observed in the German dub reveals that it is possible to produce a translation that does not alienate German-language audiences with unfamiliar CSRs and maintains the comedic intention of the original dialogue. Finally, both TTs

feature additional CSRs to the neighbouring US state Mississippi, appearing in the French and German versions of the song *Down in New Orleans* and its reprise at the end of the film. The French version opens with the lyrics "Tu es le roi, Mississippi/De cette ville enchantée" [BT: You're the king, Mississippi/ Of this enchanted city], and the German with "Tief im Süden gibt's 'ne Gegend/Flussab am Mississippi" [BT: Deep in the South, there's a place/ Downstream on the Mississippi]. These additional CSRs may have been included in the TTs as a way to help international audiences understand the location of the film by referencing a neighbouring, and perhaps more familiar, US state.

Within the film New Orleans is presented as a lively city, the birthplace of jazz music, and a culinary hotspot. In fact, the majority of the CSRs featured in the dialogue relate to music, food, Mardi Gras celebrations, and voodoo practices, which have a long history among the city's Black and Creole communities. Let us begin with a major theme of the film: food and beverage CSRs. Fabio Parasecoli (2010) places *Princess* within the context of the then emerging food film genre, a film where food and culinary themes feature heavily. In *Princess*, food is a major point around which the film's plot revolves: main character Tiana dreams of opening her own restaurant serving delicacies from Louisiana cuisine. According to Parasecoli (2010), "food is used to mitigate the presence on screen of the first African American female protagonist in a Disney movie, making her more acceptable to mainstream audiences" (p. 451). As Parasecoli acknowledges, using food and culinary traditions as indicators of race, ethnicity, and culture is nothing new for film nor animation, citing *Lady and the Tramp*'s (dirs. Geronimi, Wilfred & Hamilton, 1955) spaghetti and meatballs scene as an indicator of Italian-American cuisine (p. 451). Echoing Di Giovanni, Parasecoli (2010) highlights the simultaneously exotic and familiar quality granted to the culinary tradition Tiana presents in *Princess*:

> She is a native expert of Louisiana cooking, which occupies a unique position among American culinary traditions that allows it to be perceived as vaguely exotic. For this reason, although heavily influenced by Black and Creole elements, Louisiana cuisine is represented in the movie as less intimidating and less racially recognizable than soul food, being shared also by many non-Black characters. (p. 452)

He asserts that "the metaphorical melting of culinary traditions and wide-ranging ingredients that supposedly takes place in the private kitchens and in the restaurants of New

Orleans swiftly operates an ideological erasure of the power dynamics whose unresolved tensions in terms of class, race, and cultural identity have dramatically come to light in the aftermath of Katrina" (p. 451). Parasecoli continues "[Tiana's] representation as food provider, manual worker, as well as nurturer - all familiar roles for Black women in American culture - assuages any potential anxiety in mainstream audiences about her professional success and her change of social status" and illustrates how "the New Orleans culinary traditions [...] are presented as a creative and harmonious fusion of different elements from various racial and ethnic backgrounds" (p. 466). During the opening sequence of the film, audiences see young Tiana's homelife with her mother Eudora and father James. It is revealed that James and Tiana share a dream of opening a restaurant, a dream which Tiana still carries in her adulthood, and which motivates the plot of the film.

The most recurrent food and beverage CSR in the ST is gumbo, which appears eleven times in the original dialogue and is represented visually at various points in the film. This dish is also frequently used to signify Cajun culture, New Orleans, and Creole cuisine traditions in the Deep South of the USA (Gutierrez, 2003, p. 97). The New Orleans variation of gumbo is the official state cuisine of Louisiana, although it should be noted that many variations of the stew, which consists of a rich stock, meat or shellfish, bell pepper, celery, and onion, are popular across the Gulf Coast states. In a foreword for *The Art of The Princess and The Frog* (Kurtti, 2009), directors Musker and Clements utilise the Louisiana dish gumbo as a symbolic representation of their process of making the film and the culture they presented on screen:

> We discovered that gumbo is not only a popular food in New Orleans, it is also a kind of metaphor for the city itself—a rich and diverse collection of cultural ingredients, including French, Spanish, and African, all mixed together to create a wonderfully unique flavor. (p. 8)

On screen, gumbo appears in situations where characters build a shared community, such as young Tiana sharing gumbo with her neighbours and later when Tiana makes gumbo for Ray, Naveen, and Louis in the bayou, as well as within a magical context when Mama Odie uses her gumbo to reveal what will break Dr Facilier's spell. In each gumbo sequence, the stew is depicted bubbling in a large pot or cauldron and bringing people together. The

gumbo pot used by Tiana's father James features on screen and in the dialogue, as a family heirloom handed down to Tiana when she planned on buying her restaurant. The word gumbo entered English through Louisiana Creole from the Kimbundu term *kingombo* meaning okra (OED, n.d.). Of the eleven utterances of gumbo in the ST, the ethnographic CSR is retained in all TT dialogue utterances bar one: the French rendering of Tiana's line "Daddy's gumbo pot" in response to Eudora gifting the young woman her father's old gumbo pot, which appears as "C'est celui de papa" [BT: It's Daddy's]. In this case, the omission of the CSR is most probably due to the restrictions of isochrony and phonetic synchrony, rather than being ideologically motivated. By keeping the references to this emblematic New Orleans dish, each of the TTs' portrayals of gumbo reproduce a similar effect on TT audiences as the ST depiction does on ST audiences, reinforcing and perpetuating the cultural images of New Orleans, gumbo, and Louisianan cuisine.

Another culinary item repeated throughout the film's dialogue is the Louisiana beignet. Having been introduced to New Orleans by French colonists in the eighteenth century, beignets can be served as a breakfast dish, a dessert, or snack and have become a significant part of the culture of New Orleans, particularly as an attraction for tourists. In Disney's animation, Tiana is celebrated for her beignets, which she hopes will be one of her specialties at her restaurant. The CSR "beignet" appears five times in the ST and both the French and German dubs retain the CSR except on one occasion each. Upon closer inspection, it becomes evident that these omissions were made to ensure the translated dialogue fits the phonetic synchrony and isochrony constraints of dubbing. Moreover, the French dub features an additional instance of the CSR beignet at the La Bouff masquerade ball when Charlotte sees Tiana and her table of beignets have collapsed on the floor.

As official delicacies of New Orleans, gumbo and beignets are used across mass media as culinary symbols of a specific culture, therefore these images exist in the shared consciousness and are maintained through popular culture. However, when the target cultures are confronted with other culturally specific dishes from Louisiana, such as hushpuppies, Po'boys, and bananas foster, the subsequent TT renderings reveal the limits of not only the translators' foreignising approach, but also the target culture's constructed

image of the narrated culture. In Table 3.5 below, the dialogue extract exhibits Tiana inviting her neighbours to share the gumbo she has just prepared.

Table 3.5 The Princess and the Frog (2009) Creole Food CSRs in Translation

ST	**French TT**	**German TT**
Tiana: Hey everybody, I made gumbo! Woman: Ooh, that smell good. Man: I got some **hushpuppies**, Tiana. Here I come.	Tiana: Venez tous, j'ai fait du gumbo! [BT: Come on everyone, I made gumbo!] Woman: Ooh, ça sent bon. [BT: Ooh, that smells good] Man: J'ai des **galettes de maïs**, Tiana. [BT: I've got some corncakes]	Tiana: Hallo Nachbarn, ich hab' Gumbo gekocht! [BT: Hey neighbours, I cooked gumbo!] Woman: Ooh, das riecht aber lecker. [BT: Ooh, that smells delicious] Man: Ich bring' **Maïsbällchen** mit, Tiana. Bis gleich. [BT: I'm bringing corn balls, Tiana. See you in a minute]

One neighbour says that he will bring "hushpuppies", deep-fried balls of savoury cornmeal batter often served as a side dish in southern US states. Both TTs display domesticating translation strategies in their renderings of the CSR "hushpuppies". Neither TT retains the English-language term, instead both opt for generalisation by hypernym with the renderings "j'ai des galettes de maïs, Tiana", and "Ich bring' Maïsbällchen mit, Tiana". Moreover, the French generalisation by hypernym suggests a pie or a flatter pancake or crepe rather than the deep-fried dough balls signified by "hushpuppies". At a later point in the film, while traveling through the bayou to find Mama Odie, Louis and Tiana discuss her plans for her restaurant, with both characters listing several dishes associated with Louisiana.

Louis: Now, that restaurant of yours, is it gonna have étouffée?

Tiana: Jambalaya, gumbo – it's gonna have it all.

Louis: I always wanted to try red beans and rice, muffalettas, po'boys.

The first dish, *étouffée*, is a shellfish stew served with rice which is associated with Cajun and Louisiana Creole cuisines. Similarly, *jambalaya*, a dish consisting of meat, seafood, vegetables, rice and spices, appears in Cajun, Creole, and African American cuisines, and is believed to originate in West African and Western European cuisines. Many historians have noted the similarities between the dishes *jollof rice*, *paella*, and *jambalaya* (Stewart, 2019; Fanto Deetz, 2017). The dish *red beans and rice* finds its origins in the traditional New Orleans custom of Monday washdays, when home cooks needed a simple dish that could be left to simmer while they washed laundry by hand (Edge, 2007, p. 243). It consists of red beans cooked with spices, ham, and pork bones, served with rice. The final two culturally specific dishes featured in the above extract are both sandwiches. *Muffaletta* consists of cured meats, cheese, and olive salad served on Sicilian 'muffuletta' bread. This sandwich was first sold in New Orleans by Sicilian delicatessen proprietor Lupo Salvadore. The po'boy typically contains roast beef or seafood such as fried shrimp, crab, or oysters, lettuce, tomatoes, mayonnaise, and ketchup served on New Orleans French bread. As is evident from Table 3.6 below, the German and French TTs adopt different approaches to rendering these CSRs.

Table 3.6 The Princess and the Frog (2009) New Orleans Food CSRs in the TTs

French TT	**German TT**
L : Et dans ton restaurant, il y a des **écrevisses à l'étouffée** ? [BT : So in your restaurant, will there be crawfish étouffée?] T : **Jambalaya**, **gumbo** – il y aura de tout. [BT : Jambalaya, gumbo, it'll have everything] L : Je rêve de gouter **les haricots rouges au riz**, **le colombo**, **les muffalettas**. [BT : I dream of tasting red beans and rice, colombo, muffalettas]	L: Gibt es in deinem Restaurant dann vielleicht auch **Etouffée**? [BT: So does your restaurant also have étouffée?] T: Und **Jambalaya** und **Gumbo**, alle uns're Spezialitäten. [BT: And jambalaya and gumbo, all our specialties] L: Wollt' schon immer 'mal **rote Bohnen** probieren und **Muffalettas**, **Po'Boys**. [BT: I've always wanted to try red beans and muffalettas, po'boys.

The German TT retains each of the culinary CSRs mentioned in the extract, except for "red beans and rice" which appears as the direct translation "rote Bohnen" with the rice omitted. In the French TT, the first culinary CSR in the extract is rendered as "écrevisses à

l'étouffée", providing TT audiences with more information regarding the dish by specifying *crawfish étouffée*. The specification here provides audiences who are likely unfamiliar with Louisianan cuisine with additional information. The French dub uses the strategy of compensation in place for *muffalettas* and removes the reference to po'boys, substituting "le colombo". *Colombo* is the name of a Creole curry widespread in the French Caribbean. This substitution of a New Orleans dish with one from the French Caribbean is curious as generally translators are advised to avoid substituting CSRs from other cultures. The fact that the French TT exhibits this type of cultural substitution could suggest that the translators deem French Caribbean and New Orleans cultures as occupying equivalent positions in the respective narrating cultures' perceptions, i.e., perhaps the French Caribbean dish *colombo* produces a simultaneously exotic yet familiar effect on TT audiences, just as the New Orleans dishes do for mainstream ST audiences. This is not the first time the French TT has substituted a third-culture CSR from a culture with historical colonial links to France. In *Aladdin* (1992), the French dub substitutes couscous for hummus, as discussed in Chapter Two. While these substitutions may have similar exotic-yet-familiar effects on audiences, it is nevertheless problematic to draw equivalences between the cultures concerned as it merges distinct groups, erasing each culture's individual identity.

Moreover, this substitution, with its collocation and disregard for the origins of these CSRs, provides further evidence for the influence of hyperculture on mass entertainment and its translation. In a later sequence, Louis asks Tiana for two other dishes associated with Louisiana: "crawfish smothered in remoulade sauce" and "Bananas Foster sprinkled with pralines". Originating in France, *remoulade sauce* is often used as a condiment for seafood or sandwiches in Louisiana, and Louis' request for crawfish with remoulade sauce reflects the cuisine that Louisiana is famed for. Bananas Foster is a dessert created at the Creole restaurant Brennan's in New Orleans and involves flambéing bananas in a sauce made from butter, rum and brown sugar before serving alone, with ice cream, or inside a crêpe. In the French dub, the dishes Louis requests are rendered as "écrevisses avec un peu de remoulade" [BT: crawfish with a little remoulade] and "un banana split saupoudré de pralines" [BT: a banana split sprinkled with pralines], with the more generalised reference "banana split" eliminating the cultural specificity of the original CSR. Similarly, the

German dub loses the cultural specificity of the ST with its rendering “flambierte Bananen mit viel Vanilla-Eis" [BT: flambéed bananas with lots of vanilla ice cream]. Here, it is evident that both TTs prioritised audiences’ understanding of what the dish consists of rather than the cultural specificity of the name Bananas Foster.

The same approach can be observed earlier in the film, during the scene at Buford’s Diner where Tiana is employed as a waitress. In the ST dialogue, Tiana uses two terms for the food she brings the waiting diners: hotcakes and flapjacks. In US English, both terms are synonyms for pancakes. In the French TT, hotcakes and flapjacks are both rendered using the anglicism “pancakes”. In fact, the use of this anglicism instead of the French term *crêpe* specifies the small thick pancakes widely popular in North America as opposed to the thinner pancakes or crêpes. Furthermore, the use of an anglicism also reinforces the Americanness of the CSRs and the scene. In contrast, the German TT opts for “Pfannkuchen” in both instances, a direct translation of the hypernym pancake. In contrast, during the scene at Mama Odie’s house, the CSR “Tabasco” is retained across the two dubs. In the 1870s, Edmund McIlhenny began selling Tabasco, a hot sauce made from tabasco chilli peppers, internationally (Bienvenu, Brasseaux, & Brasseaux, 2013, p. 315). The brand Tabasco is popular around the world and the US military includes small bottles in their MRE (Meal, Ready-to-Eat) packs for servicepeople. We can assume that the international and domestic popularity of Tabasco prompted translators to retain this CSR in the TTs’ dubbed dialogue.

Let us now turn to the film’s other major CSR category: art, media, culture and religion. First, in Louisiana, Mardi Gras is a period of celebration before the start of lent in Western Christianity, involving parades, masquerade balls, and festive floats. This period of revelry is one of the main attractions for many tourists in New Orleans. The significance of Mardi Gras to the city of New Orleans, as well as the film’s plot, undoubtedly determined the translation approach adopted and consequently the repeated references to Mardi Gras are retained in both TTs. In contrast, neither TT retains the reference to the USA’s national holiday. When discussing her dream restaurant with Naveen, Tiana says “can you just picture it? All lit up like the fourth of July”. Employing the strategy generalisation with hypernym, the French dub renders Tiana’s dialogue as “est-ce que vous l’imagines? Tout

éclairé pour la fête nationale" [BT: can you imagine it? All lit up for the national holiday]. This rendering also modifies the meaning of the sentence, specifying that the restaurant will be decorated for 4 July rather than always brightly lit. Here it is understandable that the TT eliminates the specificity of the holiday as the TT audiences may not understand the significance of the date were it rendered using a calque. In contrast, the German dub opts for the strategy of elimination with its rendering "kannst du's dir vorstellen? Hell erleuchtet wie ein Palast" [BT: can you imagine it? Brightly lit like a palace]. Any reference to the national holiday is removed and instead replaced with a phrase that bears no CSR at all. A similar strategy can be observed with the TT renderings of Charlotte's line "we'll be waiting in the Packard", which references the now defunct US brand of car. In the German TT, Charlotte's dialogue appears as "wir warten dann im Wagen" [BT: We'll be waiting in the car], eliminating the CSR and instead using the more generalised hypernym "Wagen". Similarly, the French TT removes the ST CSR, however, it replaces it with a hyponym in its rendering "on vous attend dans la limousine" [BT: We'll wait for you in the limousine]. Here, it is clear that the reference to Packard was considered too obscure for either TT audience, hence the alterations made in the French and German dubs.

References to voodoo, a religion practised among Black and Creole communities in Louisiana during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are reproduced in the TTs using the loan strategy. The ST also features two separate references to hoodoo, a religion developed by enslaved Africans in the Southern United States and which is often linked to voodoo practices although they are distinct. Disney's *Princess* links the two practices on both occasions that hoodoo is referenced. First, Dr Facilier states in the song 'Friends On The Other Side' "I got voodoo/I got hoodoo", and second, Louis' description of Mama Odie "She the voodoo queen of the bayou. She got magic and spells and all kinds of hoodoo". However, in translation, the reference *hoodoo* seems to pose some challenges for target culture audiences since neither TT retains the reference to hoodoo. Instead, the French TT renders the first instance as "Grâce au vaudou/A mon bagou" [BT: Thanks to voodoo/ To my smooth talking] and the second as "question vaudou, c'est la reine du bayou. Formules magiques, maléfices, sortilèges, oooh" [BT: as far as voodoo, she's the queen of the bayou. Magic spells, curses, enchantments]. Similarly, the German TT renders the references as "Ich kann Voodoo/hab' den Zauber" [BT: I can do voodoo/ I got magic]

and “sie ist die Voodoo-Königin des Bayou. Sie kennt Zauber und Hexensprüche und noch mehr Voodoo-Zeugs" [BT: she's the voodoo queen of the bayou. She knows magic and spells and even more voodoo stuff]. In the second instance, the German TT substitutes a reference to voodoo, implying that the two traditions are the same or at the very least interchangeable. In the first instance, the French TT removes the reference to hoodoo and instead emphasises Dr Facilier’s loquacity with the noun “bagou”. In the remaining instances, both TTs employ the strategy of generalisation to create the renderings “sortilèges and "hab’ den Zauber". It is clear that the translators deemed *hoodoo* too obscure a CSR for the TT audiences, hence the substitution and generalisation strategies observed in the TTs’ dialogues.

Finally, music is another recurring theme in the film. Disney's animation shows Prince Naveen and his manservant Lawrence walking through the city streets shortly after arriving in New Orleans. Revelling in the new city and the music played on the streets, Naveen exclaims “Jazz! Jazz music! It was born here!", referring to the fact that the musical genre developed among New Orleans’ African American community. Today, jazz music remains an important part of the culture and identity of New Orleans, as well as drawing in many tourists. The musical heritage of New Orleans is recalled later in the dialogue when Naveen and Tiana meet Louis the alligator in the bayou. Hearing Naveen playing a makeshift ukelele, Louis surfaces and announces “I know that tune! Dippermouth Blues!". This overt intertextual reference to the song first recorded in 1923 by King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band is retained in both TTs with the renderings “Je connais cette chanson. Dippermouth Blues!” [BT: I know that song. Dippermouth Blues] and “Das kenn’ ich. Das ist doch Dippermouth Blues!" [BT: I know this. It's Dippermouth Blues]. As an avid jazz fan, Louis dreams of playing jazz with his idols, stating as much in the song *When We're Human*. The lyrics also include references to two famous names in jazz: Louis Armstrong and Sidney Bechet. Both the French and German versions of this song retain these CSRs. Furthermore, another musical tradition associated with Louisiana is referenced when the protagonists meet Ray's family. The firefly asks “Hey, Cousin Randy, you ready for a little bayou zydeco?” alluding to the music genre developed by Creole people in South Louisiana. Here we see the two TTs diverge again in their approaches; the German dub retains the reference in its rendering “Hey Cousin Randy, bereit für 'nen kurzen Bayou Zydeco?” [BT: Hey Cousin Randy, ready

for a little bayou zydeco] whereas the French dub opts for generalisation with the rendering “Hé cousin Randy, on leur montre ce que c’est la musique du bayou" [BT: Hey Cousin Randy, we’re showing them what bayou music is]. It is telling that the TTs retain those CSRs which feature predominantly in touristic marketing for New Orleans, while substituting those that are perhaps a little more obscure to international audiences.

2.2.2 “Your Accent, It’s Funny”: Linguistic Diversity in Disney’s Bayou

Naveen, the prince from the fictionalised kingdom of Maldonia, displays elements of linguistic diversity, mostly through the use of accent and the invented language of Naveen’s homeland. At various points throughout the film, Naveen can be heard exclaiming “faldi faldonza”, “achidanza”, “abinaza”, and “de fraggi prutto”, which audiences can infer are phrases in the prince’s mother tongue. A benefit of utilising an invented foreign language is that the very same words and phrases can be used across the dubbed versions of Disney’s film while also maintaining the exoticism that these phrases produce in the ST. Additionally, Ray, the firefly who helps Naveen and Tiana navigate the bayou, is a rare example of Disney explicitly acknowledging a character’s linguistic otherness and labelling it as such within the filmic text itself. After detangling the two frogs, Ray introduces himself, to which Prince Naveen responds by stating “pardon me, but your accent, it’s funny, you know”. It is telling that Naveen, a prince from a fictional far-away country whose own speech is marked with fictionalised foreign-language exclamations, is the one to point out Ray’s linguistic otherness. Perhaps it is more acceptable for a fictionalised foreign character to identify Ray’s linguistic otherness than it would be for an American character. By having a ‘foreign’ character point out otherness, the text is able to address linguistic variation in a more palatable manner than if an American character, particularly one who may be interpreted as being in a position of cultural power over the Cajun community, were to label Ray’s accent as “funny”. Apart from occasions where characters mockingly affect the accent of another character, Disney’s characters appear mostly unaware of their linguistic variation. However, Ray explains that he is Cajun, explicitly and diegetically associating himself with this real-world cultural identity. Across the corpus, this exchange between Naveen and Ray is the only instance of one character

explicitly acknowledging linguistic diversity within the text and another identifying with their linguistic difference.

Differentiating him from the film's other characters, Ray's linguistic otherness is established through Cajun dialect features such as multiple negation and French-language words and phrases. These linguistic elements can also be observed in the dialogue of Ray's family members and the Cajun trappers encountered in the bayou. Before analysing Disney's representations of the Cajun dialect in the film, it is worthwhile briefly exploring the history of the Cajun cultural group and their dialect. The term Cajun is derived from *Acadien*, the designation for French-heritage settlers in Nova Scotia who emigrated to Louisiana during the eighteenth century. As a result of years of discriminatory treatment and a desire of many Cajuns to assimilate into Anglo-American culture which dominated the region socially and economically, Cajun culture entered a period of decline until the foundation of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana in 1968 (Brasseaux, 1989, pp. 12-13). During World War II and the associated industrialisation in the American South, many Cajuns were exposed to American English and their use of French fell drastically (Dubois & Horvath, 2008). The late 1960s-70s, described by Sylvie Dubois and Barbara Horvath (2008) as a Cajun Renaissance, witnessed the introduction of laws to encourage the use of French and celebrate Cajun identity which had been heavily stigmatised (p. 208). Walt Wolfram (2013) remarks that more recently, Cajun culture has become a source of pride and a significant signifier of cultural identity with the Cajun dialect even becoming "a public performance register employed by popular chefs, musicians, storytellers, and comedians" (p. 337). Cajun English is typically marked by final syllable stress, deletion of final consonants and consonant clusters, substitution of *t* or *d* for *th* sounds, and inclusion of the personal pronoun *me* at the beginning or end of a phrase for emphasis (Dubois & Horvath, 2008; Eble, 2007). Cajun English also features elements shared with other dialects, such as zero copula and dropping *-s* and *-ed* endings on third person singular and past tense morphemes. Returning to the film's dialogue, these linguistic elements appear in the speech of Ray, his family members, and the Cajun trappers. From his very first appearance on screen, Ray's linguistic diversity is clearly established. The extract below is taken from the firefly's introduction, when he helps detangle Tiana and Naveen.

Ray: Let me shine a little light on the situation. ‘cuse me. One more time now. That’s more better, yeah. Oh, it’s ok baby, I don’t explode me. I ain’t no firecracker! I just got my big butt glowing. That’s right. Women like a man with big back porch.

Here, Ray employs an exaggerated French pronunciation of “situation”, uses the personal pronoun *me* for emphasis in the sentence “I don’t explode, me”, followed by the double negation “I ain’t no firecracker”. Table 3.7 below presents the French and German TT renderings of the above extract.

Table 3.7 The Princess and the Frog (2009) Ray's Linguistic Difference in the TTs

French TT	**German TT**
Ray : Essayons de faire la lumière sur la situation. Pardon. Problème d’allumage. C’est mieux comme ça, oui. N’aie pas peur, chéri, je suis pas un feu d’artifice. A priori j’explose pas, mais à posteriori, je suis vraiment lumière. Les femmes aiment bien les gros popotins. [BT : Let’s try to shine some light on the situation. Sorry. Lighting issue. That’s better, yes. Don’t be scared, darling, I’m not a firework. At first glance, I don’t explode, but in hindsight I’m really bright. Women like big butts]	**Ray**: Bringen wir mal ein bisschen Licht ins Dunkel. Pardon, ich versuch's nochmal. Viel besser, ja. Keine Angst, ich explodier’ nicht Baby, bin schließlich kein Knallfrosch. Bei mir leuchtet nur mein ‘interteil. Frauen lieben Männern mit 'nem schönen großen ‘intern. [BT: Let’s bring some light into the darkness. Pardon, I’ll try again. Much better, yes. Don’t worry, I don’t explode, baby, I’m no firecracker. Only my rear end glows. Women love men with a nice big butt]

The French dub reproduces the exaggerated pronunciation of “situation”, while the German dub gives Ray a French accent, perhaps in homage to the French influence on Cajun culture and identity. The table above also provides an example of the German TT adding French words to Ray’s speech where they did not exist in the ST, namely Ray using “pardon” to excuse himself. The German dub also includes the English term of address “Baby”, retained from the ST, which contributes to the exoticism of the film’s location for target culture audiences. A recurrent element of Ray’s speech is his use of “cap” and “cher” as vocatives for the two protagonists. “Cher”, derived from French, is used exclusively to refer to Tiana, while “cap”, a New Orleanian term of address for men, is used to address Naveen (Taggart, n.d.). In both TTs, Ray refers to Naveen using the term of address “chef”. For Tiana, both TTs retain “cher” from the ST, ensuring that this Cajun element is replicated. Additionally, Ray’s ST dialogue features the French language phrases “Adieu,

ma famille" [BT: Goodbye, family] and "bonne chance" [BT: good luck]. In the latter case, both TTs retain the French-language phrase "bonne chance", most likely because this expression is considered fairly accessible to German audiences, and, of course, French audiences will be more than familiar with it. While the German TT retains the first phrase "Adieu, ma famille", the French TT modifies it to "A bientôt la famille" [BT: See you later, family]. While adieu is frequently used in non-French-speaking arenas as a farewell expression, in French the phrase is used only when the speaker does not intend to see the addressees again. Although this is the case as Ray dies before he can return to his family, the character could not have known that at this point in the film, hence the French TT substituting a more appropriate farewell expression. Before his death, Ray also uses the French phrases "je t'aime/ je t'adore" [BT: I love you, I adore you], for which Naveen provides translations, during the song 'Ma Belle Evangeline'. The German TT retains these French-language phrases, with Naveen translating them into the TL, thus maintaining Ray's linguistic diversity. This presents a challenge in when translating into French, however, since the very language used to portray linguistic difference is the TL. The French dub handles this by swapping the two languages so that Ray sings the English lyrics "I love you/ My love" which Naveen then translates into the TL as "je t'aime/ mon amour". By having Ray use the SL, the French dub maintains his linguistic difference here and emphasises the SC. Dr Facilier also uses French-language phrases when addressing the spirits from the shadow realm, exclaiming "Allez! Tout de suite!" [BT: Go! Immediately]. The German TT retains these phrases exactly, producing an equivalent effect in the TT, whereas the French TT alters his dialogue slightly to appear as "Allez! Exécution!" [BT: Go! On the double], which appears more grammatically appropriate for the TL audience.

On multiple occasions the TTs retain some of the ST English words, and at other times include English words as creative additions. First, Charlotte's father is referred to as "Big Daddy" throughout the film, which both TTs retain. This repeated linguistic difference emphasises the SC and serves to locate the film within its American setting. Similarly, the German TT features English words such as "happy", "kings", "gentlemen", "fresh", "baby", and "Froggy", while the French TT includes considerably fewer instances of SL words such as "kings du swing", which combines the English words with French syntax, Ray's English lyrics during the song 'Ma Belle Evangeline', and the loans "pancakes"

discussed above. It appears the German translators were more willing to include English phrases and thus place greater emphasis on the SC than the French translators. The exact motivations for this may be unclear, but it is a pattern also observed in *Hercules*, where the German TT highlighted the SC with its creative additions of SC CSRs. It is possible that the French dub privileges TL words and phrases because of the francophone influences in Louisiana, whereas the German dub, lacking this linguistic similarity, chooses to emphasise the anglophone elements present in New Orleans and its environs.

As they travel through the bayou with Louis, Tiana and Naveen encounter three Cajun hunters looking to catch some frogs to eat. Cajun dialect features can also be observed in the hunters' dialogue. Reggie, Darnel, and Two Fingers, who only communicates in grunts, embody many of the Cajun stereotypes. Take, for example, Reggie's utterance "Get them froggies! Them two ain't like no frogs I ever seen. They smart"; the hunter's use of 'them' as a determiner, multiple negation, and zero copula designate him as linguistically and culturally different from many of the film's characters. Furthermore, Darnel's intonation is that typically associated with lower-class, uneducated, socially stigmatised characters in Western popular culture. Maria Hebert-Leiter (2014) remarks that Disney's portrayal of these Cajun humans "reproduces problematic stereotypes" and "reminds the viewer of possible dangers when trappers terrorize Tiana and Naveen" (pp. 968-9). Hebert-Leiter also notes that in guiding the protagonists through the bayou and to Mama Odie's house, Ray and his firefly family depart from the traditional stereotype of violent Cajuns with their more positive portrayal (p. 969). While it is true that Disney's film presents viewers with a positive depiction of Cajun identity through the fireflies, these same fireflies are prey for frogs; in fact, Naveen and Tiana become entangled when they both try to eat a nearby firefly. Contrastingly, the Cajun trappers, who fulfil the negative Cajun stereotype, hunt frogs and pose a threat to the protagonists. A potential implication of this portrayal is that as long as the film's protagonists, standing in for mainstream US culture, remain in a position of power over the Cajun characters, the cultural power dynamics remain undisturbed. When the frog protagonists encounter the Cajun hunters, over whom they have little power, the threat posed by these Cajuns to the protagonists/mainstream US culture is evident, thus perpetuating the harmful stereotype of

the violent Cajun. Table 3.8 shows the ST dialogue extracts alongside the French and German TT renderings.

Table 3.8 The Princess and the Frog (2009) Cajun Food CSRs in Translation

ST Dialogue	**French TT**	**German TT**
Reggie: I can taste them **frogs' legs** already. Darnel: Bet they taste real good with **sauce piquante**, right Pa?	Reggie: Qu'est-ce que vous diriez d'**une bonne petite cuisse**? [BT: What do you say about a nice little leg?] Darnel: On pourrait ajouter un peu de **sauce piquante**, pas vrai, papa ? [BT: We could add a little sauce piquante, right, Dad?]	Reggie: Ich kann sie schon riechen die **Froschschenkel**. [BT: I can smell the frog legs already] Darnel: Die schmecken bestimmt superlecker mit **sauce piquante**, richtig Pa? [BT: They're sure to taste delicious with sauce piquante, right Pa?]
Reggie: Look at them big **frog legs**. I want me some **cornbread** with this dinner.	Reggie: Regardez-moi **ces jolies petites cuisses** avec une **bonne pain de maïs.** [BT : Look at these pretty little legs with some corn bread]	Reggie: Was für herrlich fette **Froscheschenkel**, die will ich heute Abend mit- [BT: What nice fat frog legs, I want to have them tonight with-]

According to Marcelle Bienvenu, Carl Brasseaux and Ryan Brasseaux (2013), there is no evidence that the Acadian population ate frogs' legs before French migrants introduced this French delicacy to the region (p. 316). The large population of indigenous bullfrogs meant that the catching and exportation of frogs' legs became a major industry in Louisiana before collapsing during World War II, by which time frogs' legs had been established as a regional dish associated with the Cajun population (Bienvenu, Brasseaux, & Brasseaux, 2013, p. 316). While the ST and German TT specify the legs of a frog, perhaps because this dish is unusual in the respective cultures, the French dub does not specify the animal to which the "cuisses" belong. It is likely that the translators assumed French audiences would infer the dish consists of frogs' legs owing to the fact that frogs' legs are a recognisable delicacy in France. Frogs' legs make an additional appearance in the French

TT dialogue when one of the alligators notices Tiana and Naveen in frog form and states "j'ai toujours adoré les cuisses de grenouille farcies" [BT: I've always loved stuffed frog legs]. Moreover, both TTs retain the CSR to "sauce piquante", indicating that this CSR is significant to this on-screen depiction of Cajun culture. Additionally, in the ST, Reggie plans to eat his frogs' legs with cornbread, a CSR that the French dub retains with its direct translation "pain de maïs". The German TT, however, omits the reference to cornbread. Rather than being an ideologically motivated alteration, it is likely this omission was made in order to fit the isochrony constraints.

In summary, the two case studies in this chapter reveal that Disney's translators adopt a variety of strategies, ranging from domesticating to foreignising, in their handling of SC references. In the case of *Princess*, where non-mainstream US cultures are depicted, we find the strategies of loan, suggesting those particular CSRs are deemed recognisable thanks to tourist marketing, and generalisation for those CSRs which are slightly more obscure such as *hushpuppies*. Furthermore, in some cases the TT will actually insert more specific SC CSRs as creative additions, as seen in the case of the German dub of *Hercules*. In this particular case, the German TT draws on those mainstream SC CSRs which are internationally recognised due to US cultural dominance on the global stage. Of particular interest in the following chapter are ST TC references, namely the extent to which French CSRs in the ST are adapted for French audiences in the TT. By comparing with the French dub renderings with those in the German dub, we can begin to build a picture of not only how outside cultures perceive France, but also how Disney's French translators negotiate insider perceptions of French culture.

Chapter Four: Fantasies of France

The nations of Europe are not immune to Disney's own brand of Orientalism. During the 1960s and 1970s, Disney released four live-action films centring around British families, which Noel Brown (2019) argues is ideologically motivated. He claims that in the films *Greyfriars Bobby* (dir. Don Chaffey, 1961), *Mary Poppins* (dir. Robert Stevenson, 1964), *Bedknobs and Broomsticks* (dir. Stevenson, 1971), and *Candleshoe* (dir. Norman Tokar, 1977) Britain becomes a symbol of stability, gentility, and civility, where the model of the Victorian family is celebrated, concluding that "there is little interest in the socio-cultural or political specificities of modern Britain beyond their nostalgic invocations" (p. 74). These qualities are echoed in both *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* in the British characters inserted into Disney's representations of France. Disney's ideology likewise influences their portrayals of France, drawing on stereotypical conceptions of French culture. This chapter analyses the depictions of French culture in *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, as well as the depictions of other cultures, such as British and American, in those films. By analysing the CSRs and linguistic diversity in these two animations, this chapter highlights the different approaches adopted in portraying French culture compared to those of Ancient Greece, the Middle East, and Ancient China. The case studies also underline Disney's US cultural imperialism featured in all the films examined thus far. Unlike the previous chapters, however, this chapter also presents an opportunity to examine how the French TC handles the *distorted cultural metonymies* employed to portray their very own culture. It answers questions about whether the French CSRs in the ST are retained, omitted, or modified for French viewers in the TTs.

4.1 Beauty and the Beast (Trousdale & Wise, 1991)

In 1991 Walt Disney Pictures released its 30th animated feature film *Beauty and the Beast* (Trousdale & Wise, 1991). At the time, the film was Disney's most commercially successful animated film and received a slew of award nominations. *Beauty and the Beast* was the first animated film to be nominated for an Academy Award for Best Picture and won the Golden Globe Award for Best Motion Picture-Musical or Comedy. In 2002, the National Film Registry in the United States recognised the film as "culturally, historically

or aesthetically significant" according to its criteria for accepting films into the registry (Yates, 1988). According to the film's screenwriter, Linda Woolverton, the Disney Animation Studios had attempted to create an adaptation of the Beauty and the Beast fairytale in the 1930s and again in the 1950s, however these proved unsuccessful (Beaumont-Thomas & Hoad, 2017). In a behind-the-scenes documentary, *The Making of Beauty and the Beast* (Carolei, 1991), the narrator describes the fairytale as being rooted in legends from Europe, Africa, and India, however, the most well-known version in the Western world was written by Madame Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1756). Frequent Disney collaborator Alan Menken adds "we adapted the original French fairytale pretty liberally" which facilitated the inclusion of the film's songs written by Menken and lyricist Howard Ashman (Beaumont-Thomas & Hoad, 2017). Influenced by not only Beaumont's literary version but also Jean Cocteau's (1946) critically acclaimed cinematic adaptation *La Belle et la Bête,* Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) was created during the studio's Renaissance period and is celebrated as one of Disney's great classic animations.

The film opens on a castle deep in the forest before shifting to a stained-glass window. An off-screen narrator recounts the tale of a young prince who refuses to shelter an old woman. The stained-glass window shows the woman's transformation into an enchantress, and the curse she places on the prince and all who live in the castle. Transformed into a monstrous beast, the prince must find true love before all the petals on the enchantress's magical rose fall. If he fails to do so, he will remain a beast forever. In a nearby village, Belle, a young, adventurous woman, strolls into town where she is apprehended by Gaston, the town's most eligible bachelor who has designs on marrying Belle. However, Belle rejects his advances. Belle's father Maurice sets off for a local fair with his latest invention and trusty horse Philippe, however the two get lost in the forest. As night falls, they are surrounded by wolves who chase them up to the castle gates. Maurice enters the castle seeking refuge where he encounters the castle's staff who have all been transformed into inanimate objects. Suddenly, the beast arrives and locks Maurice in the dungeon for trespassing. Philippe returns to Belle, alerting her to the danger her father is in. She travels to the castle where she finds her imprisoned father and the beast, who agrees to accept Belle as prisoner in exchange for her father's freedom. Maurice is transported back to the village where he asks

for help from the townsfolk who deride his seemingly fanciful tale of a beast in a castle and magical objects. Meanwhile, Belle slowly begins to warm to her captor, who also finds himself falling for her. After a romantic dance once evening, the beast gives Belle a magical mirror which allows her to see whatever she wishes. She asks to see her father and soon discovers he is in poor health. Having fallen in love with her, the beast releases Belle, allowing her to return home to care for her father. In a plot to coerce Belle into marriage, Gaston arranges for Maurice to be taken to an asylum. Using the enchanted mirror, Belle shows Gaston and the gathered townsfolk that the beast is real. Realising Belle's love for the beast, Gaston convinces the crowd that the beast is dangerous before leading the angry mob to the castle. The villagers enter the castle where they are ambushed by the staff as Gaston searches for the beast. The two fight before Gaston falls to his death. Having escaped from the asylum cart, Belle arrives at the castle and confesses her love for the beast who, along with his staff, is then returned to his human form and lives happily ever after with Belle. Disney's film provides us with a clear insight into typical US representations of France and French culture, as well as British culture, in popular media through its portrayals within *Beauty and the Beast* (1991). Using Sardar's (1999) proposal of the Orientalised Europe as a framework, this case study will analyse Disney's representations of French culture, followed by British culture within the cartoon.

4.1.1 French Fancies: Disney's Whistlestop Tour of France

Disney sets its adaptation in France; a fact explicitly stated over 30 minutes into the film's runtime during the song 'Be Our Guest' when Lumière proclaims, "This is France!". However, audiences are aware that the film takes place in France, or at the very least in a French-speaking country, within the film's first five minutes. The film opens with an initial narration scene accompanied by visuals of stained glass depicting the enchantress cursing the young prince, transforming him into a large beast. Following this, the audience is introduced to the film's protagonist Belle, a young woman who lives in a small village with her father. The sequence begins with the song 'Belle' which establishes the eponymous character as a misfit in the village. Belle and the villagers use French-language words and phrases interspersed throughout this musical sequence. In fact, there are 23 instances of French words and phrases being used during the 'Belle' song sequence. Amongst the French language included in the ST dialogue, audiences hear words and phrases such as

“Bonjour” [BT: Good day], “Monsieur” [BT: Sir], “Madame” [BT: Madam], “Pardon” [BT: Sorry], and “Mais oui” [BT: But yes]. The French TT retains all the French language and phrases included in the ST bar the use of the French term of address in the line of dialogue “Madame's mistaken”. This line, spoken by one of the villagers, is rendered as "mettez vos lunettes” [BT: put your glasses on], removing the term of address most likely due to the isochrony constraints of dubbing. This exclusion of "madame” bears little effect on the French quality of the scene due to the fact that the target language in this case is of course French. In the German TT, each of this scene's French language words and phrases are retained, as well as five additional instances of French words. The first is the addition of the title "mademoiselle” [BT: miss] when one of the villagers greets Belle as she strolls through the village. Another additional instance of the title "mademoiselle” appears in the TT lyric “sind Sie wohl glücklich, Mademoiselle?” [BT: are you happy, Miss], a rendering of the ST lyric “I wonder if she's feeling well". The addition of *mademoiselle* here in the TT allows the German version to maintain the song's rhyme scheme by rhyming with the final line of the verse: “So ein Rätsel für uns alle, diese Belle" [BT: such a puzzle for us all, this Belle]. Furthermore, the German version of this introductory scene inserts "Monsieur”. Belle uses this French-language vocative to refer to bookseller, who offers her favourite book as a gift. While Belle uses this French-language title in the German TT, in the ST she uses the English-language "sir”. Additionally, the TT inserts the French-language greeting *bonjour* in the lyrics “Bonjour! Bonjour! Grüß die Familie/ Bonjour! Bonjour! Grüß mir dein’ Weib” [BT: Good day. Good day. Say hello to your family/ Good day. Good day. Say hello to your wife] whereas in the ST lyric, bonjour appears twice: “Bonjour! Good day! How is your family?/ Bonjour! Good day! How is your wife?”. In the ST, the use of both English and French greetings can be interpreted as an explanatory measure, providing audiences with an English translation of the French words included in the lyrics, whereas this occasion of combining the text's main language and French is not replicated in the German TT; instead only the French-language greeting is included. This suggests that the translators believed German-speaking audiences would be even more familiar with the French language, and thus not require equivalent German greetings to follow *bonjour*.

Moreover, this early sequence of the film features several visuals of written French language. In a panning shot following Belle through the village, various merchants' and shop signs appear on screen: "Boulangerie" [BT: bakery], "Café", "Au Petit Chapeau" [BT: in the little hat], "L'Argent" [BT: silver], "Boucherie" [BT: butcher], and "Plantes & Fleurs" [BT: plants & flowers]. The words *boulangerie*, *café*, *plantes*, and *fleurs* are familiar terms to a predominantly English-speaking or US audience. Moreover, the word *plantes* is very similar to the English equivalent *plants*, and the word *café* has entered the English language. However, the younger members of the audience may not acknowledge these examples of written French language depending on their literacy level and degree of familiarity with typical representations of French culture. The film's use of written French language is neither consistent nor always correct. The sign above the bookshop features the English word "bookseller", and another sign in the marketplace reads "Le Jamon" with the latter mixing the French article with the Spanish noun for ham, *jamon*. The film does not make it clear why these signs would appear in languages other than French, however it is possible that the English 'bookseller' was used to avoid any confusion with that may arise had the French *librairie* [BT: bookshop] featured in the film. As the musical sequence progresses, Belle reads a book featuring written French language. However, the audience's eye is distracted by the sheep taking a bite out of one of the illustrated pages, rather than focused on the dense, written text. Disney films are generally considered children's entertainment, but the literacy levels of the child audience members may vary. Even for those children who can read, it can be assumed that they may lack familiarity with the French language featured in the film's visual channel. In this instance, it can be argued that the visual elements are designed to appeal more to older members of the audience. While left unmodified in the translations, these elements nevertheless contribute to the depiction of French culture within each of the dubbed versions of the film.

The only other instance of written French language appearing on screen occurs much later in the film when Gaston threatens to have Belle's father committed to a psychiatric hospital. The sign on the side of the cart reads "Asylum de Loons". The meaning of this combination of English and French remains graspable by ST audience members while maintaining a performative element of French flavour. This blending of English and French constitutes a distinctive source culture element that remains unaltered in the TT versions of the film.

These examples of French language in the film's visual channel carry an exoticising effect, emphasising the foreigness of the setting. The concentration of easily recognisable and decipherable French greetings, titles, and phrases at the beginning of the film suggests that Disney is employing the French language as a means of locating the story in a real-world region, which ST audiences will infer to be France. In the German TT, these linguistic features retain their function of signalling the French setting of the film. When it comes to producing the French TT, these ST foreign language items are already in the target language, therefore, while they no longer serve as markers of foreignness and the exotic, they nevertheless continue to locate the film within France. Furthermore, as the characters are introduced on screen, it becomes clearer still that Disney's film takes place in France, or at the very least, a French-speaking culture, through many of the characters' names. Of the names spoken in the ST dialogue, audiences encounter the following French names emphasise the film's location: Belle, Gaston, LeFou, Maurice, Philippe, Lumière. Although the film centres on French characters, the majority speak with American accents. Both protagonists Belle and the Beast have standardised US accents, as do most of the villagers, Maurice, Gaston, and Lefou. As Shohat and Stamm (1985) assert, by having the protagonists speak with Anglo-American accents American cinema not only revoices foreign cultures for Anglo-American audiences, but also maintains Anglo-American cultural dominance. In Disney's world, US English voices are standard, even in France. These characters may speak some French but this is greatly limited to very minimal words and phrases. Of the cartoon's limited selection of French accents, each of these French characters communicates revealing details of dominant US perceptions of French people and their culture.

Despite the film's 'exotic' French location, the selection of characters who deliver their dialogue in a French accent is limited to just three side/minor characters: Lumière, the feather duster, and Chef Bouche. Lumière, the debonair candelabra who provides many of the film's lighter, comedic moments, also delivers the majority of instances of the French language. Lumière's dialogue is delivered in a contrived French accent and his speech is occasionally marked by French words and phrases. With examples such as "enchanté" [BT: pleased to meet you], "chérie" [BT: darling], "en garde" [BT: on guard], "voilà" [BT: here it is], and "oui" [BT: yes], Lumière's use of the French language is limited to words and

phrases that are considered familiar to source culture audiences. Amongst the French greetings, titles, and vocatives, audiences also hear Lumière utter the expressions “zut alors” [BT: darn it] and "sacrebleu” [BT: good lord], two phrases often associated with the French in Anglo-Western culture, but which are rarely used today in modern French. Ultimately, the ST’s use of French spoken language serves as a decorative exoticising element leaning heavily on French stereotypes that US and international audiences are familiar with. This distribution of accents across the main and side characters, and the stereotypes embodied by characters with marked accents, presents Anglo-American culture as the standard, while anything that falls outside of that serves as a comedic supporting act or an exoticising background element. All of Lumière’s stereotypical French phrases are retained in both the French and German TTs with only one exception. During the song 'Be Our Guest’ Lumière sings the lyric “Oui, our guest”, which is rendered as “sei hier Gast” [BT: be a guest here] in the German TT, likely due to the rhythmic constraints of song translation. The French TT similarly renders the lyric into the target language as “ça sera chouette” [BT: it will be great]. Although the phrases “zut alors” and “sacré bleu” are rarely used in France nowadays, they are retained in both TTs. In the German TT the inclusion of these expressions, alongside Lumière's exaggerated French accent, contribute to the stereotyped depiction of French characters in the film. In the French TT, Lumière delivers his dialogue in an accent reminiscent of the old Parisian “titi” accent. Celebrated French singer Maurice Chevalier provided inspiration to filmmakers during the development of Lumière's character. Chevalier was a recognisable “titi” performer and the use of this marked accent in the French TT differentiates Lumière from the other characters and, similarly to the ST, depicts him as using stereotypical means.

Furthermore, the French dub includes two instances of Lumière using English language phrases, the first, occurs during the song ‘C’est la fête’ when the candelabra exclaims “Thank you my lady!”, the second in a later scene when he suggests a tour of the “château by night". This latter inclusion is reminiscent of the English phrases used within France for tourists and recalls the self-packaging of France and French culture for tourists. Therefore, instead of modifying the text to give French audiences a ‘more accurate’ depiction of French culture, the French dub evokes a version of France that is adapted and presented to foreign tourists. This inclusion of English points to a global English as described by

Alastair Pennycook (2007), whereby local cultures adopt English as a way of negotiating their identity in the face of the international pervasiveness of English. The choice of English words in the French dub of *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) reflects the interaction of the English language with French culture and how the latter negotiates this, particularly within tourism contexts. Moreover, Lumière is the only character to speak English in the French TT, thus endowing him with interlingual diversity as well as intralingual difference manifested through his titi accent. Similarly to Lumière, the feather duster speaks with an exaggerated French accent, however she does not use any French language words or phrases in the ST dialogue. In the German TT, Lumière and the feather duster retain their linguistic otherness through their exaggerated French accents which mark them as culturally different from the majority of the film's other characters who speak in a standardised German accent. In the French dub, the feather duster speaks with an exaggerated lisp. Although the French TT resorts to other means, it still reproduces the linguistic otherness of both Lumière and feather duster.

As the only French character given significant time on screen, Lumière, the charming, amorous *bon-vivant*, embodies several different elements of mainstream stereotypes of French people. From the late 1990s onwards, scholars and popular media have been preoccupied with a growing conscience of how mainstream US media constructs narratives of other cultures. If we assume Sardar's (1999) assertion that the mechanisms of Orientalism, as applied to Arab and Asian cultures by European nations, are now applied to the very same European nations by mainstream US culture, clear cultural narratives and patterns begin to appear. In his article examining US portrayals of France in mass media, Pierre Verdaguer (1996) states that most depictions present a romantic vision of France, and that the country "s'imposait comme le pôle dominant de l'exotisme « civilisé » au centre de l'univers anglo-saxon" [BT: became the main centre of "civilised" exoticism at the centre of the Anglo-Saxon universe] (p. 260). Moreover, Verdaguer notes that, despite an apparent interest in France and its culture, US depictions may not reflect "un regain d'interet sinon pour la France du moins pour le myth dominant qu'elle evoque" [BT: a renewed interest, if not for France, then at least for the dominant myth it evokes] (p. 266). In other words, US film audiences are not necessarily looking to engage with authentic representations of French culture but would rather be greeted by familiar markers of

cultural otherness. What, then, do dominant US conceptions of French culture consist of? Dion Everett (2025) provides the following description:

> There is a definite association in English culture that to speak and read in the French language and to consume French art is to be of a high class, of a sophisticated mind, of wealth and good nature. Especially with so-called 'Parisian" culture, there is a sense of elevation, a superiority over those who do not speak French, and a classy alienation to the inclusion of French elements in American and English cinema. (French language section)

Katherine Kurinsky (2001) similarly notes that "the French are artistic, that they are cultured, and that they have good cheese" (p. 3). Several scholars have reported that France and its people are frequently associated with themes of romance and seduction (Verdaguer, 1996; Rosenthal, 1999; Kurinsky, 2001; Verdaguer, 2004; Ferber, 2008). In fact, the idea of the French capital as a city of romance is so pervasive that Kurinsky remarks that "once established as a lovers' [sic] paradise, Paris cannot escape this fact, and we begin to see it as a city in which love *must* occur" (p. 23, original emphasis). French entertainer Maurice Chevalier, who became one of Hollywood's biggest and most popular stars in the 1950s-60s, cemented the stereotypes associated with French men in US mass media. With roles in Billy Wilder's (1957) *Love in the Afternoon*, Vincente Minnelli's (1958) *Gigi*, Walter Lang's (1960) *Can-Can*, and Joshua Logan's (1961) *Fanny*, Chevalier exhibited "an overly-exaggerated French accent, a great deal of gesturing, comical facial expressions, and an overall debonair quality that seemed to inhabit his being" (Kurinsky, 2001, p. 26). However, as stereotypes are so often based on exaggeration, the typically positive stereotype of romance and seduction is exaggerated to the negative extreme of licentiousness. According to Kurinsky (2001), dominant stereotypes portray the French as "overtly sexual in all situations [...] fun-loving to the point of irresponsibility, because they embrace being 'bons-vivants', rude, and pretentious" (p. 12). In US mainstream media, French men are also typically presented as effeminate, rude, and unhygienic (Rosenthal, 1999; Ousselin, 2004). One long-standing caricature of the sexually gratuitous Frenchman in US media is Pepe le Pew, the cartoon skunk in the Warner Bros. *Looney Toons* franchise. Verdaguer (1996) describes Pepé le Pew as the prototype for the French seductor caricature (p. 262). The Warner Bros. iconic character was inspired by French actor Charles Broyer's role as jewel thief Pepé le Moko in *Algiers* (Cromwell, 1938), a remake of Julien Duvivier's

(1937) *Pépé le Moko* (Cavna, 2021). Edward Ousselin (2004) asserts that Pepé le Pew "[who] over time became better known than [his] satirical sources, incorporated all the well-known negative stereotypes of France and the French: smug, narcissistic, pretentious, sexually obsessed, effeminate, ineffectual, and of course smelly" (p. 905). This association of French people with seduction persists in other audiovisual texts such as British comedy series *'Allo 'Allo!* (Croft, Stephens & Hobbs, 1982-1992), and Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* (1991). Speaking in *Beyond Beauty: The Untold Stories Behind The Making of Beauty and the Beast* (2010), animation critic and historian Charles Solomon describes the process of depicting the real world through the medium of animation:

> Just as the animators begin with reality and caricature it and exaggerate it, so the designers and background artists and inspirational artists caricatured the real world they saw in France and turned it into a fairy tale version that is more what we like to think of as France in an earlier time than reality could be.

In Disney's animation, we see evidence of the filmmakers utilising these established stereotypes about France and its people through their portrayal of French characters on screen. One scene shows Lumière helping the Beast get ready for an evening with Belle. As encouragement, he offers the following description of the evening: "There will be music, romantic candlelight provided by me, and when the time is right, you confess your love". Lumière's statement here highlights the romance associated with this French character. The film's songwriters Howard Ashman and Alan Menken wrote the song 'Human Again' to be included in the film. This sequence was cut from the original release of the film, but in 2002, a special edition DVD containing the excluded song was released. The first verse, sung by Lumière and Mrs Potts provides further evidence of Lumière's stereotypical French qualities in matters of romance and seduction.

Lumière: ♪*I'll be cooking again, be good-looking again,*
with a mademoiselle on each arm
When I'm human again, only human again,
poised and polish and gleaming with charm.
I'll be courting again, chic and sporting again ♪

Mrs Potts: ♪*Which should cause several husbands alarm* ♪

In this song, audiences also hear more instances of French words and phrases, for example Lumière uses French on two more occasions, the wardrobe uses French on two occasions and the chorus on one occasion. Each of these instances of French consist of words and phrases which are already familiar to an English-speaking audience, such as “chérie”, “savoir-faire” [BT: know-how], “joie de vivre” [BT: zest for life], “tout de suite” [BT: immediately], and “mademoiselle”. Again, we see side and minor characters using French words and phrases whereas the protagonist Belle only uses French on 4 occasions in the entire film. Furthermore, the French words included in this extra sequence are all easily recognisable for English-speaking audiences. The German TT retains “mademoiselle”, “tout de suite”, and “chérie”, but opts for the shifted translations “ein Parfum” [BT: a perfume] and “jede Freud’ ” [BT: every joy] for the remaining two ST French phrases. These translation shifts also remove the French language sung by the wardrobe and the chorus. These characters are not depicted as explicitly French elsewhere in the film and perhaps this prompted the removal of French words and phrases. In the French TT, each ST instance of French words and phrases is rendered with the shifted translations “une dame” [BT: a lady], “d’un coup” [BT: at once], “mes chéris” [BT: my darlings], “de mille feux” [BT: a thousand fires], and “la joie d’être en vie” [BT; the joy of being alive]. The candelabra's behaviour also hints at the stereotype of the pushy, licentious Frenchman, à la Pepe le Pew. The extract below is taken from Lumière's scene with feather duster, when, distracted from guard duty, the candelabra grasps the giggling feather duster.

Feather duster: Oh no.

Lumière: Oh yes.

FD: Oh no.

L: Oh yes, yes, yes.

FD: I've been burnt by you before.

Lumière's persistence in the face of the feather duster’s protestations complies with and maintains the negative stereotype of the sex-obsessed French man. Famously embodied by Pepé le Pew, this representation of the French has recently been subject to reconsideration in the wake of the MeToo movement and growing awareness of sexual politics and

harassment in wider culture (Reesman, 2021). Although the MeToo movement would not gain widespread traction until October 2017, some seven months after the release of Disney's 2017 live-action adaptation, alterations to Lumière's characterisation in the later film indicate a shift in public acceptance of sexualised behaviour on screen. This is discussed in further detail in Chapter Five.

Alongside his role as French seductor, Lumière also recalls the stereotypical association of *haute cuisine* with French culture. Both Ferber (2008) and Verdaguer (2004) cite good cuisine as one of the main stereotypes associated with France, one which likely took root with the popularity of Auguste Escoffier's recodifications of *haute cuisine* in the 20th century. The category of food and beverage constitutes the most frequent category of CSR in *Beauty and the Beast* (1991). In the ST there are six references to typical French foods: the baker asks for “baguettes”, and Lumière lists four different dishes and mentions the inaccurate culinary term “en flambé” from French cuisine during the song ‘Be Our Guest’. Let us now examine the culinary references as they appear in the source and target texts, beginning with the opening song ‘Belle’. During this early sequence, the village baker appears and shouts to his wife “Marie, the baguettes!". The baguette is a style of bread commonly associated with France. Kurinsky (2001) describes France as a place where people can “enjoy a dinner of wine, cheese, and the famous baguette”, underlining the connection between the baguette and France in mass media (p. 21). Both French and German TT retain the term “baguette", indicating that the reference is understood internationally, and French audiences accept it as an allusion to their own culture. Additionally, the French TT contains a second food and beverage CSR during the opening song ‘Belle’. One of the townsfolk asks for “une part de brie” [BT: a piece of brie], whereas in the ST they ask for “some cheese”. This additional CSR in the French dub exhibits greater cultural specificity towards the narrated culture, which is the same as the target culture in this translational act. The addition of target culture references in the French TT where the ST features non-culturally specific food references helps to add a deeper flavour of French culture for French audiences and illustrates how the TT is modified for target culture audiences. It is possible that CSR additions may serve as a compensatory strategy since the means of alluding to French culture through marked linguistic diversity within the ST is not as easily achieved in the French dubbed version. Later in the film after Belle

refuses to join the Beast for dinner, audiences see the castle staff in the kitchen where an anthropomorphic stove laments “I work and I slave all day, and for what? A culinary masterpiece gone to waste". When Belle arrives in the kitchen, Lumière suggests putting on a dinner for Belle. Much to Cogsworth's chagrin, the candelabra adds: “But what is dinner without a little music?”, hinting at his bon-vivant predisposition. He then delivers the following preamble to the film's iconic 'Be Our Guest’ sequence:

> **Lumière**: Ma chère mademoiselle, it is with deepest pride and greatest pleasure that we welcome you tonight. And now, we invite you to relax. Let us pull up a chair as the dining room proudly presents your dinner.

In this sequence leading up to Lumière's musical performance, audiences see that the French characters take food and dining very seriously, with Lumière striving to create an ideal atmosphere for Belle. The two TT versions of Lumière's preamble differ slightly in their handling of the ST's portrayal of French culture. While both retain the French-language vocative "ma chère mademoiselle”, the French TT emphasises the association of French culture and *haute cuisine* with the additional culture-specific reference “la haute gastronomie française”. In contrast, the German TT opts for a closer translation of the ST with “das Esszimmer” [BT: the dining room]. Lumière then breaks into song with 'Be Our Guest’, inviting Belle to enjoy the hospitality offered by the castle's staff. 'Be Our Guest’ presents audiences with a lexical field associated with the dining experience, such as "culinary cabaret”, "banquet", “it's fine dining we suggest", and “course by course". Additionally, Lumière delivers the lyrics “They can sing, they can dance/ After all, Miss, this is France/ And the dinner here is never second best”, further cementing the collocation of French culture with fine dining and culinary refinement.

On screen these lyrics are accompanied by perhaps the film’s most explicit visual reference to France, when the dancing cutlery arranges itself into a simulacrum of Paris’ iconic Eiffel Tower. This visual allusion is easily recognised by the majority of Disney’s target audience and serves as a signifier for France. The film is set in a non-distinct, fairytale version of France and while identifying a time period in which the plot occurs is beyond the scope of this article, and the value of such an exercise questionable given the nature of the film, the inclusion of this representation of the Eiffel Tower is significant. It indicates that Disney

deploys readily understood, stereotyped images that it considers familiar to its audience. These images function as *distorted cultural metonymies*, to use the phrasing favoured by Di Giovanni (2007), providing a familiar flavour of the exotic narrated culture. The inclusion of the Eiffel Tower, an anachronistic visual reference, also indicates that the Disney animation studio is not preoccupied with presenting their audiences with a historically accurate or authentic depiction, but rather appealing to source culture audiences with the cultural portrayals they have come to expect. The disregard for chronological accuracy and the inclusion of the Eiffel Tower signal a hypercultural approach to the depictions in the film. The German dub reproduces the culinary lexical field with its lyrics "Lies sie genau, die Karte" [BT: read the menu closely], "ein kulinarisches Kabaret" [BT: a culinary cabaret], "ist das Menü für dich bereit" [BT: the menu is ready for you], and "Kann und Pfann" [BT: pot and pan]. Similarly, the French dub features the lexical field "un dîner aux chandelles" [BT: a candlelit dinner], "je connais qu'une recette" [BT: I know the only recipe], "prenez donc le menu" [BT: so take the menu], and "service garanti impec'" [BT: impeccable service guaranteed]. Both TTs retain Lumière's CSR to France and its collocation with high quality food with the lyrics "Oui, mam'selle, ça c'est la France/ Notre cuisine est absolument parfaite" [BT: Yes, mam'selle, this is France/ Our food is absolutely perfect], and "Denkt man gleich nur: vive la France!/ Schlechtes Essen wird von jedem hier gehaßt" [BT: you only think, vive la France!/ Everyone here hates bad food]. Here, the addition of the famous patriotic motto "vive la France" reinforces the CSR for German audiences. Across the three versions analysed here, France is directly linked with quality cuisine. The French dub emphasises this further with the lyrics "tout ça dans la tradition des grandes maisons" [BT: all in the tradition of the great houses] and "cuisine au beurre, c'est la meilleure" [BT: cooking with butter is the best]. The latter is a reference to the French style of cooking which dates as far back as the reign of Louis XIV, while "grandes maisons" likely refers to the great houses and estates occupied by the French nobility. With these lyrics, the French version underlines the association of quality food with the opulence and refinement of the French nobility. The alterations reveal how mainstream French culture presents itself to its own French audiences, showing how French culinary history is incorporated into the cultural myth of France produced and performed by its own participants.

Returning now to the ST lyrics, the references consist of a mix of English language words and French language words which have entered the English language. In the ST, Lumière initially alludes to French cuisine using the French language term “soupe du jour”. The French word *soupe* sounds identical to the English *soup*, meaning that English-speaking audiences can easily understand the reference while still appreciating the foreign inflection of “soupe du jour”. This is followed by a second CSR, this time "hot hors-d'ouevres”, while a later verse begins with the lyrics “Beef ragout, cheese soufflé/ Pie and pudding en flambé”. On a linguistic level, the selection of food and beverage CSRs in these two sets of couplets produce a simultaneously exoticising and familiarising effect on the ST audience, mixing French dishes and terms with English and presenting audiences with the familiarly exotic French dishes. In translation, however, both TTs modify these references. The first pair of CSRs are rendered as “Soupe du jour in Terrinen” [BT: Soup of the day in tureens] in the German TT.

The removal of the second CSR raises questions that are perhaps best answered by turning to song translation theory. As Apter & Herman (2016) and Low (2017) point out, rhyme does not have to be reproduced exactly. Translators may opt for half rhyme, internal rhyme, assonance, and alliteration instead, or they may simply modify the end-of-line rhyme while still retaining the use of a rhyming couplet. The ST’s first rhyming couplet has an end rhyme between “oeuvres/serve”. The German TT omits the CSR to “hors d’oeuvres” and replaces it with “in Terrinen”, i.e the type of serving dish for soups and stews, in order to retain the rhyme on “dienen” [BT: to serve] in the subsequent line. The French TT similarly pursues prosodic and poetic matches with the ST in its rendering "Plat du jour et hors-d'oeuvres/Ici on sert à toute heure” [BT: Dish of the day and hors-d’oeuvres/ Here we serve at all hours]. A literal translation of these lines into French would read ‘Soupe du jour et hors d’oeuvres chauds/Nous ne vivons que pour servir’; hence the six/seven syllable pattern would become seven/eight syllables, and the rhyme would also be lost. Another consideration is the on-screen action during this song. As Lumière sings “en flambé” he sets alight a dish in a manner reminiscent of flambéing. Both TTs retain the reference to flambéing, thus maintaining coherence with the on-screen visuals. As well as ensuring screen coherence with *flambé*, both TTs also opt to reproduce rhymes with this French culinary term. In German, the lyrics become "Rindsragout, ein Soufflé/ Und den Pudding

en flambé" [BT: beef ragout, a soufflé/ And Pudding en flambé], mixing German and French language words in a similar manner to the ST. By echoing the language mix, the German translation closely follows the original and produces a similar exoticising and familiarising effect on its audience. Of course, mixing French and English in the French TT would have an undesired foreignising effect on French audiences and detract from this allusion to French gastronomy. While the lyrics in the French TT similarly replicate the rhyme, semantically they veer away from the meaning of the ST, which has implications for the representation of culture. The French TT substitutes "mironton, pommes sautées" [BT: beef stew, sautéed potatoes] for "Beef ragout, cheese soufflé". A literal French translation of "cheese soufflé" would read "soufflé au fromage" and would eradicate the rhyming couplet. *Mironton* is a common variation of *miroton.* According to *Le Grand Larousse Gastronomique* (2017), *miroton* is a dish of beef stewed with onions. In the subsequent line, the culturally-specific dishes "Paris-Brest" and "crêpes" are substitutes for the more generalised "pie and pudding" in the ST. Appearing in *Le Grand Larousse Gastronomique*, the Paris-Brest is described as a circular patisserie made from choux pastry, praline flavoured cream and toasted almonds. It was created by Louis Durand in celebration of the Paris-Brest-Paris cycle race and constitutes a distinctly French CSR which French audiences will recognise as such. Following this reference is another additional CSR to "crêpes flambées". The use of the culinary term *flambé* differs between the French TT and the two other versions analysed. The French TT offers a more grammatically accurate use of the term, with "flambées" employed as an adjective modifying "crêpes" rather than "en flambé", which is not in common usage in the French language. Although, it ought to be noted that in speech, or in this case in song, the grammatical accuracy of the adjective would be indiscernable from inaccuracy.

Elsewhere, the French TT features the additional CSRs "bombe glacée, champagne au frais", lyrics delivered by the teapot Mme Samovar. Bombe glacée is a frozen ice cream dessert which traces its origins back to eighteenth century France (Snodgrass, 2004). Subject to strict appellation rules, champagne forms a significant part of the French cultural myth and is often considered a source of national pride. By including additional target culture CSRs, the French TT manages to root the song in French culture, reproducing the ST's association of French culture with gastronomy and imbuing the song with a distinctly

French flavour. From the examples discussed here, we can see the influence of film visuals and song translation restrictions on the translation of CSRs. The alterations made in the TTs indicate that the translations prioritise both prosodic and poetic matches, guiding the selection of translation strategies within song lyrics. Moreover, the French audience's assumed familiarity with references to French cuisine grants translators some freedom in substituting more culturally specific references instead of the retaining the ST CSRs.

4.1.2 La perfide Albion: Disney's Brits Abroad

During the development of the film's characters, the animators and story writers drew inspiration from the objects each character embodies. In a talk for The Huntington institution in Californiа, Brian McEntee, the film's art director, describes his process for developing the castle staff characters and explains that the artists used the objects' "functions to speak to their characters" (The Huntington, 2023). The character Cogsworth takes the form of a pendulum clock with a tightly wound, controlling personality. David Ogden Stiers, who provides Cogsworth's voice in the ST, affects an English accent exhibiting features of Received Pronunication, a style of speech which is often deployed in film and television to denote uptightness and pomposity. Despite being English, Cogsworth uses the French language title "mademoiselle" to address Belle on four occasions. Both TTs retain these instances of French language. Earlier in the film, Cogsworth adopts an exaggerated French accent when impersonating Lumière inviting Maurice to stay. The hyperbole of Cogsworth's mocking delivery imbues the scene with some humour and reinforces the association of cultural otherness with comedy. In the German TT, Cogsworth's name is modified to von Unruh, a German surname combining the preposition *von* with *Unruh*, a technical noun for the balance wheel in small clocks and watches. It should also be noted that the surname *Unruh* may also be derived from the noun *Unruhe* meaning restlessness, commotion, disturbance, or turmoil. The preposition *von* can be used as part of toponymic surnames; however, it is most commonly used as a particle denoting nobility. The character's name elements amplify the caricature of the self-important chief servant, while also presenting audiences with the ironic implications of disruption and chaos. Each of his uses of "mademoiselle" are retained in the German TT. In the French TT, Cogsworth becomes Big Ben, constituting a third culture reference to the iconic Great Clock of Westminster in London. By using Big Ben as the character's name,

the French TT maintains his English characterisation, something which the German TT forfeits.

Along with Cogsworth, both Mrs Potts and her son Chip undergo name changes in the TTs. In the German TT, Mrs Potts becomes Madame Pottine and her son goes by the name Tassilo. Both names allude to each character's form, with Pottine denoting *Pott* [BT: pot] and Tassilo, although a given name in its own right, denoting *Tasse* [BT: cup]. In the French TT, these characters are known as Madame Samovar and Zip. Originating in Russia, a samovar is a container used for boiling water, which has since spread to other cultures around the globe. Here the modified name connotes cultural distance and the culture of the elite. Neither the French nor German TT maintain the characterisation of Mrs Potts being British, a characterisation that is most likely due to predominant stereotypes regarding the British and their affinity for tea. In the ST she speaks with an affected Cockney accent and adopts a maternal role, comforting Belle when she is trapped in the castle. With her working-class English accent, Mrs Potts affiliates herself with Disney's other Cockney household servants such as Ellen in *Mary Poppins* (dir. Stevenson, 1964) and Nanny in *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* (dirs. Reitherman, Luske & Geronimi, 1961). When addressing Belle, Mrs Potts uses terms of endearment such as “my dear” and "child", compared to the French title "mademoiselle” used by Cogsworth and Lumière. The French dub has Madame Samovar deliver her dialogue in a standardised French accent, removing the linguistic diversity present in the ST. However, her comforting, maternal characterisation is maintained through her use of endearing vocatives such as “ma chère" [BT: my dear], "ce pauvre agneau” [BT: this poor lamb], and "cette petite ange” [BT: this little angel], as well as the expression "dodo” [BT: sleep] used primarily with children. The German TT employs similar terms of endearment such as “mein Liebes" [BT: my love], "Kleines" [BT: little one], "das arme Kind” [BT: the poor child] and “mein Schatz" [BT: my dearest]. Each of the characters mentioned above fulfil the roles of side and minor characters, and following the Classic Disney formula, they provide much of the film's humourous moments. The distribution of standardised US English accents and 'foreign’ accents amongst the film's characters reflects and reinforces US ethnocentrism. The association of language and accents that are marked as Other with supporting, comedic roles within the film is indicative of US cultural imperialism, a worldview in which

dominant Anglo-American culture is assumed to be the default standard and anything that falls outside of that, linguistically and/or culturally, can be mined for the entertainment of the aforementioned cultural group, providing evidence of the transformation of European nations "into a new Orient vis-à-vis America" (Sardar, 1999, p. 114). As America adopts the dominant role on the global stage, Europe's cultures are subjected to the tools of Orientalism, which have informed much of hyperculture in mass media. These tools are clearly applied to France and French culture in Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* (1991).

In summary, *Beauty and the Beast* is set in a fairy-tale version of France and presents the audience with a mainstream American perception of French culture. In the ST, marked speech, that is accent or other markers of linguistic variation, is relegated to side and minor characters, thus perpetuating Anglo-American cultural dominance. The protagonists speak with standardised Anglo-American accents and use comparatively little French. Consequently, French language and characters with a French accent serve as decorative support acts for the Anglo-American main characters. Characters with marked accents, such as Cogsworth and Lumière, are closely tied to the film's comedic elements, producing a link between linguistic otherness and comedy. In the German dub, this Othering effect is easily replicated through similar means of marking linguistic difference. However, in the French dub, achieving this linguistic variation is more challenging since the target language is the very same language that represents Otherness in the ST. Attempts at recreating linguistic diversity in the French dub are made by resorting to historical accent which not only others the affected character, but also emphasises an allusion to famous French singer Maurice Chevalier. The studio's second Renaissance animation set in France, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, presents us with another opportunity to understand how Disney packages French culture for source and target culture audiences.

4.2 *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* (dirs. Trousdale & Wise, 1996)

Unlike the other films in the corpus which are inspired by folktales, Disney's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* is an adaptation of Victor Hugo's epic novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831). It is not entirely unusual for Disney to draw on individual works of fiction instead of folktales and legends. In fact, Disney has released several animated adaptations of literary works over its century-long history. Take for example, *Alice in Wonderland* (dirs. Sharpsteen, Geronimi, Jackson & Luske, 1951), *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* (dirs. Reitherman, Luske & Geronimi, (1961), *The Jungle Book* (dir. Reitherman, 1967), *Oliver and Company* (dir. Scribner, 1988), a contemporary adaptation of Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838) set in New York City, amongst others. The following case study investigates how Disney handles a distinctly French story which has entered the English-speaking world, and then how the dubbed versions manage the distinctly American imagining of this iconic French story. To begin, summarising the plot of Disney's animated adaptation alongside the intercultural history of Hugo's novel is a worthwhile exercise in contextualising the presented narratives of Paris and the cathedral. Supplementing this with testimonies from the filmmakers provides us with greater insight into their approaches to adapting this tale.

In 1831, French writer Victor Hugo published *Notre-Dame de Paris*, a novel telling the story of the bellringer Quasimodo, his guardian Archdeacon Claude Frollo, a poet, Captain Phoebus, and Esmeralda, their Romani love interest. The novel is set in Paris with much of the plot revolving around the iconic Parisian cathedral. The novel was widely popular in France and in 1833 Frederic Schoberl translated it into English with the title *The Hunchback of Notre Dame,* which has remained the name of the story within the anglophone world. Since its original publication, Hugo's novel has been adapted into numerous versions and various formats within France and cultures further afield. These adaptations include stage, radio, and screen productions, even a libretto adapted by Hugo himself. With Hugo's novel, we have a French cultural product which occupies a prominent position within French literary history and culture, before entering other cultures through its translation into other languages. The novel's English translations allowed it to enter English-speaking cultures. In its English translation, the story exists as an imported cultural product within US culture which undergoes some extent of localisation to US mainstream culture. Owing to the esteemed position it occupies within US mainstream culture, the

translation inspires adaptations in US culture which are themselves US cultural products. Some of the most popular Hollywood adaptations include William Dieterle's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1939), Jean Delannoy's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1956) and Disney's very own *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Each of these adaptations lives within the collective cultural memory and influence any subsequent adaptations within that culture. The creators of Disney's version have stated that they were inspired by an illustrated comic adaptation of Hugo's story (Robello, 1996). As the novel undergoes translations and adaptations into and within cultures other than French culture, it is adopted and transformed into a product of English-speaking culture and the French cultural essence is downgraded. As Shohat and Stam (2006) succinctly explain, by "presuming to speak for others in its native idiom, Hollywood proposed to tell the story of other nations not only to Americans, but also for the other nations themselves, and always in English" (p. 108). As such they are US mainstream culture's narration of French culture.

In fact, it goes back further. The adaptations are US mainstream culture's narrations of nineteenth-century French culture's narration of fifteenth century Paris and French culture. This US narration of another culture is then translated into other cultures and even back into the narrated culture, as exemplified when Disney's animation was dubbed for French audiences. It can be argued that the film's French language title reflects this localisation of Hugo's story. By opting for a direct translation of the English film title, *Le Bossu de Notre Dame*, the Disney's French-language dubs distance themselves from Hugo's original novel *Notre-Dame de Paris*, thus implying the Americanisation of the tale in Disney's adaptation. In Disney's version, medieval Paris's Romani population face persecution from the general public, but most of all from Judge Claude Frollo, justice minister and religious zealot who seeks to remove all the Romani people from Paris. Following a chase through the dark streets of Paris resulting in the death of a Romani mother, Frollo begrudgingly adopts the woman's child who he houses in the bell tower of Notre Dame cathedral. The child is given the name Quasimodo and raised in isolation. As the years pass, Quasimodo resorts to talking to three gargoyles Laverne, Victor, and Hugo, who come to life when Quasimodo is alone. The gargoyles encourage Quasimodo to sneak out of the bell tower and attend the Feast of Fools, an annual medieval festival which Frollo has forbidden Quasimodo to attend. Nevertheless, Quasimodo sneaks out to experience the festivities. He meets

Esmeralda, a Romani street performer who is scheduled to dance at the festival. Mistaking Quasimodo's appearance for a costume, Esmeralda drags Quasimodo into an ugly mask competition, where his identity is soon revealed. Quasimodo is crowned King of Fools, however, the crowd turn on him and begin throwing fruits and vegetables while Quasimodo is tied down on the platform. The recently returned Captain Phoebus requests permission from Frollo to stop the cruel treatment of Quasimodo, which the justice minister denies in order to punish Quasimodo's disobedience. Taking pity on Quasimodo, Esmeralda walks onto the stage, unties the ropes and confronts Frollo for his mistreatment of Quasimodo and the Romani. Incensed, Frollo orders the capture of Esmeralda, who escapes and goes into hiding within Notre Dame.

Within Notre Dame, Esmeralda encounters Phoebus who attempts to save her by telling Frollo that Esmeralda has claimed sanctuary in the cathedral, effectively trapping her inside Notre Dame. Frollo orders guards be posted on every door to apprehend Esmeralda should she try to leave. During her stay in Notre Dame, Esmeralda meets Quasimodo who helps her escape undetected. Returning to his quarters, Quasimodo meets Phoebus who is searching for Esmeralda to tell her he never intended to trap her in Notre Dame. The next day, Frollo leads the search for Esmeralda after learning that she escaped from Notre Dame. His interrogation tactics trouble Phoebus, who refuses to set alight the miller's home. For his insubordiantion, Phoebus is sentenced to death, but he narrowly escapes before being taken by Esmeralda to Quasimodo. Phoebus recovers in hiding and sets off to find the Court of Miracles alongside Quasimodo. The pair find the Romani haven and warn the crowd of Frollo's destructive intentions. However, unbeknownst to the two men, Frollo and a group of guards followed them to the Court of Miracles in secret. Frollo arrests everyone at the Court, and in the next scene audiences see Phoebus and the Romani imprisoned in carts, while Esmeralda is tied to a pyre. Frollo announces she has been sentenced to death for witchcraft. Quasimodo rescues Esmeralda by swinging down, grabbing her and swinging back up to the bell tower. Phoebus escapes from the cart and leads the citizens of Paris in a revolt against Frollo and his guards. Frollo himself has gone to Quasimodo's quarters where he tries to kill both the bellringer and Esmeralda, but the two protagonists manage to escape and Frollo falls to his death. The film ends with Paris’s citizens cheering for Quasimodo, Esmeralda and Phoebus.

4.2.1 Disneyland Paris 1482: Animating Hugo's Paris

From the very beginning of Disney's adaptation, the film's location is emphasised through both audio and visual channels. Following the opening titles, the two towers of Notre Dame appear suddenly on screen, before Clopin, a Romani street performer who also serves as the film's narrator, introduces the tale to audiences through the song 'The Bells of Notre Dame'. A similarity shared between *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *Notre Dame* is the opening sequences serving as a means of locating the films in their French locations. Just as 'Belle' emphasises the French setting with its repeated use of French words and phrases, so 'The Bells of Notre Dame' sequence highlights the Parisian setting. Within the song's first verse, there are three references to the cathedral observed in the refrain "the bells of Notre Dame", as well as a reference to "Paris" in the very first line which immediately informs audiences of the location. Each of the TT versions employ the strategy of compensation in order to keep the reference to Paris in the opening lines, however, both French language TTs feature additional references to Paris later in the verse. Table 4.1 below shows the song's first verse alongside the three TT versions.

Table 4.1 The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1996) The Bells of Notre-Dame Opening Verse

ST	French TT	Québécois TT	German TT
Morning in Paris, the city awakes To the bells of Notre Dame. The fisherman fishes, the bakerman bakes To the bells of Notre Dame. To the big bells as loud as the thunder, To the little bells soft as a psalm, And some say the soul of the city is The toll of the bells, The bells of Notre Dame.	Paris se réveille quand les cloches sonnent dans les tours de Notre Dame. Le pêcheur s'empoissonne, le mitron mitronne sous les tours de Notre Dame. Le bourdon éclate en mille tonnerres, La clochette légère tinte clair, Et l'on dit que c'est l'âme de Paris qui s'enflamme quand sonnent Les cloches De Notre Dame. [BT : Paris awakens when the	Tous les matins, Paris s'éveille au tintement Des cloches de Notre-Dame. Les rues s'animent, le Tout-Paris revit Au son des cloches de Notre-Dame. Des plus grosses qui résonnent comme le tonnerre, Aux plus petites, douces telles une prière, Même qu'on vous dira, que l'âme de Paris est dans le glas Des cloches de Notre-Dame. [BT :Every morning	Morgens erwacht jeder Mann in Paris Zu den Glocken Notre Dames. Der Bäcker backt Brot und der Bootsmann legt an Zu den Glocken Notre Dames. Zu den großen, so laut wie der Donner, Zu den kleinen, so sanft wie ein Psalm, Die Seele der Stadt wohnt im Ton, gibt den Takt an Im Klang der Glocken Notre Dames [BT: In the morning every man

	bells ring in the towers of Notre Dame/ The fisher fishes, the baker boy bakes under the towers of Notre Dame/ The great bell erupts into a thousand thunderclaps/ The light small bell chimes clearly/ And they say it's the soul of Paris that ignites when the bells of Notre Dame ring]	Paris awakens to the ringing of the bells of Notre Dame/ The streets come alive, all Paris is reborn to the sound of the bells of Notre Dame/ From the biggest which ring like thunder to the smallest as gentle as a prayer/ They even say the soul of Paris is in the toll of the bells of Notre Dame]	in Paris wakes to the bells of Notre Dame/ The baker bakes bread and the boatman docks to the bells of Notre Dame/ To the big ones as loud as thunder, to the small ones as soft as a psalm/ The soul of the city lives in the sound, sets the rhythm in the clang of the bells of Notre Dame]

During this opening sequence, the camera zooms in through the streets of Paris. As it zooms, a shop sign can be seen with the French word "Boulanger" [BT: baker] written on it. English-speaking US audiences are less likely to be familiar with *boulanger* than they may be with greetings such as bonjour, yet some audience members may recognise the French word for baker. Fortunately for those audience members who do not understand *boulanger*, the sign is accompanied by the visual of an assortment of bread outside the shopfront and a man dressed in typical baker attire, as well as the lyric "the baker man bakes to the bells of Notre Dame" heard through the audio channel. Disney may be more eager to include written French language in the film as it adds an element of realism. However, the fact that the visual is accompanied by effectively an English translation of the word in the song lyrics suggests that Disney privileges English as the language to communicate meaning in its films. In this case, the French language is quite literally ornamental, a visual sign whose main purpose is to contrive a decorative portrayal of France and French culture. When it comes to the target texts, the visual sign remains unaltered in each version, thus preserving this use of French language across the three dubbed versions analysed. In the French TT, this image is accompanied by the lyrics "le mitron mitronne sous les tours de Notre-Dame", with *mitron* signifying an apprentice baker. The verb "mitronne[r]" poses some difficulty as it does not appear to exist. Despite consulting Le Petit Robert (n.d.), L'Académie française (n.d.), and le Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales (n.d.), no record of 'mitronner' was found. The verb *mitonner* exists, however, it signifies cooking a dish over a long period of time and taking

care over its preparation. While it is possible that the dubbed translation mistakenly uses “mitronne[r]” instead of *mitonner*, this seems unlikely. If we return to the source text lyrics, we can see some word play with the line “the fisherman fishes, the baker man bakes”, which is rendered in the French dub as “le pêcheur s’empoissonne, le mitron mitronne” [BT: the fisher fishes, the baker boy bakes]. The transformation of the noun *mitron* into the verb *mitronner* constitutes a piece of creative wordplay which can be considered an attempt to reproduce some of the wordplay and patterning of the original lyrics. The German TT retains coherence between the lyrics and the on-screen image with its rendering “der Bäcker backt Brot und der Bootsmann legt an” [BT: the baker bakes bread and the boatswain moors], although some of the creativity with the use of language is somewhat lessened. In the Québécois dub, however, the lyrics are rendered as “Les rues s’animent, le Tout-Paris revit” [BT: the streets come alive, all of Paris revives], eliminating the lexical coherence with image on screen which is present in the ST and French and German TTs, but inserting an additional reference to the French capital. In its entirety, the ST opening sequence of Disney's *Notre Dame* includes a total of eleven references to the cathedral and two to Paris. CSRs to Notre Dame appear in the refrain which is repeated throughout the song, albeit with slight modifications. For instance, “on the docks near Notre Dame", “on the steps of Notre Dame", and “the very eyes of Notre Dame". The three TT versions retain the references to Notre Dame in their respective refrains. The second reference to Paris is uttered by the boatman, when he asks for payment in return for transporting a group of Romani people into the city.

Table 4.2 The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1996) Medieval Currency in Translation

ST Dialogue	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Boatman: Four guilders for safe passage into Paris.	Quatre deniers pour vous faire entrer dans Paris. [BT : four deniers to enter Paris]	Ça fait quatre florins pour entrer dans Paris. [BT : it’s four florins to enter Paris]	Vier Gulden kostet die Überfahrt nach Paris. [BT: the crossing to Paris costs four guilders]

Table 4.2 above shows each of the TTs retain the reference to Paris, however, each TT seemingly adopts a different strategy for handling the CSR "guilders". The German TT

uses the direct translation "Gulden", whereas the Québécois opts for the term "florins" which is often considered interchangeable with the term *guilder*. In contrast, the French TT alters the currency to "deniers", a silver coin used in medieval France. The substitution of this CSR illustrates how translators adapt the text for French audiences by replacing the original with a more historically and culturally accurate currency. Moreover, of the sixteen instances of "Paris" appearing in the ST, the three TTs retain all, however, the French and German TTs also feature additional instances of the CSR. Other locations referenced in the ST include Paris, the Seine, France, other towns in France, and the Court of Miracles. The latter is a direct translation of *cours des miracles*, a term used to refer to the slum areas of pre-modern Paris. The French, German, and Québécois TTs employ a calque strategy to render references to the Court of Miracles. However, both the French and Québécois TTs omit a reference to the Court of Miracles. Each of these omissions are found in the translations of the song 'The Court of Miracles', therefore it is reasonable to conclude that these omissions occurred due to the rhyme and rhythm constraints of song translation. Additionally, the Québécois TT omits all references to the Seine. The single reference to the Seine in the ST is found in the song 'Out There', where it creates a rhyme with "men" and "then" in subsequent lines, however, the Québécois TT discards this rhyme. In contrast, the German TT not only retains this reference to the Seine but also includes three additional direct references to the river, two of which are found in the opening song 'Die Glocken Notre Dames', and the other when Quasimodo describes a map of Paris to Phoebus. Elsewhere in the Québécois TT indirect references to Paris using the term "la Ville Lumière" can be observed. This is the only TT to include references to the nickname for the city.

The characterisation of Paris by each text offers an insight to each culture's conception of the French capital. The first line of the song 'A Guy Like You' features the line "Paris, the city of lovers", demonstrating the source culture's perception of Paris as being imbued with romance, a perception which extends to France and the French language in general. The German TT echoes this perception by rendering the line as "Paris, diese Hauptstadt der Liebe" [BT: Paris, this capital city of love], indicating that the SC and German TC both associate French culture with romance. The French and Québécois TTs diverge from the sense of the original, opting for "Paris, la cité des rêves" [BT: Paris, the city of dreams]

and “Paris, la Ville Lumière” [BT: Paris, the city of light] respectively, eliminating the romantic associations of the city.

Two other French cities appear in the lyrics of ‘Topsy Turvy’, displayed alongside the TT renderings in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1996) Translating “Chartres” and “Calais”

ST Lyrics	French TT Lyrics	Québécois TT Lyrics	German TT Lyrics
Streaming in from Chartres to Calais	Paris vous offre un paradis [BT : Paris offers you paradise]	Chantons, dansons, saperlipopette [BT : let’s sing, let’s dance, goodness me]	Strömen rein von Chartres bis Le Havre [BT: streaming in from Chartres to Le Havre]

The German dub is the only TT to retain the CSR “Chartres”, however, it also substitutes “Le Havre”, another third culture CSR, for “Calais”. Neither French-language dub reproduces the ST CSRs; instead the French TT inserts a reference to Paris, while the Québécois dub eliminates the CSRs completely. The removal of the references to French cities is most likely due to the translators considering these CSRs too obscure for TC audiences, especially since Disney films are predominantly marketed to young children who are perhaps unlikely to recognise these French cities.

Disney's *Notre Dame* features three verbal references to foods and beverages typically associated with France and French culture, all of which are used in humorous contexts. Two of the references to French foods are spoken by the gargoyle Hugo, who is one of the most comedic characters in the film, spending much of the film making jokes and quick quips. The first reference, “bobbing for snails” alludes to the dish *escargot*. While not unique to French culture, eating snails is frequently associated with French cuisine and would be familiar to US audiences as an allusion to French culture. The ST combines this French CSR with the game of bobbing for apples, often played by children as part of traditional Halloween festivities. Each of the TTs render this reference using direct translation, “escargots” in the French and Québécois versions, and “Schnecken” [BT: snails] in the German version. The second instance is a reference to the pastry croissant. This verbal reference is combined with a visual depiction of a croissant on screen, creating

a requirement for cohesion between the two channels. Each of the TTs retain this reference to the croissant, thus maintaining the audiovisual cohesion of the clip/scene. However, the French TT includes additional information with the specification "croissant au beurre" [BT: butter croissant]. This is consistent with other instances of typically French food being rendered for a French audience in Disney films such as those seen in Beauty and the Beast. The French TT modifies the references to French food, often making them more specific. This suggests that the foods referenced in the ST, while perhaps clearly reminiscent of France and French culture to foreign audiences, may not be considered particularly French by a French audience. Furthermore, the addition of "au beurre" creates a rhyme with "rondeur" [BT: roundness] in the previous line, and, since this reference is to be found in a song, the requirements of song translation have a significant influence over the translation solutions available. The only other reference to French food or beverage in the ST is spoken by Captain Phoebus. Esmeralda pours some wine on his wound after he had been hit with an arrow while fleeing Judge Frollo. Phoebus gasps in pain before quipping "feels like a 1470 Burgundy. Not a good year", again linking other culture with comedy. This reference to wines produced in that region is mostly unfamiliar to young audience members, however, older members will appreciate the allusion. In the German TT, Phoebus' quip is rendered as "Vermütlich 1470 Spätburgunder. Kein guter Jahrgang" [BT: probably 1470 pinot noir. Not a good vintage], with direct translation employed to render the culture-specific reference. Similarly, both the French and Québécois TTs use direct translation to render the lines as "on dira un bourgogne de 1470. Une année exécrable" [BT: seems like a 1470 burgundy wine. A terrible year] and "Je dirais un bourgogne 1470. Excéllente année" [BT: I'd say a 1470 burgundy. Excellent year] respectively. This indicates that the reference to the wine is considered familiar to audiences in France, Germany, and Canada alike. There is also an element of audiovisual cohesion in the ST which all three TTs replicate by employing direct translation for this culture-specific reference. The shift in the Québécois dub may appear unusual when read from the transcript, however, when heard in the audio track, it becomes clear that the utterance is delivered with a significant degree of sarcasm. This use of sarcastic humour draws on and maintains stereotypes surrounding French people's character. From analysing the use of references to French food and beverage in *Notre Dame*, it can be argued that Disney uses references to other cultures

predominantly during comedic moments. Additionally, these references take the form of shallow, familiar stereotypes which speak to older members of the audience rather than children. Furthermore, it would appear that the audiovisual cohesion and the restrictions of song translation impact the translation solutions observed in the TTs.

Compared to *Beauty and the Beast* (1990), *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* features relatively few instances of foreign language in the ST dialogue, specifically five compared with over 30 in *Beauty and the Beast* (1990). The first two, "pièce de résistance" and "bon appétit!" occur during the Feast of Fools sequence, after Quasimodo defies Frollo's orders and attends the festival. The first, "pièce de résistance" is spoken by Clopin, the Romani entertainer who acts as a quasi-narrator at the film's opening. The second by an unidentified member of the crowd. The other three, "l'amour", "mon Dieu", and "ooh-là-là", are sung by Quasimodo's gargoyle friends during the song 'A Guy Like You'. Strikingly, none of these characters are main characters, and the majority of them serve comedic purposes for most of the film. None of the main characters, protagonist, nor antagonist, utters any French word or phrase, despite the fact that they are all living in Paris and therefore should realistically speak French. Of course, it is not expected that the entire dialogue would be in French since this would alienate the film's target audience. Moreover, the practice of having films set in locations where a language other than English is dominant yet the majority or often the entire dialogue in English is long-established. However, the scarcity of French words/phrases within *Notre Dame* carries significant implications if considered through the lens of cultural representation. In this film, English dominates, relegating the French language to mostly insignificant utterances which have little bearing on the plot or characters. The fact that isolated French words/phrases are only spoken by side and minor characters further emphasises this relegation and, if we adopt the perspective of Shohat and Stam (2006), is evidence of US cultural imperialism, whereby US mainstream culture domineers, and other cultures are subjugated. Returning to the instances of French language in the ST dialogue, Clopin, a Romani character who performs at the Feast of Fools announces, "and now, ladies and gentlemen, the pièce de résistance!", in between singing to the gathered crowd. As the Oxford English Dictionary states, *pièce de résistance* is a Gallicism that entered the English language around the late eighteenth century and signifies the main dish of a meal or, more figuratively, the main event or climax (OED,

n.d.). The phrase *pièce de résistance* has a long history of use in the English language, therefore ST audiences are likely familiar with the meaning of this borrowed term from French. Although the phrase has entered English, it has not lost its French flavour and as such its deployment here in the dialogue is an example of recognisable French words and phrases being sprinkled into the film. As others have observed, foreign language words and phrases are included in Disney's *Notre Dame* but the very words and phrases which are selected for inclusion are already familiar to the ST audience (Di Giovanni, 2007, p. 97). The phrase *pièce de résistance* remains exotic to US mainstream culture due to its nature as a borrowing from a foreign language yet simultaneously is familiar to US audiences because of its status in the English language.

Table 4.4 The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1996) Translating "pièce de résistance"

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the pièce de résistance	Et maintenant, mesdames et messieurs, le plat de résistance [BT: and now, ladies and gentlemen, the main course]	Et maintenant, mesdames et messieurs, la pièce de résistance [BT: and now, ladies and gentlemen, the main event]	Und nun, lieber Närrinnen und Narren, la pièce de résistance [BT: and now, dear fools, the pièce de résistance]

As shown in Table 4.4 above, in the German dub, the phrase "le pièce de résistance" is retained with the preceding definite article also appearing in French. Here, the cultural associations of the French phrase remain intact and the dialogue appears as marked, that is it stands out as a Gallicism compared to the standard German language surrounding it. Similarly, the Québécois dub retains the phrase "pièce de résistance", however since the main language of the Québéecois is French, the phrase is no longer marked as a borrowing from another language. If viewed from the perspective of equivalent effect, it is clear that the ST's effect of signalling something foreign is not reproduced in the Québécois TT. In the French TT, the phrase is rendered as "le plat de résistance", an example of the strategy of shifted translation. The French TT opts for the synonymous term, which according to l'Académie française (n.d.) is more commonly used than the Gallicism in the ST and other two TTs. As with the Québécois dub, the marked quality of the phrase in the ST and German

TT is not recreated in the French TT since the foreignness of the expression is erased by the dialogue being in French.

Another Gallicism is heard when the crowd turns on Quasimodo at the festival and starts abusing him. Various guards and members of the crowd begin throwing vegetables at Quasimodo after he has just been crowned the King of Fools, and an off-screen voice can be heard shouting "bon appétit". This Gallicism is used before eating and records show it entering the English language around the mid-nineteenth century (OED, n.d.). Again, we can see an example of a foreign language phrase which is already familiar to English-speaking cultures. The same can be said of the remaining three instances of French language being used in the ST dialogue: "l'amour", "mon Dieu", and "ooh-lalà-lalà". In each case, the Gallicisms are employed to add a French flavour to the ST dialogue, while also being familiar to the English-speaking ST audience. The relative scarcity of French language words/phrases in the ST dialogue, despite the film's setting, suggests that Disney uses the French language as sparse decoration. Furthermore, the utterances do not communicate vital plot or character information; that is the reserve of English. The use of French as an ornament indicates Disney's and even mainstream US culture's attitude toward other(ed) cultures and serves as evidence of that very same process of Othering. Since the ST contains this Othered portrayal of French language, Table 4.5 below shows how the TTs render these French phrases.

Table 4.5 The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1996) Translating French Language in the ST

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
bon appétit	bon appétit	bon appétit	Guten Appetit [BT: bon appétit]
l'amour	d'amour [BT: love]	l'amour [BT: love]	l'amour [BT: love]
mon Dieu	son cœur [BT: her heart]	mon Dieu [BT: my god]	die Attraktion [BT: the attraction]
ooh-la-la	ooh là là	ooh là là	ooh là là

Unsurprisingly, both the French and Québécois TTs retain the phrase 'bon appétit'. However, the German TT features the direct translation "Guten Appetit", an example of domestication where the ST included a somewhat more exotic element. From the table above, it may seem that the German TT is domesticated, that it substitutes some of the ST French words/phrases with target language words/phrases. However, the German TT also includes additional instances of French language, i.e. instances of French language which are not present in the ST. Before the crowd turns on Quasimodo at the Feast of Fools, Clopin attempts to quell their anger by asking them not to panic. In the German TT he addresses the crowd using the French titles "mesdames et messieurs", whereas in the English ST he uses the English language "ladies and gentlemen". Another instance of an additional French word in the German TT can be heard when Phoebus arrives in Paris. Captain Phoebus, Quasimodo's romantic rival, begins to ask passing guards for directions: "Entschuldigt bitte, Pardon. Ich suche den Justizpalast. Wisst Ihr, wo-" [BT: Excuse me, pardon. I'm looking for the Palace of Justice. Do you know where-]. In German, the word *Pardon* is a borrowing from French which is used as a polite way of asking to be excused. The inclusion of this Gallicism contributes to creating a certain French flavour within the TT. This may be considered a compensatory strategy, whereby French-language words/phrases are added to the TT to almost make up for the fact that elsewhere in the TT French-language words/phrases have been omitted or directly translated into the target language. By zooming out and considering the overall effect of the German TT, it is clear that the German TT is not any more domesticating in its representation of French culture than the ST. Additionally, the German TT follows the pattern set by the ST by still only having side/minor characters use French-language words/phrases. This indicates that French language is portrayed in an othered manner similar to that in the ST.

As briefly mentioned earlier, the last three examples occur during the song 'A Guy Like You', which is sung by Quasimodo's gargoyle friends. The format of the song exerts considerable restrictions on the translation strategies available to the dubbing team and it is worth briefly outlining some of the main technical constraints associated with the medium, as the translation constraints can exert a great influence over the representation of culture within the translated songs. It is likely that the restrictions of musical elements such as rhyme and rhythm dictated some of the translation choices across the films' songs.

For example, in each of the TT versions of ‘A Guy Like You’, the phrase “ooh-la-la” is retained, although some orthographic adaptation is required to represent the phrase in each language. It is also used to rhyme with the subsequent line in all the versions analysed here. In this example, *ooh-la-la* may have been retained in each TT because it fits the rhythm and can be rhymed with the renderings of the subsequent line. In the case of “mon Dieu”, both the French and German TTs replace the expression with more generalised phrases in the respective target languages. This may have been done in order to maintain the rhythm of the song, but it reduces the allusions to the French language.

4.2.2 Processes of Othering: How Disney Relies on Otherness

The process of Othering appears on two levels with this text. First, Disney’s *Notre Dame* presents audiences with a clear illustration of Anglo-American cultural imperialism. Despite being an adaptation of a classic of French literature and being explicitly set in the French capital, no French accents, not even stereotypical French accents feature in the ST dialogue. Most characters, including protagonist Quasimodo, love interest Esmeralda and frenemy Captain Phoebus, speak with standardised US English accents which are rendered in the TTs as standardised TL accents. With *Notre Dame*, Disney has completely revoiced and repackaged an artefact of French culture for mainstream US audiences and then markets this Americanised retelling to the globe and even back to French culture itself. Two characters who straddle the narrated French and narrating US cultures in the original English dub are the gargoyles Victor and Hugo. Their names are a clear allusion to the novel's author can therefore be classified as an ethnographic CSR to personal names. The German and Québécois TTs retain the names of the gargoyles, and thus the CSR. However, the French TT alters the names of the three gargoyles to La Muraille, La Rocaille, and La Volière respectively. The allusion to Victor Hugo created by combining the names of two of the gargoyles is lost in this version. In its place, the names La Muraille (wall, usually defensive) and La Rocaille (rocky ground or rockery) allude to the stony nature of the characters, while La Volière (aviary) is a humorous name given to the gargoyle who is plagued by pigeons throughout the film. Moreover, the gargoyles exhibit distinctive accents and linguistic features in their dialogue. Victor speaks with an English accent while Hugo exhibits a Northeastern US accent typically associated with New York and New Jersey. Laverne’s dialogue reveals to audiences that she also speaks with a US accent and her voice

qualities suggest she is the oldest of the three gargoyles. Occasionally, the TTs will include some English-language words and phrases. Similarly to the *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) TTs, both the French and German dubs of *Notre Dame* feature English language additions, namely, “du bist ein Star” [BT: you are a star] in the German dub and “jouer au bat-and-ball" [BT: play bat and ball] in the French TT. The inclusion of English-language words in the gargoyles’ TT dialogue points to the SC while also adding a contemporaneity to their TL dialogue.

The other level relates to the Othering practices present within the film's plot, that is the Othering of Romani characters. A key issue in the film’s representation of culture is the Orientalisation of the Romani people, which Disney does little to challenge despite a central theme of the animated film being oppression of persecuted peoples. Much of the prejudiced and discriminatory sentiments in the film are expressed by the villains of the film and background characters in order to portray society’s hostility towards Romani people. Although Disney has an opportunity to undermine this to great effect, unfortunately the representations of the Romani characters perpetuate long-standing, derogatory stereotypes. Esmeralda, Quasimodo and Phoebus’ love interest, falls into the sexualised Romani woman stereotype. In a voyeuristic scene, Quasimodo stumbles into a tent where Esmeralda is getting ready for the festival. She quickly wraps her robe around her so as not to expose herself. Later during her performance at the festival, Esmeralda’s physicality is exaggerated while Phoebus gawks at her and the jeering crowd wolf-whistle and throw money at her as she poledances around a spear. Furthermore, when Frollo apprehends her inside the cathedral, he grabs her from behind, smelling her hair and touching her neck in an overtly sexual attack. The character of Esmeralda is one of the most sexualised of Disney’s female characters. Additionally, she is voiced by American actor Demi Moore, who had garnered much media attention for her film *Striptease* (Bergman, 1996), in which she plays a stripper. During her scene at the festival, Esmeralda also employs tricks to disappear as if by magic, thus reproducing the mysticism and magic stereotype of Romani people.

Perhaps one of the most egregious sequences is that of the Court of Miracles. It is revealed that the Romani people of Paris are living in the catacombs, despite work on creating the

Parisian catacombs not beginning until the 18th century, but Disney has never been overly concerned with chronistic accuracy. By placing the Romani people in the catacombs, Disney is associating them with the dark, dirty, and perhaps frightening location. They ambush Quasimodo and Phoebus, gagging and binding them before marching the pair to makeshift gallows. They are only spared from hanging by Esmeralda's last-minute interception. The Court of Miracles is depicted as an encampment of criminals, and its Romani inhabitants are linked to danger and criminality. It is perhaps little surprise that no Romani individuals were involved in the production of *Notre Dame*, and no organisation concerned with the representation of Romani peoples in media was consulted despite a Romani organisation reaching out to the studio. Throughout the ST, the Romani characters are referred to as "gypsies", a misnomer derived from the belief that Roma people originated in Egypt. Before the 2000s, the use of the exonym "gypsy" was widespread in official and informal contexts, however in 2005, the Council of Europe decided to no longer use the term in official documents following requests from International Roma groups who deemed the word discriminatory due to the negative stereotypes associated with it (In Other Words, n.d.). Furthermore, a study carried out by the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard University (2020) reports that 35% of interviewed Roma find the term to be a slur (p. 24). In the 1990s, there was little mainstream acknowledgement of the pejorative associations with the term, hence the extensive use of the slur in various forms of media, including Disney's *Notre Dame*. The French and Québécois dubs use the terms "gitan" and "bohémien" interchangeably. *Le Petit Robert* (n.d.) does not list their use as pejorative, although these terms may be used in stereotypical and insulting contexts. The German dub uses the term "Zigeuner", which similar to the ST term, has recently been recognised as a racial slur (Duden, n.d.). While the harmfulness of these terms is well-documented nowadays, it is important to consider that at the time of Disney making *Notre Dame*, these terms were not widely considered to be slurs in mainstream media.

Finally, the most prevalent 'foreign' language in the film is Latin, due to the extended themes of religion and more specifically Catholicism. *Notre Dame's* opening credits are accompanied by lyrics in Latin reminiscent of many Catholic hymns. Stephen Schwartz, the film's lyricist, revealed on his website forum that this Latin prologue to 'The

Bells of Notre Dame' is a translation of the song 'Someday', which is played over the film's end credits. These lyrics are unaltered in each TT dub and given the history of Christianity within each of the target cultures, it can be assumed that audiences will recognise the Latin lyrics as indicative of the film's religious themes. The fact that the lyrics are taken from a song created for the film and are not in fact part of a Catholic hymn suggests that the filmmakers rely on the simultaneous recognisability and obscurity of Latin for modern US audiences. Schwartz even states "I knew there were few in the audience who would actually understand them" (Schwartz, 2017). With their hymn-like presentation, the Latin lyrics immediately indicate the religious themes in the film, despite not appearing in Catholic liturgy. As the song progresses, it includes lyrics in Greek and Latin. First, the chorus can be heard singing "kyrie eleison", an important prayer in Christianity meaning 'Lord, have mercy' which was transliterated from Greek. Second, as Frollo gives chase to Quasimodo's mother, the chorus deliver lyrics adapted from the first and second verses of *Dies Irae*, a Latin poem used in the Catholic Requiem Mass. These both remain unaltered in the three TTs, thus maintaining the CSRs and religious themes across the dubbed versions. Snippets of Catholic liturgy also appear later in the film, for example, at the climax when Frollo attempts to take the lives of Esmeralda and Quasimodo, as well as during the song 'Hellfire', Frollo's tortured mediation on temptation. In 'Hellfire', a chorus of monks accompany Frollo singing segments of the Tridentine Roman Missal version of the Confiteor, a Latin confessional prayer. Again, these instances of Latin prayer remain unaltered in each of the TT versions, indicating the cultural valency of these prayers is similar across the various cultures involved here.

In conclusion, the majority of foreign language words featured in the STs are greetings and simple phrases that ST audiences are likely familiar with. On a number of occasions these phrases are followed by equivalent English-language phrases which mitigate the 'foreignness' of these phrases. An emphasis on locating a film within a certain culture in the opening sequences or opening songs can be observed across many of the films in the corpus. The ST and TTs of all the films in the corpus rely heavily on stereotypes, often resulting in harmful portrayals of the depicted cultures. Disney's representations exhibit weightless and hybrid flexibility in the selection of CSRs employed and the TTs also engage in similar, often curious, practices of representation. Occasionally,

the choice of substitute CSRs in the TT suggests a perceived equivalency between narrated cultures from the perspective of the TC. Other times the eliminated CSRs point to TC sensitivities or a greater awareness of the TTs' regions of distribution. The types of CSR employed in Disney's depiction of France and French culture centre around food and other elements frequently aimed at tourists, such as the Eiffel Tower. While still constituting stereotypes, these French CSRs contrast with those *distorted cultural metonymies* used to portray Middle Eastern cultures in *Aladdin* (1992), the connotations of which emphasise danger and violence. Consequently, in the world of Disney, France becomes a shallow tourist attraction, whereas the Middle East harbours mysterious dangers which must be restrained by US influence, represented in the film by Genie and Aladdin. Moreover, the metonymies deployed in *Mulan* (1998) ignore the narrated culture for the most part, instead replacing it with CSRs from 1990s Chinese American culture. This not only appeals to Western, specifically US, viewers, but also influences their perceptions of very real and very distinct cultures. Similarly, the mixing of various CSRs from the ancient world and disregard for 'accurate' portrayals of mythic figures in *Hercules* indicates a lack of attention or care to these cultures, especially when compared to the US CSRs which feature heavily in *The Princess and the Frog*, *Hercules*, and *Aladdin* (1992). The following chapter evaluates to what extent Disney's representations of cultures have been modified in three live-action remakes.

Chapter Five: Whole New Worlds? Disney's Live-Action Remakes as Cultural Atonement

We have established that Disney's approach to cultural representation in animation often consists of *distorted cultural metonymies*, relying on the weightless and hybrid flexibility of the CSRs it deploys. Having been removed from their site of production and their original cultural context, these CSRs can be described as artefacts of hyperculture. Contextless CSRs from various cultures are brought together under the same roof so to speak, much like a museum hall or the 'It's A Small World' ride in Disneyland. While famed for its animation, Disney is no stranger to live-action feature films, starting with its hybrid (films combining both animation and live-action) era in the 1940s, up to the period of live-action remakes of its most popular animated films, in which we currently find ourselves. In 2010 the studio released a live-action remake of *Alice in Wonderland* (Burton, 2010) whose commercial success prompted Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures, the department responsible for the company's live-action feature outputs, to return to popular characters from the animated Disney Classics (Fleming Jr., 2017). *Maleficent* (dir. Stromberg, 2014) heralded the start of Disney's live-action Remake era (Modern Mouse, 2020). However, others consider the start of the live action remake era to begin the following year with *Cinderella* (dir. Branagh, 2015), since *Maleficent* makes significant changes to the plot and is perhaps more accurately categorised as a reimagining of *Sleeping Beauty* (dir. Geronimi, 1959).

This chapter presents the final three case studies, dealing with Disney's live-action remakes of *Beauty and the Beast* (dir. Condon, 2017), *Aladdin* (dir. Ritchie, 2019), and *Mulan* (dir. Caro, 2020). By comparing each live-action remake with its animated predecessor, this chapter evaluates how Disney has adapted its approach to cultural representation in the wake of international shifts and growing awareness of harmful cultural depictions, and whether the French and German dubbed versions of these remakes follow suit. Before examining the three live-action films, it is vital to provide an overview of the cinematic and wider cultural landscapes that produced these films.

As a producer of mass entertainment, the Disney studios strive to appeal to as many people as possible. As a result, the screen products Disney releases and the depictions

within them are often affected by shifts in attitudes and values in the collective consciousness and culture at large. Janet Wasko (2020) notes the shift between Classic Disney and Renaissance Disney with her Revised Classic Disney model. Given recent history, it is unsurprising that a similar pattern of 'revision' can be identified between Disney's animated originals and their live-action remakes, but first, let us review the evolving socio-cultural context surrounding Disney's live-action remakes.

In 2013, the political movement Black Lives Matter (BLM) was founded by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi after George Zimmerman was acquitted for the murder of Black teenager Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida (Black Lives Matter, 2024). The following year, Darren Wilson shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, prompting civil unrest in the city and ultimately spreading the reach of the BLM movement across the USA. As the BLM movement garnered more attention, similar movements started asking more questions about race relations in the USA. In 2015, news outlets and social media drew attention to the lack of diversity among the nominations for the 87th Academy Awards, with #OscarsSoWhite trending on Twitter, now X (Lang, 2015; Zeitchik & Ali, 2015). This was the culmination of decades of frustration with the lack of recognition for non-white talent in the film industry (Schulman & Spencer, 2016; Adams, 2011; Kilday & Belloni, 2010). It also brought greater awareness to the disparity in opportunities and roles offered to non-white talent in Hollywood. Disney CEO Bob Iger revealed that the company has been reluctant to make *Black Panther* (dir. Coogler, 2018), a superhero film based on the Marvel comic book character who rules over the fictionalised African nation Wakanda, because "movies led by black actors didn't perform well at the box office" (Clark, 2019). This reluctance appears to root itself in and perpetuate ethnocentric ideology, the implications of which being that if non-white characters cannot lead in a film, they are always left as supporting and minor characters which in itself is a limiting and harmful trope and reinforces stereotypes. However, *Black Panther* proved the company's fears wrong by going on to be an international success, bringing in over $700 million in the domestic market alone (Walt Disney Company, 2018). The film's commercial achievements were widely reported during its year of release and many hoped that it would mark a shift towards greater opportunities for Black talent in the film industry (McClintock, 2018; Sims, 2018; Robehmed, 2018; Zeitchik, 2018). Writing for Forbes, Bryan Rolli

(2018) attests that *Black Panther* "raises a defiant, razor-clawed middle finger to the ridiculous Hollywood notion that actors and directors of color are less bankable than their white male counterparts", while in *The Hollywood Reporter*, Pamela McClintock (2018) quotes Imax Entertainment CEO Greg Foster as stating "representation matters. *Get Out*, *Wonder Woman*, *Coco* and now *Black Panther* show Hollywood that authenticity and inclusiveness wins". Moreover, president of the African American Film Critics Association Gil Robertson is quoted as saying: "'It's a gate-opener opportunity for other black-centered projects'" (Truitt, 2018).

Alongside the accolades of *Black Panther*, wider conversations about representation on screen were being had on a larger scale than before. Some mass news media outlets had already begun to take issue with Hollywood's long history of whitewashing non-white characters (ABC News, 2008; Hornaday, 2016; Lee, 2010; Tierney, 2017). Previously, this process often involved white actors donning blackface, yellowface, and brownface, and while for the most part this problematic practice has been abandoned in Hollywood blockbusters, white actors continued to be cast in non-white roles during the 2000s and 2010s. A number of high-profile cases which made headlines include Scarlett Johanson in *Ghost in the Shell* (dir. Sanders, 2017), Emma Stone in *Aloha* (dir. Crowe, 2015), Tilda Swinton in *Doctor Strange (*dir. Derrickson*,* 2016*)*, Jake Gyllenhaal in *The Prince of Persia: The Sands of Time* (dir. Newell, 2010). Offering an explanation for the noticeable shift in attitudes towards whitewashing, Ann Hornaday (2016) asserts:

> In part, this is the product of a raised public consciousness, thanks to media campaigns such as #OscarsSoWhite. But more fundamentally, it's a function of the changing expectations of an audience that's more culturally literate than ever, and more hungry for images that resonate with the vibrant, multicultural world they live in.

Evolving public reception to whitewashing in film and television has impacted filmmakers' and actors' decisions regarding casting and which roles they take on. Jon Favreau explains that he was motivated to hire a predominantly Black cast for the live-action version of *The Lion King* (dir. Favreau, 2019) as he felt that would satisfy audience demands for more authenticity compared to the animated original (Francis, 2019). Furthermore, British actor Ed Skrein stepped down from a role as an Asian character in *Hellboy* (dir. Marshall, 2019),

stating: “It is clear that representing this character in a culturally accurate way holds significance for people and to neglect this responsibility would continue a worrying tendency to obscure ethnic minority stories and voices in the arts” (Skrein, 2017). These examples illustrate the changing attitudes towards representation on screen, which Disney attempts to accommodate in its live-action remakes of animated classics. However, it was not until one landmark incident during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic that major media outlets and international companies took significant steps to alter their portrayals of non-white communities.

On 25 May 2020, George Floyd, a Black American, was killed by white police officer Derek Chauvin in Minneapolis, Minnesota during his arrest for allegedly purchasing cigarettes with counterfeit money. Despite repeated complaints about not being able to breathe from Floyd and concerned bystanders, Chauvin continued to kneel on Floyd’s neck for over nine minutes. Two other police officers, J. Alexander Kueng and Thomas Lane also physically restrained Floyd while he was on the ground, applying pressure to his legs and torso. Videos recorded by witnesses and security cameras quickly spread online, sparking protests around the world. Demonstrations were held to show solidarity with protestors in the USA, as well as opposition to racism, police brutality, and local issues of racial injustice. In France, comparisons were drawn between the death of George Floyd and Adama Traoré, a Black Frenchman who died on 19 July 2016 while in police custody (Halissat & Quentel, 2016). A medical report released on 29 May 2020 stated that Traoré had died from heart failure, not as a result of positional asphyxiation due to police force (Couvelaire, 2020). Traoré’s family would dispute the report with accusations of a state cover-up, prompting many protests across France (France 24, 2020; RFI, 2023). These international demonstrations in response to the killings of Black citizens prompted numerous changes to mass media, from television and film to brand marketing. HBO removed the film *Gone with the Wind* (dirs. Fleming, Cukor & Wood, 1939) from its streaming service (Moreau, 2020). The final season of US police sitcom series *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* (Goor, et al., 2013-2021) was cancelled while animated shows *Family Guy* (McFarlane et al., 1999-present) and *The Simpsons* (Brooks et al., 1989–present) recast non-white characters who up until that point were voiced by white actors (BBC, 2020a; Itzkoff, 2020). TV shows that featured blackface, yellowface, or brownface such as *The*

Office (Daniels et al., 2005-2013), *It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia* (Day et al., 2005-present), *30 Rock* (Carlock et al., 2006-2013), *Peep Show* (Armstrong et al., 2003-2013), and *Little Britain* (Plowman, 2003-2006) had those particular episodes either edited or removed from streaming platforms (BBCa, 2020; Carras, 2020; Thorne, 2020). Food brands Uncle Ben's and Aunt Jemima changed their logos and marketing to remove what were considered racist images of Black Americans (Twitty, 2020). In June 2020, Disney announced that its Splash Mountain log flume rides, based on the controversial film *Song of the South* (Foster & Jackson, 1946), in Disneyworld Florida and Disneyland in California would be rethemed around the studio's animated film *The Princess and the Frog* following a Change.org petition (Hipes, 2020). In November 2019, the company's streaming site Disney + had introduced brief warnings before some films such as *Peter Pan* (Geronimi, Jackson & Luske, 1953) and *The Jungle Book* (Reitherman, 1967), however Disney was criticised for its "dismissive" wording (Iati, 2019). Following the 2020 protests, Disney launched its Stories Matter scheme and updated the warnings that appear before films containing problematic depictions. The warning, which cannot be skipped, appears in its entirety as:

> This program includes negative depictions and/or mistreatment of people or cultures. These stereotypes were wrong then and are wrong now. Rather than remove this content, we want to acknowledge its harmful impact, learn from it and spark conversation to create a more inclusive future together.
>
> Disney is committed to creating stories with inspirational and aspirational themes that reflect the rich diversity of the human experience around the globe.
>
> To learn more about how stories have impacted society, please visit
>
> www.disney.com/StoriesMatter (Stories Matter, n.d.)

The Stories Matter website features examples of these harmful representations, as well as a list of the advisory groups Disney consults in order to improve its portrayal of various communities. With the company's enthusiastic push towards streaming as opposed to releasing its content in home video formats, more and more of Disney's audiences are viewing their films via Disney +.

Disney's latest live-action adaptation release at the time of writing, *The Little Mermaid* (dir. Marshall, 2023) has been subject to much attention owing to the differences between it and its animated predecessor. Most of the discussion focused on the casting of African American actress Halle Bailey as Ariel. Helena Andrews-Dyer (2023) recalls "when the trailer for the new movie was released last September the internet was flooded with feel-good viral videos featuring Black children reacting to Bailey swimming through the ocean and singing a snippet of 'Part of Your World'. 'She looks like me!' was the collective refrain". Wesley Morris (2023) describes the move to cast a Black actress in the protagonist's role as "timid and reactive" and asserts that "it's not a Black adaptation [...] It's still a Disney movie, one whose heroine [...] happens to be Black". Others report on the racist backlash the casting choice prompted at home and overseas (Gammon & Phan, 2024; Bero, 2023; Toh, Zhu & Bae, 2023; Di Placido, 2022). Another alteration in the live-action version of *The Little Mermaid* can be found in some of the song lyrics. Alan Menken, frequent songwriter and composer for Disney, revealed in an interview with *Vanity Fai*r that some lyrics in *The Little Mermaid* (2023) were altered from the 1989 original:

> There are some lyric changes in "Kiss the Girl" because people have gotten very sensitive about the idea that [Prince Eric] would, in any way, force himself on [Ariel]. We have some revisions in "Poor Unfortunate Souls" regarding lines that might make young girls somehow feel that they shouldn't speak out of turn, even though Ursula is clearly manipulating Ariel to give up her voice. (Scheps, 2023)

The above overview of the company's latest approaches to live-action adaptations and issues of representation illustrates that the adjustments made by Disney reflect the values and attitudes of contemporary mainstream US culture. In the wake of criticism of so-called 'woke' Disney, CEO Bob Iger stated:

> Infusing messaging as a sort of number one priority in our films and TV shows is not what we're up to. They need to be entertaining and, look, where the Disney Company can have a positive impact on the world - whether its fostering acceptance and understanding of people of all different types - great. But, generally speaking, we need to be an entertainment-first company, and I've worked really hard to do that. (CNBC, 2024)

Iger's emphasis on entertainment underlines the fact that Disney is a mass media company and as such its main priority is making money. Within our increasingly globalised world and the current climate of encouraging cultural sensitivity and inclusivity, Disney seems to

consider the best path forward to more profits is making entertainment that appeals to a more diverse audience instead of alienating it. The response to the popularity of *Black Panther* illustrates how communities that are traditionally underrepresented or reduced to stereotypes in mainstream media such as Black Americans are viewed almost as an untapped resource for global audiences and company profits. By creating live-action adaptations, Disney banks on audiences' nostalgia for its popular animated classics, while simultaneously adjusting outdated, problematic elements to appeal to traditionally othered cultures in the US. Ultimately, as Wasko (2020) summarises, "Disney as a whole still represents a variable package of mainstream American values, reinforcing dominant themes of the political and cultural context in which they were created" (Wasko, 2020, p. 121-2). It is these distinctly American values and conceptions of other cultures whose TT renderings we are concerned with in this chapter. I argue that the live-action adaptations exhibit another 'revision' of cultural attitudes and values, having been updated to today's standards. Working chronologically through Disney's live-action remakes, we begin with *Beauty and the Beast* (2017).

5.1 *Beauty and the Beast* (dir. Condon, 2017)

On its release, *Beauty and the Beast* (2017) was the most expensive musical of all time and the second-highest grossing musical film ever, bested by Disney's behemoth *Frozen* (dirs. Buck & Lee, 2013) (Mendelson, 2017). The film is mostly faithful to its animated predecessor, except for the addition of several songs and scenes providing extra backstory for a number of the characters. A common criticism directed at *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) is that Belle suffers from Stockholm Syndrome, however closer inspection reveals that Disney's adaptation depicts a "genuine relationship between Belle and the Beast (Lee, 2020). Emma Watson, who portrays Belle in the live-action remake, even admitted to having reservations about starring in the film because of concerns that the story promotes an abusive relationship, and made a statement explaining her conviction that the film does not depict a case of Stockholm Syndrome (Breznican, 2017). Sean Bailey, who heads Disney Studios live-action department, argues that his division "unabashedly leans into the female empowerment fare", although it should be noted the motivations seem to be solely commercial (Fleming Jr, 2017). In a promotional video for Disney's YouTube channel, director Bill Condon claims the creative team's goal was to "distinguish Belle again 25

years later as a 21st century heroine" (Disney UK, 2017). The film also hoped to appeal to LGBTQ+ audiences with what Condon called an "exclusively gay moment in a Disney film" (Stroude, 2017). That brief moment, where the character LeFou is fleetingly shown dancing with another male character, prompted one Alabama cinema to pull the film from its schedule and prevented the film from being released in Malaysia, while in Russia the film was released with a 16+ rating (Ehrbar, 2017). The film was later cleared for release in Malaysia without any scenes being cut (Brzeski, 2017). CEO and president of GLAAD Sarah Kate Ellis praised the LGBTQ+ representation in the film, stating "it is a small moment in the film, but it is a huge leap forward for the film industry" (Ehrbar, 2017). However, others felt the significance of that moment was exaggerated, with Josh Gad, the actor who portrays LeFou, stating "we didn't go far enough" (Pollard, 2022). The film also sparked headlines for its inclusion of what has been described as "the first and second interracial kiss in a Disney movie", between Maestro Cadenza, played by Stanley Tucci, and Madame De Garderobe, played by Audra McDonald, and the second between Ewan McGregor's Lumière and Gugu Mbatha-Raw's Plumette (BBC, 2017). Many outlets qualified this assertion as Disney's first *live-action* interracial kiss as the studio has depicted interracial romance in its animated films *Pocahontas*, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, and *The Princess and the Frog*. However, perhaps a more accurate qualification would be Disney's first live-action kiss between a white man and a Black woman, since Disney has depicted interracial kisses in the television film *Cinderella* (dir. Iscove, 1997), *Snow Dogs* (dir. Levant, 2002) and *High School Musical 3: Senior Year* (dir. Ortega, 2008). From this brief overview, it is evident that modern Disney is conscious of the mainstream attitudes and values of today and actively tries to incorporate these into the films it releases, providing yet further evidence of the process of revision to the Classic Disney Formula (Wasko, 2020). Now, let us examine the cultural depictions within the text in comparison with the previous animated version.

Unlike the animated version, *Beauty and the Beast* (2017) explicitly locates the film in France during the opening narration. This first location CSR, "once upon a time in the secret heart of France", is spoken by Agathe, the Enchantress, and the French and German TTs render this using their official equivalents. Furthermore, in this adaptation Belle's village is given the name "Villeneuve", which both TTs retain. *Villeneuve* translates

literally to Newtown, and there are numerous towns and villages with this name across France. In terms of cultural representation, this rather generic name operates through what Leon-Boys (2023) terms ambiguous flexibility; the name sounds authentically French, but it carries no meaningful specificity. Now, of course, this is a key feature of most fairytales. They are not meant to be tied directly to any real-world location, and their lack of specificity implies that the events can happen anywhere, which undoubtedly contributed to the spread of fairytales across countless cultures. However, the fact that Disney decided to bestow the town with such a generic name indicates that the studio consciously chose an ambiguously flexible name in order to present audiences with what appears to be French on the surface. Just as Stephen Schwartz relied on mainstream perceptions (and lack of understanding) of the Latin language and the Catholic church when composing the songs for *Notre Dame*, Disney studios employs such references as decorative elements which hint at cultural difference, yet which are so far removed from any site of meaning and as such they become artefacts of hyperculture.

Later in the film, specific real-world French locations appear in the dialogue such “Paris”, “Champs-Elysées”, and even a reference to the monument “Notre-Dame”. First, the ST contains five references to “Paris”, one of which is uttered by Belle’s father Maurice when he states “even back in Paris, I knew a girl like you”, alluding to Belle’s mother. This CSR is retained in both the French and German TTs. Second, further CSRs to Paris are featured in the song ‘How Does A Moment Last Forever (Montmartre)’, a new addition to the film’s soundtrack, performed by Belle when she and the Beast are magically transported to the French capital by the Beast’s enchanted mirror. Here it is revealed that Belle’s mother died from the plague during Belle’s infancy, so Maurice fled to the country in order to protect Belle. Both dubbed versions retain these CSRs in their versions of the song. Third, the extract below shows the ST dialogue when the pair first arrive in the abandoned home, before Belle breaks into song.

Beast: Where did you take us?

Belle: Paris.

Beast: Oh, I love Paris. What would you like to see first? Notre Dame ? The Champs-Elysées ? No? Too touristy?

Belle and the Beast's dialogue features two CSRs to Paris and the Beast, mistakenly believing Belle has brought them to Paris to enjoy the 'tourist attractions', suggests visiting the Champs-Elysées and Notre-Dame de Paris. Both the TTs retain these CSRs in their direct translations of the dialogue displayed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Beauty and the Beast (2017) Translating Beast's tourist attractions

French TT	German TT
Beast: Où nous avez-vous emmenés ? [BT: Where have you brought us?] **Belle** : À Paris. [BT: To Paris] **Beast** : J'adore Paris. Que voulez-vous voir d'abord ? Notre Dame ? Les Champs-Elysées ? Non? Trop touristiques ? [BT: I love Paris. What do you want to see first? Notre Dame? The Champs-Elysées? No? Too touristy?]	**Beast**: Wohin hast du uns geführt? [BT: Where have you brought us?] **Belle**: Nach Paris. [BT: To Paris] **Beast**: Ich liebe Paris. Was willst du dann zuerst ansehen? Notre Dame? Die Champs-Elysées? Nein? Zu touristisch? [BT: I love Paris. So what do you want to see first? Notre Dame? The Champs-Elysées? No? Too touristy?]

The choice of so-called tourist attractions is significant here as it demonstrates a greater awareness of cultural-historical accuracy than its animated predecessor. Instead of a visual allusion to the Eiffel Tower, which was constructed in the late 1880s, the Beast refers to Paris' iconic medieval cathedral, first founded in 1163, and the Champs-Elysées which first started to take shape in 1667. The Beast even makes a quip about the touristification of these landmarks, in what can be read as a brief moment of self-awareness on the part of Disney, recognising its tendency to draw on similar shallow emblems in its representation of various cultures. The most interesting change, however, can be found during the song 'Be Our Guest'. In Disney's original film, Lumière exclaims "this is France!" and the crockery form into a replica of the Eiffel Tower, whereas in the live-action remake, Lumière brings down a knife onto a cutting board and the sound of the blade is amplified in the acoustic channel, reminiscent of the guillotine. Instead of an anachronistic CSR, the film includes this allusion to this execution method during the French Revolution of 1789-1799, which foreshadows the fate that would surely await Belle and the Beast, given his aristocratic status, were the film taking place in real-world eighteenth-century France.

One of the most frequent means of alluding to French culture in the animated original was the use of French language, and *Beauty and the Beast* (2017) replicates the

instances of French language words and phrases while also including additional phrases such as “oui, maître” [BT: yes, master], “mon dieu” [BT: my god], “adieu” [BT: farewell], and “s’il vous plait” [BT: please]. Audiences also hear the phrase “bon voyage” [BT: good journey] from the bookseller who is now named “Père Robert”. The majority of these are retained in the French and German dubs, and while the effect of linguistic difference is reproduced for German audiences, of course it is not for French audiences. Moreover, one exchange between LeFou and Gaston hinges on this very same linguistic difference. Table 5.2 below shows this exchange alongside the French and German TT renderings.

Table 5.2 Beauty and the Beast (2017) Translating the humour of "je ne sais quoi"

ST Dialogue	**French TT**	**German TT**
Gaston: And she’s the only girl that gives me that sense of- **LeFou**: Je ne sais quoi ? **Gaston** : I don’t know what that means.	**Gaston**: Et c’est vraiment la seule ici qui me donne cette sensation de- [BT: And she’s truly the only one here who gives me that sense of-] **LeFou**: Je ne sais quoi ? **Gaston**: Je crois que tu le sais très bien. [BT: I think you know exactly]	**Gaston**: Kein Mädchen sonst verlangt mich dieses Gefühl von- [BT: No other girl gives me this feeling of-] **LeFou**: Je ne sais quoi ? **Gaston**: Weiß nicht, was das bedeutet. [BT: I don’t know what that means]

LeFou uses the phrase “je ne sais quoi” to suggest that Belle has some indescribable quality, to which Gaston replies “I don’t know what that means”. Having entered the English language, this Gallicism is generally considered familiar to English-speaking audiences. The German TT replicates the humour exactly owing to the linguistic difference which it can reproduce. When we come to the French dub, however, Gaston’s ignorance would not make any sense, hence the French TT modifies his reply to LeFou. In response, Gaston says “je crois que tu le sais bien”, an attempt to retain some of the humour of the brief exchange, albeit altered in order to make sense. This example illustrates how the use of foreign language in the ST can force translators to make adjustments to the dialogue, not because the target audience may not understand the meaning of the ST foreign language phrase, but in fact because the phrase in the ST is the same language as the target language and Gaston, who speaks French throughout the French dub, would naturally understand the retained phrase in the TT. Similarly to the animated version, *Beauty and the Beast* (2017)

features few French accents, with only Lumière and Plumette speaking with affected French accents. The TTs maintain this linguistic difference by having these two characters deliver their dialogue in exaggerated French accents. Unlike *Beauty and the Beast* (1992) however, the live-action remake also includes Italian accents and language, delivered by two new characters Maestro Cadenza and Madame De Garderobe. In the ST, their dialogue features the Italian words “perfecto", “sotto voce”, "bravissima”, “amore", and “finalemente”, most of which would be familiar to ST audiences because of the similarities with English equivalents and familiarity with the terms in legal and dramatic contexts, as well as in popular culture, for example, the popularity of Dean Martin's (1953) song *That's Amore*. Again, the TTs reproduce this linguistic difference by retaining most of the ST instances of Italian. The only modifactions appear in the French TT where the third-language term “bravissimo” is substituted for the ST "perfecto” and “finalemente" is eliminated and replaced with the TL phrase “mon tout petit". In the ST the majority of the remaining characters speak with British accents, following a trend in which accents from the British Isles are frequently used in historical and even fantasy films. In Hollywood (and television) productions, these British accents create a sense of distance from the modern era. Take for instance *Snow White and the Huntsman* (dir. Sanders, 2012), the HBO series *Game of Thrones* (Benioff & Weiss, 2011-2019), Peter Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* (2001-2003) and *The Hobbit* (2012-2014) film trilogies. However, in the TT's these voices are rendered with standardised TL accents, confirming the assertion that linguistic diversity is overwhelmingly standardised in translation.

Beauty and the Beast (2017) features a considerable number of intertextual references in the ST dialogue. First, an intertextual reference to the song ‘Be Our Guest’ appears in the Beast’s dialogue when he shouts at Belle “Well, be my guest. Go ahead and starve”. However, this intertextual reference is not replicated in the French nor German TTs. Instead, the Beast’s dialogue is rendered as “comme bon vous semble” [BT: as you wish] and “mir soll das recht sein” [BT: fine by me] in each of the TT versions, neither of which corresponds to the respective versions of ‘Be Our Guest’. In the French dub, the song becomes “c’est la fête” which can be backtranslated as ‘it’s a party’. This expression would be difficult to work into the dialogue given the Beast’s anger at being rejected, and furthermore, is not semantically equivalent to the ST dialogue. Similarly, the German song

title and refrain ‘sei hier Gast’ [BT: be a guest here] would lack semantic coherence and cohesion with the scene, hence the more appropriate rendering quoted above. Earlier in the film, Belle’s dialogue features a covert intertextual reference in the form of “it’s about two lovers in fair Verona”, alluding to Shakespeare’s play *Romeo and Juliet*. Both TTs opt for direct translation with “Es handelt von zwei Liebenden in Verona” in the German TT, and “ça parlait de deux amants maudits à Vérone” in the French TT (with the addition of maudits [BT: cursed]. Intertextual references to Shakespeare appear again when Belle and the Beast begin to build a relationship. An extract of the exchange is included below.

Belle: Love can transpose to form and dignity. Love looks not with the eyes but with the mind and therefore-

Beast: And therefore is winged Cupid painted blind.

Belle: You know Shakespeare?

Beast: I had an expensive education.

Belle: Actually, Romeo and Juliet’s my favourite play.

The first part of their exchange consists of a quote from *A Midsummer’s Night Dream*, followed by the personal name CSR “Shakespeare” and finally the overt intertextual reference “Romeo and Juliet”. Table 5.3 below shows the TT rendering of this exchange, where we can see that both TTs utilise the official equivalents, i.e. quotes from existing translations of Shakespeare’s play. They both retain the personal name CSR which indicates that Shakespeare is considered a familiar reference to French and German audiences, and they also use the official equivalents for the title of *Romeo and Juliet*.

Table 5.3 Beauty and the Beast (2017) TT renderings of Shakespeare intertextual references

French TT	**German TT**
Belle : L’amour peut engendrer la grâce et dignité. L’amour ne voit pas avec les yeux, mais avec l’âme. Voilà- [BT: Love can engender grace and dignity. Love sees not with the eyes but with the soul. That’s-] **Beast** : Voilà pourquoi l’ailé Cupidon est peint aveugle. [BT: That’s why winged Cupid is painted blind] **Belle** : Vous avez lu Shakespeare ? [BT: You’ve read Shakespeare ?]	**Belle**: Liebe verleiht Ansehen und Gestalt. Liebe sieht nicht, sondern träumt und singt- [BT: Love grants prestige and form. Love sees not, but dreams and sings-] **Beast**: Drum malt man den geflügelten Amor blind. [BT: That’s why winged Cupid is painted blind] **Belle**: Du kennst Shakespeare? [BT: You know Shakespeare?]

Beast : J'ai eu droit aux meilleurs des professeurs. [BT: I had the best teachers] **Belle** : Je crois que Romeo et Juliette est ma pièce préférée. [BT: I think Romeo and Juliet is my favourite play]	**Beast**: Ich hatte eine ziemlich teure Ausbildung. [BT: I had quite an expensive education] **Belle**: Also, Romeo und Julia ist mein Lieblingswerk. [BT: Well, Romeo and Juliet is my favourite work]

Shortly after this scene, Belle and the Beast walk in the castle gardens during winter and Belle reads a section of a poem aloud, shown below.

> The air is blue and keen and cold,
> and in a frozen sheath, enrolled.
> Each branch, each twig each blade of grass,
> seems clad miraculously with glass.

These lines are taken from William Sharp's (1913) poem *A Crystal Forest.* Sharp, who published under the pseudonym Fiona Macleod, was a nineteenth-century Scottish writer and member of the Rossetti literary group. No preexisting French or German translations of Sharp's poem have been found, hence the creative translations observed in the TTs. The French dub renders the lines as:

> Le ciel est bleu, intense, vivace,
> entouré d'un fourreau de glace.
> Chaque branche, chaque feuille, quand vient l'hiver
> est miraculeusement recouverts de verre.

while in the German dub, the lines appear as

> Die Luft ist blau und klar und kalt.
> In eisiges Tuch gehüllt der Wald.
> Ob Ast, ob Zweig, ob Moos, ob Gras,
> die Welt ist überdeckt mit Glas.

The very next scene also features two further overt intercultural references when Belle asks what the Beast is reading. He is reluctant to share at which point Belle looks at the book

and states “Guinevere and Lancelot”, to which the Beast responds “Well, actually King Arthur and the Round Table”. Both TTs use calque to render these references. The inclusion of these specific works of literature contributes to the characterisation of both Belle and the Beast. They portray both Belle and the Beast as extensively read with active interests in literature, thus laying the foundation for their relationship built on mutual respect. Given the filmmakers’ awareness of the discourse regarding Stockholm Syndrome in *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), it is likely that this was a conscious effort to depict a healthier relationship. From this case study, it is clear that Disney studios modify their output in order to suit what they believe audiences want from mass entertainment. As such it is expected that the case study of *Aladdin* (2019) will reveal a similar approach to cultural representation.

5.2 *Aladdin* (dir. Ritchie, 2019)

While Disney's animated *Aladdin* (1992) was released against the backdrop of the first Gulf War, their live-action remake from twenty-seven years later came during a period in which events such as the 2001 terror attack on the World Trade Centre in New York and the subsequent 'Global War on Terror' had had serious repercussions for the representation of Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) people and cultures on screen, not to mention the real-world treatment of MENA people. On screen, Arab characters were overwhelmingly depicted as terrorists, and/or associated with violence, continuing a tradition that stretches back through the very beginning of cinema to nineteenth-century Orientalism. Evelyn Alsultany (2013) observes that some sympathetic portrayals of Arabs emerged after the September 11th attacks "to offset the negative depiction", but these depictions continue to associate Arabs with terrorism, even when Arab characters are presented as victims of terrorism (p. 161). Furthermore, US president Donald Trump signed Executive Order 13769 in 2017, preventing people from Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, all Muslim-majority countries, from entering the USA. This was followed by Executive Order 13780 less than two months later following widespread criticism of the so-called Muslim travel ban. This second order placed travel restrictions on people from the same six countries for 90 days. Disney was conscious of the long history of stereotypical depictions of Arab characters on screen and sought to offer a more positive portrayal in its live-action remake of *Aladdin*, as evidenced by comments from Disney's Vice President of Multicultural Engagement Julie Ann Crommett:

> We had such an opportunity here with this film. If you think about the realities of portrayals of Arab people on screen, this is really the first time in a long time that you get such a positive and uplifting portrayal of the community and so it presented such an amazing opportunity to cast a whole cast of people who were from the region or to present a whole cast of people who are diasporically from the region, and I think the casting process reflected that intent, which I think is tremendous [...] we were really trying, I think at a very deep level, to cast this as authentically and as culturally associative as possible. (Sinha-Roy, 2018, para. 6)

When asked directly about the cultural insensitivities in the animated *Aladdin* and how these had been addressed in the live-action remake, Crommett asserted that the creative team made considerable changes to the portrayal of Middle Eastern cultures by removing many of the violent stereotypes and granting Jasmine more agency (Sinha-Roy,

2019). Naturally, in promotional material for *Aladdin* (2019), the filmmakers and studio heads speak positively of the steps taken towards a less insensitive cultural representation, having created a film that they believe fits international target audiences' desires. However, it cannot be ignored that the studio also admitted to darkening the skin tone of some white talent working on the film in order to make them "blend in" (BBC, 2018). This fact casts some doubt over whether the studio's self-congratulatory statements are truly justified, and understandably raises concerns over the representation of MENA and Asian cultures within Guy Ritchie's live-action remake. In a behind-the-scenes promotional video for the film, producer Dan Lin states that "in making this movie, we wanted to make sure we're as authentic as possible" (Aladdin, 2019). This attention to authenticity is underlined by director Guy Ritchie, who adds "in creating Agrabah, we want to get the balance just right. So we had a team of culture advisors in order to give it an authentic voice" (Aladdin, 2019). However, as previously established, the idea of cultural authenticity opens itself to contestation, especially if we acknowledge that cultures are rarely, if ever, static and, as such, resist and challenge labels of authenticity. Instead, what we are concerned with here are still imaginings of cultures, more specifically, Western imaginings of MENA cultures.

The creative team's insistence on cultural authenticity raises the following question: to which culture is Disney's new depiction attempting to be 'authentic'? Lin describes the live-action film's setting of Agrabah as "a global trading port, heavily influenced by Arabia, but also influenced by other neighboring cultures as well" (Aladdin, 2019). According to Crommett, this mixing of cultures was an attempt to "reflect the diversity and movement of what of what we can loosely construe that time period to have been" (Sinha-Roy, 2018). She adds, "we felt that was really important for so many reasons to speak to the idea of trade, intersectionality, intersectional identity, as part of the broader Arab experience and South Asian experience" (Sinha-Roy, 2018). Filmmakers can utilise the visual channel to communicate information about characters' culture within the body of the film text. Cultural elements may be indicated by characters' clothing and makeup, the building design on the various film sets, on-screen objects from daily life, on-screen food and beverages, and dances performed by different characters. Within *Aladdin* (2019), the various influences are clear, be it the different costumes worn by the characters, or the Bollywood-inspired dance at the Sultan's palace. Gemma Jackson, *Aladdin's* (2019)

production designer, travelled from Morocco to Burma when gathering inspiration for her Agrabah set designs, and, in an interview with *Entertainment Weekly*, reveals "I loved Iznik ceramics, I love Turkish and Persian miniatures… there's the Orientalist paintings that I used, a lot of the Victorians used to go on those wonderful journeys and do these fabulous paintings stuffed full of detail" (Sinha-Roy, 2019). Jackson's comments indicate that, in keeping with the Orientalist tradition of viewing diverse groups as interchangeable, the live-action filmmakers selected elements from various cultures, combining Moroccan souks with Burmese monasteries that "became more Byzantine" as they developed the set designs (Sinha-Roy, 2019). Not everyone views the cultural mix of *Aladdin* (2019) positively. Evelyn Alsultany (2019), who was part of a team of cultural advisors for the film, acknowledges the progress represented by casting actors of Middle Eastern descent in many of the roles, while stating that, in terms of moving away from Orientalist tropes, the film leaves much to be desired. She argues the live-action *Aladdin's* attempts at intersectionality actually "trade explicit racism for cliched exoticism", adding that it is difficult "to identify any distinct Middle Eastern cultures beyond that of an overgeneralised 'east'. Belly dancing and Bollywood dancing, turbans and keffiyehs, Iranian and Arab accents all appear in the film interchangeably" (Alsultany, 2019). With this in mind, let us now turn to the cultural depictions within the film, starting with the opening song 'Arabian Nights' before tackling the film's culture-specific references.

The live-action *Aladdin* features re-recorded versions of the animation's songs as well as the additions of Jasmine's ballad 'Speechless' and the second reprise of 'One Jump Ahead'. Some of the lyrics were rewritten and these alterations offer some insight into Disney's shifting attitudes and values. One song in particular was extensively rewritten: 'Arabian Nights', the song which opens the animation and garnered criticism from the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (see Chapter Two). Speaking on the lyric changes for the live-action *Aladdin*, Alan Menken, the song's composer and longtime Disney collaborator, states "things got corrected, certain things got removed" (May, 2019). "It's a filter", he continues, "you have to look at what's happening today. Values go upside-down in a blink. It's inevitable, you have got to take that really seriously." He added, "there are ways to be funny without necessarily having to play with stereotypes" (May, 2019). Much like in its animated predecessor, 'Arabian Nights' features early in the live-action

film runtime, setting the location and tone for the feature. American actor Will Smith performs the song which also serves as a sonic portal from the supposed 'real world' of the family sailing in their boat to the 'magical' world where the tale of *Aladdin* unfolds. Both live-action and animated version present the film's plot as a folktale being recounted to their audiences, recalling the oral tradition of folk stories. Visually, the live-action transports audiences from the family's boat to the bustling streets of Agrabah lined with stalls offering a vast range of colourful fabrics, jewels, spices, and fruit. The first verse of the live-action's 'Arabian Nights' removes the offending adjective "barbaric" and replaces it with "chaotic". It also removes the description of the landscape as oppressive, replacing it with a testament of Agrabah's diversity. Table 5.4 below shows the first verses of the 2019 ST lyrics alongside the original lyrics for the animation's theatrical release and the altered version following criticism from the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Table 5.4 Aladdin (2019) Comparing ST Lyrics with Aladdin (1992)

1992 Theatrical Release First Verse	**1992 Altered First Verse**	**2019 First Verse**
Oh I come from a land, from a faraway place Where the caravan camels roam Where they cut off your ear If they don't like your face It's barbaric, but hey, it's home	Oh I come from a land, from a faraway place Where the caravan camels roam Where it's flat and immense And the heat is intense It's barbaric but hey it's home	Oh, imagine a land, it's a faraway place Where the caravan camels roam Where you wander among every culture and tongue It's chaotic, but hey, it's home

Each version of the verses maintains the imagery of a distant, far-off land and caravans of camels travelling through the landscape. However, the rewritten lyrics for the 2019 version reveal a shift in values, replacing the violence and barbarism of the previous versions with an endorsement of multiculturalism within the fictional city of Agrabah. Benj Pasek, who collaborated alongside Justin Paul and Alan Menken to rework 'Arabian Nights', has stated

that “It was important to the filmmakers that Agrabah was not one specific culture or country, but a diverse city, a melting pot of many cultures and languages, and that’s referenced in the lyrics” (Burlingame, 2019). Turning now to the three TT versions, it is evident that both the French and Québécois dubs echo the celebration of diversity present in the new ST (Table 5.5). Frequent Disney dubber Anthony Kavanagh provides both the French and Québécois voice for Will Smith’s Genie, and his renditions of ‘Nuits d’Arabie’ for the French TT and ‘Nuit d’Arabie*’* for the Québécois TT are lyrically similar. For instance, the opening verse for both French-language versions are identical, therefore the table below shows the 2019 dubbed verse alongside each previous French-language version. The history of the song’s Québécois version mirrors that of the ST version, in the sense that its lyrics also received rewrites after the animation’s theatrical release. Much like the 1992 ST, the Québécois theatrical version contains references to cropping ears in the lines “On vous coupe les oreilles/Si votre air nous revient pas”, a recurrent and violent stereotype which was frequently deployed in Orientalist depictions of Middle Eastern cultures. Moreover, the rewritten Québécois lyrics and original French lyrics continue the Orientalist presentation of Agrabah society with their emphasis on magic, mystery and danger in the respective lines “Cette terre de mystères/Aux décors si sévères” and “Où pendant ton sommeil/Les serpents t’ensorcellent”. With the 2019 dubbed version, however, audiences are presented with a far more harmonious image of Agrabah society where “Tous les peuples là-bas/Se mélangent, se côtoient”.

Table 5.5 Aladdin (2019) French TTs Lyric Comparison with Aladdin (1992)

1992 French TT	**1992 Québécois TT First Verse**		**2019 French and Québécois TT First Verse**
	Theatrical Release	**Altered First Verse**	
Moi, je viens d'un pays de déserts infinis Où les caravanes rêvent et flânent Où pendant ton sommeil Les serpents t'ensorcellent C'est bizarre ça, mais hé ! C'est chez moi !	Moi je viens d'un pays qui est certes très lointain La caravane passe quand aboient les chiens On vous coupe les oreilles Si votre air nous revient pas C'est barbare, mais on se sent chez soi	Moi je viens d 'un pays qui est certes très lointain La caravane passe quand aboient les chiens Cette terre de mystères Aux décors si sévères Regorgent d'histoires légendaires	Moi je viens d'un pays qui ne connaît pas la pluie, Où les caravanes rêvent et flânent. Tous les peuples là-bas se mélangent, se côtoient, Oui c'est étrange mais eh, c'est chez moi ! [BT: I come from a land which doesn't know rain, Where the caravans dream and wander, All the people there mix and mingle, Yes it's strange but it's home]

Much like the ST and Québécois versions, the German dub 'Arabische Nächte' was rewritten due to its use of the stereotype of beheading as punishment in the lines "Du riskierst deinen Kopf/ Und sofort ist er weg" from the initial theatrical release. Below, table 5.6 shows the first verse from the 1992 German theatrical version in comparison to the altered verse and 2019's live action version. The sense of peril so commonly associated with Orientalist depictions of Middle Eastern cultures is still maintained in the rewritten lines "Und steckst du mal im Sand/ Kommst du dort nie mehr weg". However, for the live-action version, the lyrics are updated again, replacing the connotations of danger with a description of Agrabah's vibrancy in the lines "Es ist bunt, es ist laut/ Scheint das gar nicht

vertraut?". The alterations made in the latest version of 'Arabische Nächte' indicate a shift in the attitudes and values Disney is willing to promote in its feature films between the release of the animated Aladdin and their live-action remake. Differing slightly from the semantic meaning of the ST, the German dub emphasises the colourful and noisy nature of the fictional city, instead of the diversity of its inhabitants. Moreover, the 2019 German dub associates this fictional representation of Middle Eastern cultures with magic and mysticism with its opening line "Komm mit mir in ein Land voll verborgener Magie".

Table 5.6 Aladdin (2019) German TT Lyrics Comparison with Aladdin (1992)

1992 German TT First Verse		**2019 German TT First Verse**
Theatrical Release	**Altered Version**	
Komm mit mir in ein Land, ein exotischer Fleck Wo Kamele durch die Wüste ziehen Du riskierst deinen Kopf Und sofort ist er weg Tja, vergiss es, dann platz der Termin	Komm mit mir in ein Land, ein exotischer Fleck Wo Kamele durch die Wüste ziehen Und steckst du mal im Sand Kommst du dort nie mehr weg Tja, vergiss es, dann platz der Termin	Komm mit mir in ein Land voll verborgener Magie Wo Kamele gemächlich geh'n Es ist bunt, es ist laut Scheint das gar nicht vertraut? Leicht chaotisch, doch, hey, auch schön [BT: Come with me to a land full of hidden magic, Where camels stroll leisurely, It is colourful, it is loud, Doesn't it seem familiar, Slightly chaotic but also beautiful]

Across the ST and TT versions of the 2019 'Arabian Nights', themes of magic, enticing intoxication, and threat abound, whether the lyrics are new material or originate from the animated version. Certainly, it would be hard to avoid magical connotations given the subject of the film in which a young boy finds a magic lamp and is granted three wishes

by a genie, but these themes are part of a long tradition of Orientalism, expressed through stereotypes, exoticism, and perceived threat. Orientalist tropes which imply an intoxicating power, emphasise mystery, and directly link danger to the landscape feature in the following excerpts:

> In the haze of your pure delight,
> You are caught in a dance,
> You are lost in the trance,
> Of another Arabian Night
>
> or
>
> Arabian Nights,
> Like Arabian days,
> This mystical land,
> Of magic and sand,
> Is more than it seems
>
> and
>
> Arabian Nights,
> 'Neath Arabian moons,
> A fool off his guard,
> Could fall and fall hard,
> Out there on the dunes

These Orientalist tropes are echoed in both French-language dubs, which contain identical newly-written lyrics, and their respective 1992 versions. (See Chapter Two for analysis of the animated original's lyrics). The French-language dubs use lexical fields with connotations of magic, mystery, intoxication and powerlessness, as well as recalling previous retellings of the Aladdin tale and what audiences have come to expect from it. For example, take the following selection of lines:

Sous les charmes de chaque instant,
On est pris dans la danse
Et perdu dans la transe
D'une nouvelle nuit d'Orient

or

Ô nuits d'Arabie
Aux rêves infinis
Pays merveilleux
De fièvre et de feu
Secret mystérieux

and

Ô nuits d'Arabie
Mille et une folies
Viennent t'exalter
Tu vas t'envoler
Et tout emporter.

It is clear that the French-language versions reproduce the Orientalist tropes present in the ST and which have reverberated through the target cultures for centuries. Similarly, the German dub reiterates long-standing Orientalist stereotypes in the lines:

Wo Musik euch beschwingt,
die geheimnisvoll klingt
Und euch einfach nur glücklich macht
Folgt ihr nach, kommt zum Tanz
Und verliert euch im Glanz

Einer neuen arabischen Nacht

and

Arabische Nächte
Schenken Träume und mehr
Dies mystische Land
Voll Zauber und Sand
Ist spektakulär

and

Arabische Nächte
Bergen manchmal Gefahr
Und bist du zu kühn
Kannst du nicht mehr fliehen
Nichts bleibt, wie es war.

As Alsultany (2019, new strides section) observes of the 'Arabian Nights' 2019 ST, each of the French and German TTs continue to perpetuate exoticising Orientalist tropes. I argue that these Orientalist stereotypes live on within and are maintained by the hyperculture framework. By decentring and dedistancing cultures, hyperculture effectively discourages meaningful engagement with culture and instead preserves shallow, readily-consumed snapshots.

The culture-specific references included in the live-action *Aladdin* ST belong to the categories flora and fauna, general physical locations, objects from daily life, countries, cities, and regions, socio-cultural life, institutions and functions, monuments, and intertextual cultural references. The geographic region of Arabia is referenced four times, not including instances where Arabian is featured as part of an intertextual reference to the folktale collection *The Arabian Nights*, or *One Thousand and One Nights*. Table 5.7 below

shows each reference to the region of Arabia alongside the TT renderings of those references.

Table 5.7 Aladdin (2019) References to Arabia

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Like Arabian days	Mille et une folies [BT: a thousand and one follies]	Aux mille et une nuits [BT: of a thousand and one nights]	Sind genau wie der Tag [BT: Are just like the day]
Like Arabian dreams	Aux rêves infinis [BT: of infinite dreams]		Schenken Träume und mehr [BT: give dreams and more]
Like Arabian days	Mille et une folies [BT: a thousand and one follies]	Pour mille et une nuits [BT: for a thousand and one nights]	Bergen manchmal Gefahr [BT: sometime hide danger]
'Neath Arabian moons	Au parfum de velours [BT: with a velvety fragrance]	Sous la lune d'Arabie [BT: under the Arabian moon]	Scheint der Mond auf das Land [BT: The moon shines on the land]

Where the ST refers to "Arabian days", both French-language dubs substitute intertextual references to *Les Milles et une nuits*, the full title of the anthology compiled by Antoine Galland: *A Thousand and One Arabian Nights*. The European French TT covert rendering "mille et une folies" combines the tales translated by the eighteenth-century Frenchman with the threat of madness, while the Québécois TT features the overt intertextual references "mille et une nuits". It is likely that these intertextual references are a compensatory strategy, since without these references neither French-language dub would feature a reference to the folktale collection. The literal and shifted translations "nuits d'Arabie" and "nuits d'Orients" for "Arabian nights", which appear in both French-language TTs are not associated with the collection of folktales in either target culture, therefore the translators compensated by adding an intertextual reference intended to produce a similar effect on the TT audiences as the ST does on the ST audience; the TT

renderings exhibit functional equivalence with the ST. In the German TT, the geographical reference “arabisch” only appears as the descriptive premodifier for the common noun “Nächte”, as the rendering for “Arabian Nights”.

Next, let us turn to the category of food and drinks. A recurring reference to food in the ST is “dates” which in the ST appears when Aladdin is offered a small bag of dates in exchange for stolen items, then when a man can be heard calling out “sugar dates” in the background of one of the bazaar scenes, and when Aladdin declares he has arrived at the Sultan’s palace with offerings of various jams, one of which being “date jams”. Other foods which are referenced include figs, baklava, pistachios, yams, and spices such as cardamom. Contemporary audiences will recognise these food items as commonly being associated with the cuisines of areas formerly under the Ottoman Empire. The French-language TTs replicate these references with the renderings “compotes de figues”, “compotes de dattes”, “un peu de baklavas”, “ces pistaches”, and “un petit sac de dattes”. Both French TTs substitute the spices “coriandres et jasmins” for “cardomom-cluttered stalls” in the ST. Also, the German dub retains these culinary references with its direct translations “ein Beutel Datteln”, "Süße Datteln und Feigen”, “Pistazien”, “vielleicht ein bisschen mehr Baklava”, “Feigenkonfitüre”, und "Dattel-Konfitüre". In the German TT, the cardamom which covers the stalls is replaced with the considerably more generalised “Duft nach Gewürzen”. While these food items may be associated with Middle Eastern and Asian cuisines, they are highly generalised references, which would resonate with any number of cultures across the MENA and South Asian regions. This is a strategy of representation which Diana Leon-Boys (2023) characterises as intentionally ambiguous in order to be flexible enough to resonate with audiences belonging to the narrated cultures, while still appearing as an exoticised Other to predominantly white Western audiences. In Leon-Boys’ words (2023): “These ambiguating strategies flatten diverse geographies and cultures to appeal to white cultural fantasies” (p. 45). The references in the ST and TTs are so general that in actuality, they carry very little cultural significance and ring hollow to some extent. In terms of depicting a multicultural society, *Aladdin’s* culinary references appear shallow, suggesting that the filmmakers did not engage as thoroughly as they claimed with the cultures they attempted to portray on screen.

Traditionally, Islam and its religious practices are presented as culturally Other in Western cinema. While the animated *Aladdin* included references to Allah in the ST dialogue, these do not feature in the live-action dialogue. The live-action ST keeps the reference to midday prayers in the song 'Friend Like Me': "I'm here to answer all your midday prayers". Zuhr salah, or the Zuhr prayer, is one of the daily prayers, which should be recited around noon. The live-action German TT alters the lyrics of 'Ein[en] Freund wie mir' [sic], so while the animated German dub features the generalised reference to prayers "Deine Gebete wurden doch erhört", the live-action German dub renders the line as "Jetzt fangen himmlische Zeiten an". The adjective "himmlisch" does not replicate the cultural specificity of the ST lyric; it is possible that the German translators decided the midday prayer reference was not important to the song on a macro or micro level, opting instead for an adjective that can resonate with a number of different religions and atheists owing to the secular uses of "himmlisch". Similarly, the French and Québécois dubs remove the cultural specificity by simply alluding to "prières". Initially, these strategies may appear as erasing an element of Islamic culture, however, we ought to remember that this element of Islamic culture in the ST forms part of a network of allusions used by a narrating culture, here dominant US culture, to narrate MENA and Islamic cultures. Furthermore, this reference is one of a few, which indicates that references to MENA cultures and Islam are used sparingly in order to give the illusion of engagement with narrated cultures. One step towards improvement can be found in the live-action version of 'Prince Ali', the song used by Genie to introduce Aladdin's Prince Ali persona to the Sultan and Jasmine. The original version from the animated film featured the lyric "Brush up your Sunday salaam", which has been discussed in Chapter 2. The live-action remake alters the lyric to "Brush up your Friday salaam", replacing the Christian holy day with the Islamic holy day. The French dub of the live-action version retains the original French line "Criez vive Ali, Salaam" and the Québécois version uses this European French recording for this song. The German live-action version omits the reference to the narrated culture while retaining the allusion to the Christian holy day with the rendering "Sonntagsgewand". All three TTs remove allusions to Islam.

In the ST, two intertextual references are present in Genie's song 'A Friend Like Me'. The opening lines "Well, Ali Baba had them forty thieves/Sheherazade had a thousand

tales" allude to the collection of folktales *One Thousand and One Nights*. Much like the dubs for the animation, the live-action TTs retain these intertextual allusions, which are shown in table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 Aladdin (2019) Arabian Nights Intertextual Allusions

ST	**French TT**	**Québécois TT**	**German TT**
Well, Ali Baba had them forty thieves	Si Ali Baba avait quarante voleurs		Ja, Ali Baba, der hatte ‘ne Räuberschau
Sheherazade had a thousand tales	Shéhérazade mille histoires de coeur	Shéhérazade, mille et une nuits	Und Scheherazade ihren Märchenkram

Of the four versions above, the Québécois rendering "Shéhérazade, mille et une nuits" contains the most overt intertextual allusion by including the French name of the folktale collection *Les Mille et une nuits*. With regard to cultural representation, it is important to remember that these tales are familiar to Western audiences because of the history of Galland's *Arabian Nights* anthology, but ultimately their familiarity to Western audiences is predicated on overwhelmingly Orientalist narratives.

From the above discussion, it is evident that the Disney studio has made some adjustments in order to produce a more sensitive portrayal of MENA and South Asian cultures in the live-action remake of *Aladdin*. The studio has congratulated itself for efforts to engage with cultural advisors and its alterations to racist elements from the original animated film. However, the cultural representation in the live-action version and its dubs still consists of a predominantly Western view of the narrated cultures. The generalised nature of the culture-specific references and their translations implies that the creative team selected references which would appeal to as wide an audience as possible, in other words, they avoid truly specific CSRs in favour of more generalised references which, although carrying little significance in terms of specificity, are still associated with the exotic Other in dominant US culture. Disney's engagement with MENA and surrounding cultures is shallow at best, and at worst, perpetuates exoticising Orientalist traditions.

5.3 *Mulan* (dir. Caro, 2020)

Impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic, Disney's live-action *Mulan* did not receive a theatrical release, instead being made available to Disney+ subscribers for a premium fee on 4 September 2020. It was later made available to all Disney+ subscribers without the premium fee. The live-action version departs quite starkly from the light-hearted animated musical Disney released almost thirty years ago. Gone are the songs, the wise-cracking side-kick Mushu, the lucky cricket. Instead, this latest adaptation adopts a more serious tone, altering some characters and introducing new ones. Li Shang, the General's son responsible for training the recruits and Mulan's love interest, is absent from the new adaptation. Instead, Commander Tung and army recruit Chen Honghui fulfil the roles of army leader and love interest respectively. The decision to replace Li Shang with Tung and Honghui was a result of the #MeToo movement, as producer Jason Reed explained in one interview: "I think particularly in the time of the #MeToo movement, having a commanding officer that is also the sexual love interest was very uncomfortable and we didn't think it was appropriate […] we removed the icky-ness of the power differential" (Szany, 2020). Reed's comments demonstrate how the studio responds to current shifts in attitudes and values by updating the content of its films. I argue that his acknowledgement of these alterations, alongside Alan Menken's comments on the lyric changes in the live-action version of *The Little Mermaid*, support the Revised Classic Disney model proposed by Wasko (2020) which I extend to the live-action remakes.

Aside from gender and power dynamics, another aspect of this updated model is the treatment of culture, in this particular case, the treatment of Chinese culture. Although not belonging to the text of the film, an article from *The Hollywood Reporter* and a behind-the-scenes featurette available on the Disney+ streaming service provide some indication of the approach adopted in promoting *Mulan* to Western audiences. Ming-Na Wen, who voiced Mulan in the original animation and who appears in a short cameo role in the live-action adaptation, has spoken about the significance of Mulan within Chinese culture. The actress also discusses the popularity of the tale of Mulan in the Western world stating that "it's a little glimpse into the Chinese people" (Walt Disney Studios, 2020a). She also draws comparisons between the legend of Mulan and Joan of Arc: "I grew up with the stories of Fa Mulan. She is sort of like our Joan of Arc character" (Walt Disney Studios, 2020a).

What stands out here is not only that Ming-Na Wen mediates Chinese culture for Western audiences by comparing Mulan to French saint Joan of Arc, but also that despite the popular Disney animation bringing the Chinese legend of Mulan to the attention of wider audiences, this cultural mediation by likening to familiar Western figures is still deemed necessary to explain the tale of Mulan to Western audiences. Similar cultural mediation is seen when *The Hollywood Reporter* states, "the legend which originated in the fifth or sixth century CE, is a tale as familiar in China as the story of Joan of Arc or Paul Bunyan in the West" (Ford, 2020). This cultural mediation can also be found in French-language reviews and newspaper articles where Mulan is described as the "Jeanne d'Arc chinoise" [Chinese Joan of Arc] (Joudet, 2020).

Much of the critique of Disney's previous take on the Chinese legend has focused on the 'authenticity' of the animation's depiction of Chinese culture and its departures from historical versions of the legend (Xu & Tian, 2013; Yin, 2011; Tang, 2008; Chan, 2002). For instance, Jing Yin (2011) demonstrates how in Disney's animation

> the Chinese story of Mulan was decontextualised, deracinated, and displaced. Chinese cultural elements were stripped away to the extent that only the most superficial ones were strategically retained to ensure a façade of otherness. Stereotypical Chinese icons, such as the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, giant pandas, dragons, ancestor worship, and martial arts were used as mimicry of Chinese culture. These decorative elements, albeit tremendously superficial, inscribed a sense of authenticity in the film. (p.60)

With the studio's mission to release live-action adaptations of its popular animated classics for audiences of today, Disney appears to atone for and attempts to correct its past cultural insensitivities. Initially, Disney wanted an Asian filmmaker to direct the live-action adaptation, however, after film director Ang Lee declined, producer Bill Kong suggested widening the search to include non-Asian directors (Rosen, 2020). Despite not having an Asian director, the project remained committed to employing an all-Asian cast. Moreover, the crew further attest to the efforts made by the studio and production team to create a film that handles Chinese culture more respectfully than its predecessor. In a behind-the scenes featurette available on the streaming platform Disney+, director of *Mulan* (2020) Niki Caro states that "[her] intention was to honour and capture the spirit of the original ballad from the seventh century" and that her production team and film crew "did deep research into

Chinese painting, the history, cinema" (Walt Disney Studios, 2020b). This spirit of cultural authenticity is further evoked in the words of First Assistant Director Liz Tan, who adds "it's more about having a community on set that is diverse and reflects the community outside" (Walt Disney Studios, 2020b). However, it should be remembered that while Disney may have taken inspiration from a Chinese legend and Chinese culture, and strove to improve its portrayal of Chinese culture, the adaptation(s) it created inextricably belong to the company's own culture, i.e. mainstream US/Western culture. Caro herself was aware of this interplay between two cultures, as her comments in an interview with *The Hollywood Reporter* attest: "although it's a critically important Chinese story and it's set in Chinese culture and history, there is another culture at play here, which is the culture of Disney" (Ford, 2020).

In comparison to the animated version, the live-action remake of *Mulan* features not only significantly fewer culture-specific references, but also a smaller range of culture-specific references in the ST dialogue. One of the many stark departures from the animated original is the lack of references to food. Where the animation's dialogue included food from American-Chinese cuisine, the live-action's dialogue has no references to food or beverages. By omitting these references, the live-action *Mulan* dodges potential complaints of presenting another Americanised depiction of Chinese culture. From the interviews with the filmmakers, it is evident that they devoted a lot of time and effort to researching Chinese history and culture, and that they hoped to produce a Disney adaptation with a toned-down Americanisation of the Chinese tale. Despite this, Asian audiences still criticised the film's portrayal of Chinese culture. The *Los Angeles Times* reports that the 2020 remake was rated 4.7/10 on the Chinese movie rating site Douban, with one user writing "'The shell was Chinese but the soul was still foreign [...] it was a foreign, superficial understanding of China'" (Faughnder & Su, 2020). Mohamad Taufik Morshidi (2020) likens the film's treatment of the concept of Chi or Qi to *Star Wars* and the Force, asserting that "the problem lies with how the film tries to emulate Hong Kong & mainland China but it still ended up as an American film by the end of the day". It appears that even in its attempts to remove American cultural elements, *Mulan* (2020) ultimately presents audiences with an inherently Western/American imagining of Chinese culture. Another consideration is that the majority of the references to American Chinese cuisine in the animation are used for

comedic purposes, from Grandmother Fa's quip about the cantankerous matchmaker “Who spit in her bean curd?” to one recruit's order of "moo goo gai pan” in response to Chi-Fu's call for attention. In contrast, the live-action version eschews much of the light-hearted and humorous tone of the animation's dialogue, instead favouring action sequences.

Let us turn now to the culture-specific references that do feature in the live-action dialogue and their rendering in the French, German and Québécois TTs. The most frequent-occurring culture-specific reference is *chi* which appears in the ST dialogue a total of eleven times. *Chi* or *qi* is defined as "the circulating physical life-force whose existence and properties are the basis of much Chinese philosophy and medicine” (OED, n.d.). Due to a rise in popularity of Asian martial arts coupled with the success of Asian and Hollywood martial arts films, which made international stars out of martial artists such as Bruce Lee, Jackie Chan, Chuck Norris, and Jean-Claude Van Damme, many Western audiences may already be somewhat familiar with the concept of *chi*. This Mandarin word has entered the English, French, and German languages as a loanword. This third-culture ethnographic reference is retained across each of the TTs. The retention of the term *chi* across the TTs may appear to indicate a foreignizing approach in the translation, however, it is worth remembering that this term is similarly familiar within the target cultures. Furthermore, the TT dialogues’ representations of *chi* mirror that of the ST, rather than a portrayal which is more accurate to the Chinese concept, thus the US conceptualization of Chinese culture in the film is transferred to the target cultures.

The antagonists of the live-action *Mulan* are identified as Rourans, a nomadic group which ruled over much of “Inner and Central Asia in the fifth century” (Savelyev & Jeong, 2020, p. 7). Substituting the Rourans for the animation's Huns correlates with the filmmakers’ reported intentions of creating a more historically accurate adaptation. Jason Scott Lee, who plays leader of the Rouran tribes Böri Khan in the film, states:

> I think when they introduced the character of Böri Khan to me, I looked him up. I said ok, I wonder if this kid’s a real guy. And actually he was. There’s reference to him in a lot of the history of the Rouran, the Mongolian hordes and stuff, and the tribes. And I thought whoa, how fantastic if you take it into a realistic approach, that historical figure. (Walt Disney Studios, 2020c)

The portrayal of the Huns in the original animation drew criticism, so this alteration could also be viewed as an attempt to make amends for the inaccurate inclusion of Huns as antagonists of the Chinese Empire.

Unlike the previous two live-action remakes, *Mulan* (2020) exhibits clear departures from the blueprint of its animated predecessor. In an interview with *Business Insider*, composer for Disney's original *Mulan* (1998) Matthew Wilder states that director of the live-action version Niki Caro "wanted this movie to be different and not necessarily be a rubber-stamped version, if you will, of the animated film" (Acuna, 2020). Producer Jason Reed echoes these sentiments in an article from *The Hollywood reporter*: "To tell this story in a way that is more real, more relatable, where we don't have the benefit of the joke to hide behind things that might be uncomfortable and we don't break into song to tell us the subtext" (Ford, 2020). From the narrated lines which open the live-action film, the dialogue makes it clear that this version is one of many, thus acknowledging the hybrid roots of the text. Hua Zhou, Mulan's father, states "There have been many tales of the great warrior, Mulan. But, ancestors, this one is mine", a clear acknowledgment that Disney's live-action version is another in a long line of retellings of the legend. Furthermore, Disney's live-action *Mulan* takes as many liberties with their own animated musical version as their 1998 animated feature film took with older retellings of the 6th century transcription. This opening narration serves as a warning to fans that the live-action adaptation will diverge from its animated predecessor, but also it may not be any more accurate to older, Chinese retellings of the legend of Hua Mulan. And, perhaps counting on general public nostalgia for the Renaissance era animated films, Disney feels compelled to grant fans of *Mulan* concessions in the form of in-text elements that are popularly called 'easter eggs'. The audio elements that overtly allude to the songs from Disney's previous iteration of Mulan form intertextual references and simultaneously remind audiences of and prompts them to draw comparisons with the studio's animated version. These intertextual references to the songs of *Mulan* (1998) placed within Disney's *Mulan* (2020), are not always verbal. Some take the form of instrumental melodies, for example, an instrumental version of 'Reflection', one of the animated film's most popular songs, accompanies scenes from the live-action film such as when Mulan connects to her chi and when she decides to reveal her identity to her garrison. Elsewhere in the film, an instrumental version of 'Honour to

Us All' accompanies the montage scene of Mulan's extensive process of dressing and applying makeup for her upcoming visit to the local matchmaker. In the case of the three dubbed versions of the live-action adaptation, the background soundtrack is not altered, thus the melodies of 'Reflection' and 'Honour to Us All' are retained across the dubs, creating aural intertextual references to Disney's animated film for TL audiences and SL audiences alike. Within the dialogue of the film, four verbal allusions to the songs of *Mulan* (1998) appear. Table 5.9 shows each of the allusions as they appear in the dialogue of *Mulan* (2020) and the line(s) of songs they allude to.

Table 5.9 Mulan (2020) ST Intertextual References to Mulan (1998)

***Mulan* (2020) Dialogue**	***Mulan* (1998) Alluded Song, Lyrics**
I will bring honour to us all.	'**Honour to Us All**'
	you'll bring honour to us all
	Please bring honour to us, Please bring honour to us, Please bring honour to us, Please bring honour to us, Please bring honour to us all.
We're going to make men out of every single one of you.	'**I'll Make A Man Out Of You**'
	Mister, I'll make a man out of you
	Somehow, I'll make a man out of you
	How could I make a man out of you?
Tranquil as a forest but on fire within.	'**I'll Make A Man Out Of You**'
	Tranquil as a forest but on fire within
I don't care what she looks like […]	'**A Girl Worth Fighting For'**
I care what she cooks like	I couldn't care less what she'll wear or what she looks like/ It all depends on what she cooks like

When Mulan's parents announce that she will be taken to the matchmaker in order to find a husband, Mulan dejectedly agrees "yes, it is best. I will bring honour to us all", recalling the song 'Honour to Us All'. In the ST version of this song, the title 'Honour to Us All' becomes a refrain repeated throughout the song with "you'll bring honour to us all", a phrase that appears four times, and the final lines "Please bring honour to us/Please bring honour to us/ Please bring honour to us/ Please bring honour to us/ Please bring honour to us all". Later, when Mulan is at the recruit camp Sergeant Qiang and Commander Tung both make intertextual references to 'I'll Make a Man out of You' with the utterances "We're going to make men out of every single one of you" and "Tranquil as a forest but on fire within". In another scene, the recruits are eating round a table talking about Ling's match waiting for him back home. They begin talking about what they look for in women, to which Chien-Po loudly proclaims "I don't care what she looks like […] I care what she cooks like". This echoes the lines of 'A Girl Worth Fighting For' in the animated adaptation. Of course, not every audience member will identify these intertextual references; they appeal to the avid fan of a 30-year-old film rather than the youngest members of Disney's cinema audience. Yet, these overt and covert intertextual references are deliberately included by filmmakers in order to produce a desired effect upon audiences and remind them of songs from the studio's previous version of *Mulan*. Despite the opening narration underscoring the differences between the live-action film and its animated predecessor, *Mulan* (2020) still links the two versions, perhaps in the hopes of appealing to fans of the original, or perhaps to strengthen the connection between each adaptation.

Let us now turn to each TT individually (Table 5.10), considering the span of intertextual references to Disney's previous animated version's songs for their overall effect within their own text[2]. First, the French dub and its treatment of each of the five references. In the French dub, the intertextual reference uttered by Mulan is rendered as "Je promets de vous combler d'honneur", which recalls the refrain heard in the French dub of the animation "Tu nous combleras d'honneur". In the French translation of the 1998 song, the phrase "Tu nous combleras d'honneur" is heard thrice, and the crescendo lines

[2] The translation of I'll Make A Man Out Of You from *Mulan* (1998) has been analysed previously in my masters thesis Walters (2021)Translations Of Disney Songs:
An Analysis Of Translation Strategies Used To Dub Songs Into French And German.

are rendered as “Apporte honneur à tous/ Apporte honneur à tous/ Apporte honneur à tous/ Apporte honneur à tous/ à tous honneur et bonheur”. Therefore, the French TT dialogue “Je promets de vous combler d’honneur” recreates the intertextual reference of the ST by including an intertextual reference to the TL dub of Disney’s animated version of the story of Mulan, albeit one that is perhaps less overt to fans of the animation than the intertextual reference in the ST is. Nevertheless, the inclusion *Mulan* (2020) of dialogue alluding to Disney’s previous version of the Mulan tale indicates that, just as ST audiences are reminded of Disney’s previous iteration of the tale, audiences of the French dub may also be reminded of the TL version of the Disney animation.

Table 5.10 Mulan (2020) Intertextual References to Mulan (1998) in the TTs

***Mulan* (2020) ST Intertextual Reference**	***Mulan* (2020) French TT**	*Mulan* (1998) French Lyrics	***Mulan* (2020) Québécois TT**	*Mulan* (1998) Québécois Lyrics	**Mulan (2020) German TT**	*Mulan* (1998) German Lyrics
I will bring honour to us all.	Je promets de vous combler d’honneur [BT: I promise to shower you with honour]	Tu nous combleras d'honneur. [BT: You will shower us with honour]	Je vous apporterai honneur et fierté. [BT: I will bring you honour and pride]	Tu nous feras honneur à tous. [BT: You will bring honour to us all]	Ich bringe Ehre für das Haus. [BT: I will bring honour for the house]	Du bringst Ehre für das Haus [BT: You will bring honour for the house]
We’re going to make men out of every single one of you.	Nous ferons de vous des hommes. De chacun de vous un homme, en vrai. [BT : We are going to make men out of you. A man out	Je saurai faire de vrais hommes de vous [BT: I will make real	Nous ferons de vrais hommes de chacun de vous afin de défendre notre pays. [BT: We will make real men out of all of you to defend our country]	Je ferai de vous des hommes avant tout [BT: I will make men out of	Wir machen aus euch Männer, aus jedem einzelnem von euch. [BT: We’ll make men out of	Jeder wird hier zum Mann, sogar du [BT: Every one will

	of every one of you]	men out of you]		you first and foremost]	every single one of you]	become a man here, even you]
Tranquil as a forest but on fire within	Paisible comme la forêt, mais brûlant intérieurement [BT: Peaceful like the forest but burning inside]	Comme la flèche qui vibre/ Et frappe en plein cœur [BT: Like the arrow which quivers and hits right in the heart]	Paisible comme la forêt, mais brûlant intérieurement [BT: Peaceful like the forest but burning inside]	Soyez dur comme la pierre/ D'où jaillit l'étincelle [BT: Be hard like the stone where the spark shoots from]	Ruhig wie ein Wald aber in sich ein Feuer tragend. [BT: peaceful like a forest but carrying a fire within]	Augen wie ein Adler/ und ein Herz aus Stahl [BT: Eyes like an Eagle and a heart of steel]
I don't care what she looks like […] I care what she cooks like	Physiquement je m'en fiche […] Ce qui m'intéresse, c'est sa cuisine. [BT: physically I don't care. What I care about is her cooking]	Moi, qu'elle soit grosse ou qu'elle soit fine, je suis pas misogyne Du moment qu'elle fait la cuisine [BT : Whether she's fat or	Peu importe à quoi elle ressemble […] Tant qu'elle sait bien cuisiner [BT : It doesn't matter what she looks like. As long as she can cook well]	Qu'elle soit ta sœur ou la voisine ou bien ta cousine Ce qui importe c'est ce qu'elle cuisine [BT : Whether she's your sister, neighb	Sie kann wie ein Pferd aussehen […] Sie muss nur gut am Herd aussehen [BT: She can look like a horse. She only has to look good at the stove]	Mir ist egal, was sie so trägt und wie sie aussieht, / Wenn sie das Kochen nur nicht aufgibt [BT: I don't care what

		thin, I'm no misogynist As long as she does the cooking]		our or cousin What matters is whether she cooks]		she wears or looks like As long as she doesn't give up cooking]

It should be mentioned that when it comes to the French dubbed dialogue, the intertextual reference changes from overt in the ST to more covert in the TT, and as with the case of the French rendering of "tranquil as a forest but on fire within", the intertextual reference is lost through translation. Here, the TT rendering privileges a more direct translation of the ST dialogue rather than reproducing the intertextual reference to the French dub of the original Disney animated *Mulan*. In the Québécois dub of the live-action, Mulan states "je vous apporterai honneur et fierté" when told of the plans to take her to the matchmaker. The Québécois rendering constitutes a shift in translation from the ST, but the status of the line as an intertextual reference to the animated version is also altered through this process of translation. The Québécois version of the original animated film's song features the lines "Tu nous feras honneur à tous", "Oui, pour notre honneur à tous", and the final crescending lines "Brille pour l'honneur de tous". Because of the greater variation between the Québécois live-action line and the Québécois song lyrics, it is reasonable to conclude that this line of live-action dialogue does not constitute an intertextual reference within the Québécois TT. Table 5.10 shows the ST intertextual references alongside the Québécois TT renderings of the 2020 script. It also shows how these renderings lack the intertextual references associated with the Québécois version of the 1998 songs. A creative addition can be found with the rendering "Nous ferons de vrais hommes de chacun de vous afin de défendre notre pays", possibly emphasising loyalty to one's country. This addition implies a TC association between Chinese culture, obedience, and honour. These themes dominate

both animated and live-action versions and contribute to depictions of Chinese culture as one preoccupied with patriotic and familial honour.

Let us now turn to the German dub, which is perhaps more successful at recreating the intertextual reference in Mulan's dialogue when she tells her family "Ich bringe Ehre für das Haus". However, neither of the other intertextual references are recreated in the German TT. The elimination of the majority of the intertextual references across the TT versions could suggest that the dubbed versions of the songs are not as popular as the English originals, or perhaps the translators for the live-action remake simply did not recognise the ST intertextual references, since the TL lyrics tend to diverge from the SL lyrics. One striking shift in translation appears when the army recruit states "sie kann wie ein Pferd aussehen". The inclusion of this explicit animalisation of Chinese women carries misogynistic overtones which appear discordant with the post-MeToo climate which produced the film. This stark change from the ST and 1998 German lyrics portrays this Chinese character as misogynistic and could indicate a sense of cultural superiority on the part of the TC. Overall, the *Mulan* (2020) TTs feature considerably fewer allusions to its animated predecessor than the ST does, therefore the live-action TTs are presented as further away from the animated TT in comparison to the ST which provides audiences with little winks to the 1998 text.

In conclusion, each of the three live-action films analysed here exhibit greater cultural diversity and awareness, from Italian characters in *Beauty and the Beast* (2017) to casting choices in *Aladdin* (2019) and *Mulan* (2020), the removal of harmful stereotypes, and the inclusion of specific cultural elements such as Mulan's chi. Additionally, the shift to live-action has also impacted the casting choices, with Disney appointing actors who share a cultural heritage with those narrated in *Aladdin* (2019) and *Mulan* (2020). The inclusion of characters from a vast array of different cultures in the live-action *Aladdin* (2019) and *Beauty and the Beast* (2017) indicates an emphasis on the multicultural, where audiences can see elements from cultures spanning from the Middle East to India mingling on the streets of Agrabah, and hear British, American, French, and Italian voices during Belle's adventure from the village to the Beast's castle. However, such an approach can be interpreted as cultural erasure or rewriting to suit the narrating culture's views, particularly

in the latter example where the concentration of British and American accents makes little sense in a French setting. This approach echoes that exhibited in the animated versions and indicates that similar cultural values and attitudes remain at play even decades later. Similarly, the removal of all food and beverage CSRs in *Mulan* (2020) results in a somewhat blander depiction of Ancient China. In promotional material the studio emphasises the efforts it makes to engage with and portray such cultures with respect, be it undertaking more extensive research, consulting with organisations, or removing previous racist depictions for their live-action remakes. Despite these efforts, the live-action films are still met with criticism, which signals that the Disney Studio still has some way to go if it hopes to create mass media free from harmful stereotypes and cultural insensitivities. While Disney's recent films claim to have adapted their modes of cultural representation in recent years, attitudes that indicate cultural imperialism and superiority can still be identified in the films' subtleties. This chapter has shown that ultimately, the same cultural narratives are communicated throught the live-action versions and their translations.

Conclusion

The specificity of cultural representations within mass entertainment frequently presents a challenge to translators and since the cultural turn, post-colonial and post-feminist theories have influenced the field of audiovisual translation. Cultural Studies have established that cultural representations are heavily influenced by the narrating culture's perception of themselves and others. The international popularity of Disney animated and live-action feature films consistently results in the export of US-specific cultural perceptions to locations oversees. Sometimes target cultures are confronted with mainstream US perceptions of their own culture, raising questions about the mediation of these representations in the dubbed versions of Disney films. Target cultures also grapple with source and third culture references, presenting further translation challenges.

This thesis has explored the representation of culture within Disney's feature films and how the German and French-language dubbed versions handle these cultural portrayals in translation. By examining the renderings of CSRs, foreign language, accent, and dialect, we can see how the animated cultural depictions prioritise the audience's pre-existing and long-standing conceptions of various cultures, which often bear very little resemblance to the cultural reality. These *distorted cultural metonymies* are presented in a such a way that resembles a museum or tourist attraction, revealing a hypercultural approach to representation. This thesis demonstrates the influence of hyperculture on dubbed mass media, a premise which has not been fully considered in Translation Studies to date. Building on earlier paradigms in translation, this thesis advances knowledge of cultural representation and its negotiation through translation. Having been removed from their sites of context these cultural elements can only ever offer audiences engagement with other cultures on the shallowest of levels, like a cruise where tourists stop at destinations for an afternoon and travel no further than the port, where they find a moderated version of the local culture, packaged for their easy consumption. In order to appeal to these audiences and avoid alienating confrontations with other cultures, the films rely heavily on established stereotypes. Furthermore, the media of film and animation for mass entertainment also restrict the modes of representation. Timing constraints of cinematic narrative structure prompt many filmmakers to resort to stereotypes which allow for rapidly

understood characterisations, while the animated medium has a long history of incorporating stereotypes, be that as subversion or reinforcement. In most instances, the TTs demonstrate domesticating strategies in their renderings of Disney films and reinforce the shared perceptions of the narrated cultures. In some cases, translation actually allows the TT to be more self-referential than the ST by inserting SC CSRs as seen with *Hercules*. When it comes to translating TC references, the TTs frequently substitute more specific CSRs which carry greater significance for TC viewers.

Chapter Two began by summarising the critiques of *Mulan* (1998) and one of Disney's most controversial animated films *Aladdin* (1992). From that chapter's analysis, it is evident that the STs utilise US-centric stereotypes about the narrated cultures and simultaneously insert references to contemporary US culture, often with the implication that US culture is safer, more dynamic, and more relevant. In particular, the characters Mushu and the Genie support this. When these texts come to be translated, the TCs frequently reproduce the narrated cultures' distorted cultural metonymies, likely owing to the fact that the US conceptions of Middle Eastern and Chinese cultures were effectively inherited from older European Orientalism. Often, the TTs substitute other third culture CSRs, indicating hybrid flexibility, or in other words, mixing CSRs from distinct cultures in their portrayals of the narrated culture. In Chapter Three we turned to Disney's representation of US cultures in *Hercules* and *The Princess and the Frog*. Perhaps the most striking modifications were found in *Hercules'* German TT which substituted more specific US CSRs for the ST's more generalised references, which amplified the satirical tone of the film. The increased specificity of these references, as well as the retention of ST CSRs in both French dubs, can be understood as reactions to US cultural imperialism at the time. However, the TT dubs of *Princess and the Frog* tend to use generalisation by hypernym for the US CSRs in the ST. This discrepancy reveals which US cultures are exported and thus deemed familiar to TC audiences. More specifically, it can be concluded that Black Southern and Cajun cultures are omitted from US cultural imperialism since a number of these CSRs were omitted, generalised by hypernym, and even substituted with CSRs from distinct cultures. Chapter Four asked how TTs respond to *distorted cultural metonymies* of their own culture in translation, concluding that the French dubs of *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1996) replaced the ST CSRs with more specific

ones from French culture, thus indicating that the French dubs altered the references in order to appeal to and perhaps more authentically represent the TC. Perhaps the most challenging aspect of dubbing *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) is the linguistic diversity exhibited by Lumière and the Featherduster. In the ST their contrived French accents differentiate them from the other characters who speak with US and British English accents. The French dub overcomes this by creatively giving Lumière and Featherduster exaggeratedly marked speech. In the TT, Featherduster has a noticeable lisp and Lumière has a titi accent, effectively othering him from the other characters who feature more standardised French accents.

Chapter Five tackled the updated portrayals in three of Disney's live-action remakes, arguing that the international shifts and growing consciousness of how cultures are depicted in mass media has influenced the Disney Studio's approach to cultural representation. We saw that the narrated cultures were handled with greater care and harmful stereotypes were removed in most cases. The shift from animation to live-action, alongside the increased awareness of cultural representation in mass media, has greatly impacted how Disney portrays culture within its films and how the studio markets its screen products. With the proliferation of digital media and social media networks, critiques of cinematic cultural portrayals are amplified, preserved, and more readily accessible. Disney audiences, and often those who normally choose to avoid Disney media, now find themselves in a perpetual online discourse where minor elements are dissected and, as evidenced by the public response to *Beauty and the Beast*'s (2017) "exclusively gay moment", overemphasised. With Disney's history of harmful and racist portrayals, it is clear that conversations around cultural representation in mass media should, and need to, continue. However, the digital landscape in which we currently find ourselves is not always conducive to meaningful discussion or change.

Let us now revisit the four research questions presented in chapter one:

1. How are depictions of cultural difference rendered in the French and German-language dubs of Disney feature films?
2. What translation strategies can be observed, and how do these translations influence the cultural representation present in the TTs?

3. What happens to source and target culture references in translation?
4. As the Disney Studio revisits many of its animated classics through live-action remakes, how are cultures depicted in both the STs and TTs given cultural shifts in values and attitudes towards representation on screen?

First, I have demonstrated that cultures are typically depicted in weightless terms and are predominantly distanced from their original contexts to be served up to the consumer as part of a multicultural smorgasbord. Audiences are encouraged to mix-and-match each cultural ingredient as the distinct flavours meld together. At the surface level, hyperculture may appear to be a propelling force behind increased cultural diversity in mass media, however, the hypercultural machine tends to operate at surface level only. Its representations and tendency to draw arbitrary connections between distinct cultures reveals a continuation of older, problematic attitudes towards other cultures. When it comes to reproducing linguistic difference, the TTs replicate this othering effect by employing marked TL and third language accents. One particularly noteworthy example can be observed in the character Lumière who is differentiated from the majority of the other characters in *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and (2017) by using a temporally distant accent in the animated French TT, and an exaggerated French accent in both German versions and the live-action French TT.

Second, the TT dubs analysed in this thesis indicate that this hypercultural framework is reproduced for TC audiences, suggesting that the TCs share similar perspectives on culture(s). Many of the CSRs were reproduced in the TTs using the strategies of retention or direct translation which revealed that the cultural narratives between the TCs are fairly similar. Additionally, the prevalence of substitution of third culture reference as a translation strategy across the corpus of TTs implies that individual cultures are considered as interchangeable, which is especially problematic when there is a historic or current power imbalance between narrating and narrated cultures. Another common translation strategy is that of creative addition. In many cases, creative addition was employed to insert more specific CSRs relating to the TC or third cultures. However, on a few occasions, creative addition was observed introducing SC references to the TTs.

Shifting to question three now, the majority of cases of creative addition were found in *Hercules* and *The Princess and the Frog,* where US culture serves as a significant theme. This indicates that US popular culture is familiar enough to TC audiences that US CSRs would feature throughout the TT versions. In fact, the German dub of *Hercules* features more explicit US CSRs than those in the original ST. Perhaps it is the very geographical and cultural distance between USA and Germany that permitted the translators to explicitly reference Disneyland in relation to the film's villains.

Finally, the live-action films show that multicultural diversity on screen may have increased but the representation remains weightless. The framework of hyperculture offers some explanation for this weightless representation, as cultural artefacts are ultimately decontextualised, which hinders attempts at meaningful cultural representation. Disney attempts to rewrite its previous stereotypical portrayals for contemporary audiences by casting actors from diverse cultural backgrounds and omitting harmful depictions. However, the preceding analysis reveals that the studio continues to present Western narratives of the cultures it depicts which are limited in their scope. The TT versions replicate these because, as their translation strategies reveal, the TCs similarly view culture(s) through the hypercultural framework.

In response to the hypotheses proposed in chapter one, I have established that while the TT dubs are restricted to the isochrony dictated by the ST, they exhibit greater freedom in regard to phonetic synchrony. Undoubtedly, the less precise lip movements associated with the animated medium liberate the TTs, allowing for creative additions and substitutions of CSRs. This reduced isochrony allows the translators to imbue their dubs with CSRs that appeal directly to their TC audiences. Rather than producing translations which are close to the ST, the TTs display creative additions and substitutions which point towards the influence of TC narratives of culture(s). In terms of whether SC attitudes and values are transferred to the TC through translation, it appears that the TTs are mostly imbued with their own cultural values. For example, the French dub of *The Princess and the Frog* substitutes a French Caribbean CSR in place of the US CSR, strikingly revealing that even when the film is explicitly set in a real-world US location, the French TT still privileges its TC cultural values and perspective. Overall, the majority of TT renderings

demonstrated domesticating strategies, and in cases where SC CSRs were translated using foreignising strategies, their function was to underline the SC themes in the film.

Before discussing potential future research pathways, it is worthwhile summarising the strategies employed by each TL and presenting an overview of the key implications of hyperculture. In general, the Québécois dubs exhibited more direct translation than the French and German dubs, perhaps as a result of the geopolitical proximity of English and Québécois within their Canadian context. They also featured fewer creative additions than the French and German TTs. The majority of the CSRs were replicated through retention and direct translation. The French and German TTs exhibited greater freedom and more frequent modifications to fit their respective TC values. Linguistic diversity was perhaps the most challenging aspect of cultural representation due to the specificity of dialect and accent. Yiddish words and phrases were commonly neutralised across all TLs and none of the TTs recreated elements of AAVE in their dubs. While the Québécois dubs tend to utilise a standardised form of the TL and the German dubs occasionally inject informal elements of speech, the French dubs are by far the most creative in utlising informal language and slang for the comedy side characters. In summary, the strategies used indicate the hypercultural approach of the ST is echoed in the TTs. This suggests that attitudes toward culture(s) and the hyperculture framework extend across cultures in North America and France and Germany. Further comprehensive analysis of other languages would indicate just how pervasive hyperculture is around the world and add to the repertoire of research into Spanish, Portuguese, and Arabic dubs of Disney films. Similar comparative qualitative studies could attempt to comprehend the approaches in South and Central America and Europe, as well as the Middle East and North Africa.

Undeniably, Disney has made real changes in its approach to cultural representation. Since their first Black princess in *The Princess and the Frog*, Disney and Disney Pixar studios have showcased more racial and cultural diversity in films such as *Moana* (dirs. Musker & Clements, 2016), *Coco* (dir. Unkrich, 2017), *The Lion King* (dir. Favreau, 2019), *Frozen 2* (dirs. Buck & Lee, 2019), *Soul* (dir. Docter, 2020), *Raya and the Last Dragon* (dirs. López Estrada & Hall, 2021), *Encanto* (dirs. Bush & Howard, 2021), *Turning Red* (dir. Shi, 2022), and *Wish* (dirs. Buck & Veerasunthorn, 2023). Disney's era of live-action remakes may

exhibit a greater awareness of the shifting attitudes and values towards the modes of cultural representation deployed in popular culture, however, the films are still imbued with a hypercultural approach, in which culture is still sprinkled throughout the texts as little more than decorative whiffs of the narrated cultures. Ultimately, the principal takeaway of this research is the role hyperculture plays not only in ST portrayals of culture(s), but also in the translation of these depictions for other audiences. The hypercultural ethos produces translations which perpetuate shallow, and at times problematic, treatments of distinct cultures. For example, the frequent substitution of third culture references expose the narrating culture's perceived equivalence between individual cultures. In this world view, cultural artefacts are decentred (removed from their contextual origins) and dedistanced (the cultural and sociopolitical distance between individual cultures is reduced). This presentation recalls the 'because you watched… you might enjoy…' suggestions on streaming platforms where arbitrary links are drawn between a disparate range of content.

The interweaving of Disney studies with translation studies presents a promising avenue for future research into the depiction and movement of cultural images through mass media entertainment. Moreover, Disney's post-2010 output of animated films broadens the scope of world cultures depicted by the major animation studio, as well as any subsequent analyses of cultural representation within an American mass media corporation. Latin American, Asian, and Polynesian characters feature prominently in the following: *Big Hero 6* (dirs. Hall & Williams, 2014), *Moana*, *Raya and the Last Dragon*, *Encanto*, *Wish*, and *Moana 2* (dirs. Derrick Jr., Hand & Ledoux Miller, 2024). Walt Disney Studios' subsidiary division Pixar similarly released *Coco* and *Turning Red*, presenting images of Mexican and Chinese-Canadian culture, while the upcoming live-action *Moana* (Kail, 2026) will (re)depict Polynesian culture.

Disney's ongoing engagement with an ever-expanding range of cultures also presents an opportunity for further in-depth investigations into the studio's evolving approaches to cultural representation for mass entertainment over the decades. Future research opportunities also include comprehensive examination of less significant cultural representations, such as those exhibited by minor characters, be they the culturally Othered canine characters in *Lady and the Tramp* (dirs. Luske, Geronimi & Jackson, 1955) or *Oliver*

and Company (dir. Scribner, 1988), the Siamese cats included in both *Lady and the Tramp* and *The Aristocats* (dir. Reitherman, 1970), or minor characters like Louis the French chef in *The Little Mermaid* (dirs. Clements & Musker, 1989) or Mole in *Atlantis: The Lost Empire* (dirs. Trousdale & Wise, 2001).

Additionally, with many Disney animated features taking inspiration from classic literature, such as *Oliver and Company*, (dir. Scribner, 1988), *Alice in Wonderland* (dirs. Geronimi, Jackson & Luske, 1951), *Peter Pan* (dirs. Luske, Geronimi & Jackson, 1953), *One Hundred and One Dalmatians* (dirs. Reitherman, Luske & Geronimi, 1961), *The Jungle Book* (dir. Reitherman, 1967), Disney's *Winnie-the-Pooh* franchise (1977-2011), *Hunchback* and *Mulan*, one potential research pathway could draw on Adaptation studies and Evan-Zohar's Polysystem Theory to examine the relationship between previous TL translations of literary texts and the TTs of Disney's versions of the same tales. More precisely, in the TL dubs of Disney films, which text is privileged: the film ST or established TL translations of the literary text? And what can be deduced about the prominence of both the literary source material and Disney's adaptations in the TC? One pertinent example briefly touched on in chapter four concerns the French and Québécois title of Disney's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. In both TL versions, the film is titled *Le Bossu de Notre-Dame*, a significant departure from the original title of Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame de Paris,* implying a certain distance from the original source material and closer alignment with Disney's animated adaptation.

Hyperculture may have forgotten the origins and sites of context of these cultural elements and stereotypes, but the consumers have not, hence the continued pushback against shallow and intentionally ambiguous portrayals of culture in mass media. Here, we can find reassurance in Philip K. Dick's (1978/2024) insistence that consumers "cannot be compelled to be what they are not" (p. 108). Whatever the behemoths of mass entertainment decide we are, we can take comfort in the knowledge that our cultural realities are in constant motion and far from being as static as mass media depictions portray them to be. The recent commercial and critical successes of mass media centring on traditionally under- and problematically represented communities, as well as the increased popular discussion of representation on screen, indicate that major studios are

conscious of the impact of cultural representation on audiences and, by extension, companies's profits. Furthermore, diverse representation at the level of filmmakers is improving, with people belonging to traditionally othered cultures now having more opportunities to shape the stories on screen as directors, producers, and writers. With continued critique of depictions within mass media and their implications for real-world attitudes towards cultural groups, the outlook for further developments in mass media representation is hopeful.

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