

Uncovering the Norms of Subtitling Taboo Language Into Arabic: *Two and a Half Men* From Past to Present

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Abstract—Subtitling of obscene language has been the subject of extensive study in the field of audio-visual translation. Nevertheless, most studies have primarily focused on collecting quantitative and qualitative data concerning translation strategies, often overlooking the critical dimension of subtitling norms. Attempting to discern these norms presents substantial methodological challenges, as they are not readily observable. This research addresses this significant gap by meticulously observing and analyzing the norms in English-to-Arabic subtitling of taboo language within a corpus of TV episodes subtitled by independent translators on DVDs spanning the years 2003 to 2015. Through this investigation, we propose a novel methodology for comprehending the dynamic nature of translation norms and their evolution over time. Our analysis provides valuable insights into the prevalent subtitling strategies employed during two distinct historical periods, specifically 2003 and 2015. Furthermore, this research endeavors to establish a plausible norm for subtitling taboo language in the context of English-to-Arabic translation within the specified timeframes. The findings of this study not only enrich the field of audiovisual translation academically but also offer practical insights that empower practitioners with a deeper understanding of the prevailing subtitling norms. This knowledge equips them to make informed decisions during the subtitling process, ultimately enhancing the accessibility and cultural resonance of audiovisual content on a global scale.

Index Terms—audio-visual translation, taboo language, norms, translation strategies

I. INTRODUCTION

It is difficult enough to translate cultural allusions connected to taboos without the added difficulty of spatial and chronological limits. Previous studies showed that audio-visual translation AVT is often toned down in translation using euphemism or deletion, especially when space and time are at a premium (Ávila Cabrera, 2015). Space and scheduling limits sometimes necessitate reducing the impact of potentially harmful or taboo language while subtitling. However, there is an exclamatory function to this language which helps the listener get a sense of the speaker's quirks and personality, and it may also be employed gratuitously for insults (Allan, 2014). Jay (2000) admits that there are several causes of inappropriate language. In his view, forbidden expression is 'never chaotic, meaningless, or arbitrary behaviour, but rather intentional and rule-governed' (Jay, 2000, p. 22).

This is why eliminating such language components may not always be the ideal approach. As Daz Cintas and Remael (2007) point out, the translation of a taboo term 'depends on the context and how it is perceived' (2007, p. 199), as it is tied to local communities and customs and utilised differently depending on the specific religious and social milieu. If you remove swear words from a text, you risk losing the 'communicative effect and social implicature' (Greenall, 2011, p. 60) and silencing the 'other', or someone who does not adhere to standard speech (Daz Cintas & Remael, 2007). Offensive language and taboo terms help define characters and advance plots (Daz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 197), but their translation may be difficult to pin down.

Tackling taboo words and phrases might be challenging, but they are still essential to understanding cultures, communities, and languages. Dáz Cintas puts it perfectly when he calls the translation of taboo language 'one of the most difficult challenges' in this area (2001, p. 51). This is mostly because subtitling involves several additional considerations, such as translating from one medium to another.

For that reason, we built on research in the field and examined whether the degree of toning down of taboo language stayed the same from 2003 and 2015. This research aimed to answer the following questions: 1. What were the strategies

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employed in translating taboo language from English into Arabic in *Two and a Half Men* in 2003 and 2015? 2. Did the norm of toning down the taboo language change over time?

It is important to investigate the written form of offensive and forbidden terminologies as they may profoundly affect the readers/audience (Daz Cintas, 2001). Moreover, certain approaches should be used when subtitling depending on the target culture and language, such as the Arabic language. Subtitling audio-visual material is a complex task that requires a wide range of skills and approaches from translators, all of which are relevant to our investigation.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Taboo Language

A taboo term or phrase is one ‘whose usage is limited or banned by social custom’ (Daz-Cintas & Remael, 2021, p. 181). This is because ‘taboo words are typically defined as unpleasant or ugly-sounding and why they are misclassified filthy words’; they are ideas and phrases deemed disparaging, harsh, and offensive (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 242). Offensive language (Dáz Cintas, 2012; Hughes, 2006), emotionally charged language (Daz Cintas & Remael, 2007), rude language (Hughes, 2006), taboo language (Jay, 2009), bad language (McEnery, 2006), foul language (Azzaro, 2005), and strong language (Scandura, 2004) are all terms that refer to taboo words. Due to this discrepancy in terminology, the phrase ‘taboo language’ (Ávila Cabrera, 2015) has been used as an umbrella term for any expression that might be seen as offensive, inappropriate, or otherwise unacceptable.

Based on the previous literature (Ljung, 2011; Jay, 2009; Hughes, 2015; Allan, 2018), taboo language can be classified under the following categories:

- a) Death: Taboos related to death.
- b) Name calling: Defining terms that refer to race or ethnicity.
- c) Religion: Words and phrases deemed profane due to their association with a certain religion.
- d) Cursing: Swear words, terms related to sexual and other forbidden topics, terms referring to body excrement, and other filthy language are all included.
- e) Sex: Reproductive systems, body parts, and behaviours fall under this umbrella.

Due to social and cultural considerations, it is illegal in some nations to use certain curse words and forbidden phrases. Movies often face backlash for their obscene language and taboo topics, including sexuality, the human body and its functions, and insulting characters and audiences (Chen, 2022). Working with taboo language often involves accepting it as inherent to the culture and responding to it as such (Almijrab, 2020). Therefore, the strategies for subtitling culturally bound terms proposed by Pedersen (2011) have been adopted by several studies on culture (Yuan, 2015; Ávila-Cabrera, 2015; Abdelaal, 2019).

Pedersen (2011) summarises translation methods from the audio-visual translation literature. He maintains that a good taxonomy of subtitling procedures requires a baseline of tactics that may be generalised or defined based on the goals of each translation project. This baseline is comprised of six strategies: direct translation, specification, retention, generalisation, omission, and substitution.

- Direct translation is maintaining all ST characteristics while switching the language used to express them.
- Specification is providing more information in the TT, making it more precise than the ST original.
- Retention is retaining the foreign phrase or word in the TT.
- Generalisation is using a more general phrase or term in the TT.
- Omission is deleting the ST word or expression from the TT.
- Substitution is replacing the ST word or expression with its equivalent in the TT.

Following Almijrab (2020), we can further classify these strategies under two wider dichotomies: euphemism and dysphemism. Euphemism refers to using a more polite alternative to a term/phrase that may be seen as unpleasant in the target language. The use of fewer swear words and other profanities is also part of the plan. Euphemism is ‘softening’, as Nida (2000) describes, since it mitigates a term’s negative connotations and emotional impact. The use of euphemisms, a linguistic device common to both spoken and written discourses, is widespread. English-Arabic translation is heavily influenced by euphemism. Generalisation, substitution, and omission fall under euphemism. Conversely, the employment of a negative or offensive phrase in place of a neutral or positive one is known as dysphemism. Retention, specification, and direct translation fall under dysphemism (Nida, 2000).

B. Norms in Translation

Descriptive translation lays the groundwork for constructing the ‘decision-making process involved in translation, and the norms operative in translation’, which is necessary to study translations as cultural realities (Kruger, 2012, p. 103). The translated text ‘should be the starting point for any descriptive investigation’ (Hermans, 1985, p. 13).

Finding and describing norms is crucial to any empirical study in descriptive translation studies (DTS) because ‘under the descriptive paradigm, norms represent the initial level of abstraction and the first step towards an explanation of the choices and judgments which translators make’ (Hermans, 1999, p. 79). Specifically, this is accomplished using a backwards-looking methodology that examines translations as the final results of norm-governed behaviour.

Toury (1995) maintains that text analysis is the superior technique for discovering customs. You start with a text and attempt to generalise; next, you add other texts and test your generalisations; finally, if your results are consistent, you may have discovered a norm. From a scientific perspective, a 'norm' may be either a consistent pattern of behaviour or the underlying process that produces that pattern. There are psychological and social components of the process. It acts as a go-between between the group's beliefs, values, and preferences and the individual's intents, selections, and actions (Hermans, 1999, p. 80).

What translators do and how they tackle an issue are codified in norms, which encapsulate the profession's collective wisdom (Toury, 1995). According to Hermans (1999), translation norms serve as a roadmap and decision-making aid. The underlying assumption is that translation is a social behaviour since it is a type of communication. Translators may rely on norms instead of coming up with novel approaches to problems. A translator's conduct is considered proof of norm-governed behaviour when it exhibits regularities shared with other translators, i.e. s/he follows the same standards as the rest of the team.

According to Toury (1995), norms advise translators on the most suitable approach for every scenario. The tactics used throughout the translation process may be reconstructed from the final translation. On the other hand, they are not orders. They are, rather, choices; they are approaches to the issue of translation. In the ST, the translator may encounter a controversial term that necessitates a choice. Now, consciously or unconsciously, s/he may interpret the ST message in various ways. Strategies like generalisation, specification, and omission fall under this category. Various options for dealing with the problem are presented to the translator through tactics (Toury, 1995).

Toury (1995) claims that in order to establish norm validity, a large sample size of linked pairs must be examined. Therefore, this study examined many taboo words and expressions from the ST and TT in two different periods to learn whether the norm in subtitling taboo language differed over time.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Since Pedersen's (2011) and Daz-Cintas and Remael's (2007) extralinguistic cultural references give a solid foundation upon which to build a taxonomy of forbidden-language subtitles, several researchers have used their subtitling methodologies of culture-bound terminology. Dabbas and Haider (2020) studied the challenges of translating the American animated comedy *Family Guy* into Arabic, focusing on the subtitling strategies for cultural allusions such as taboo and curse words. They concluded that there are limitations on how freely they may be utilised. The audience's characteristics limit what may be spoken. Due to these limitations, the translator has to make choices like using euphemistic language or leaving out details. Parallel research was conducted by Almijrab (2020) to determine how well taboo terms and phrases translate into other languages. In light of the Islamic upbringing of the majority of the Arab audience, he reasoned that euphemism was the best approach when translating forbidden terms. Al-Yasin and Rabab'ah (2019) compared the Arabic subtitling of American hip-hop films with their original English dialogue to determine whether the connotations of prohibited phrases were preserved (AVT). Cultural differences between English and Arabic likely led to the adoption of omission and euphemism as translation strategies by Arab amateur subtitling teams.

These prior studies analysed offensive language in subtitled versions of popular media such as movies and television. They showed that euphemisms and omissions are often employed to replace offensive language. To this end, Daz-Cintas and Remael affirm that emotionally charged language, or taboo language (Daz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, 2021), is often diluted in AVT through the use of euphemisms or eliminated if time and space are limited (Daz-Cintas & Remael, 2007, 2021, p. 189). This idea is supported by several additional studies (such as Han & Wang, 2014; Lie, 2013) on the presentation of forbidden language in AVT. Though Daz-Cintas and Remael make a bold assertion, some research contradicts them. More than half of the time, the amount of curse words grows, while omission and toning down only account for 13.88%, according to an analysis of 412 pairs of curse words in 4 series (*Eyewitness*, *Brothers & Sisters*, *Chicago PD*, and *The IT Crowd*) by Valdeón (2020). In addition to euphemism and omission, Alsharhan (2020) outlined many other subtitling procedures to convert forbidden language into Arabic.

Recent analyses of reception (e.g. Briechele & Eppler, 2019) and comparison studies (e.g. Al Adwan & Yahiaoui, 2018; Dore & Petrucci, 2019; Al-Jabri et al., 2021; He, 2018) shone light on the topic of forbidden language in the audio-visual medium. For example, Al Adwan and Yahiaoui (2018) analysed the challenges faced by Arab subtitlers when translating amusing scenes involving sexuality. They used DTS to analyse the Arabic subtitling of the American comedy *Two and a Half Men* and found that the language was almost unchanged. They concluded that this sitcom's taboo humour, which depends on sexuality and other 'distasteful issues', such as curse words and provocative bodily functions, presents a formidable challenge for translators. In addition, they discovered that Arab subtitlers often use the same tactics when dealing with potentially humiliating or inappropriate comedic moments for Arab audiences.

He (2018) looked at Chinese subtitles for 51 English films and came to the same conclusion, saying that the fan-dubbed version 'transferred a greater severity of profanity than the professional subtitlers' version' (p. 80). After comparing an identical American TV show in Italian with dubbed, subtitled, and fansub versions in Italian, Dore and Petrucci (2021) broke out of the 'toning down or not' dichotomy and observed the diverse approaches to harsh language in each of these versions. They attributed this to the ease with which both professional and amateur subtitling may be used.

Research on audio-visual translation in the Arab world has grown rapidly over the last decade, although it has only touched on a few cultural and linguistic difficulties (Adwan & Yahiaoui, 2018). Also, research on subtitling comedic

audio-visual content into Arabic is lacking. Moreover, little research has examined translation strategies and norms in subtitling taboo language, and none has examined them in two different time periods or even explained translation norms through different variables.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This study used a parallel corpus based on the American TV show *Two and a Half Men* to address the research questions. Original airdates ranged from 22 September 2003 to 19 February 2015. We gathered the data from the first 10 episodes of the first season and the first 10 episodes of the final season, both in Arabic subtitles and English ST. Considering the inflammatory nature of the series, it seemed like a good candidate for a case study. It includes prostitution, lesbianism, copious sex, drug usage, and even mockery of religious beliefs.

To ensure that the subtitling of the same series happened at two different times, the older subtitling was collected from DVDs sold around 14 years ago, while the newer subtitling was taken from recent DVDs. All episodes were translated by different freelance translators, as mentioned at the end of each episode.

The extraction of taboo language was done by hand, mostly because of the specific kinds of taboo language use that this research aimed to examine. The target was prohibited language, not just particular swear words or ideas. This ruled out a fully automated search for keywords. Furthermore, there were cases where the banned phrase was not expressly stated in the ST but was more clearly stated in the TT subtitles. Sometimes, the ST used metaphorical language whose connotation was deemed inappropriate. Consequently, hand extraction provided the most accurate findings, ensuring that no instances of prohibited language were missed.

This study applied a comparative analysis following Toury's (1995) methodology for DTS. It compared the TT and ST to examine the strategies adopted in subtitling using the euphemism and dysphemism dichotomies. Moreover, since Pedersen's (2011) taxonomies in subtitling taboo language are frequently used for professional subtitling, including DVD production and TV broadcasting (Chen, 2022), we used them in our analysis. We identified particular norms during these two different time periods. Consequently, the TTs were compared with the STs for shifts to identify 'relationships between "coupled pairs" of ST and TT segments' (Munday, 2001, p. 112).

V. DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, AND DISCUSSION

When analysing translation strategies in the corpus, we adopted Pedersen's (2011) taxonomies in subtitling taboo language, which are based on some of the mainstream subtitling strategies for culture-specific items, as taboo language is considered part of culture.

Following Toury's model of norms, this study used his three-stage methodology. First, we identified translation strategies by examining STs and their translations. Following this, we drew a parallel between STs and TTs by transposing the corresponding segments of the target text into the corresponding parts of the source text. Finally, we generalised the norms of translational equivalence, the translational models used in the target language, based on the patterns revealed by translators and translation shifts (Toury, 1995, pp. 36–39, 102).

Table 1 presents examples of taboo language from season one of *Two and a Half Men*, translated using different strategies of euphemism and dysphemism.

TABLE 1
EXAMPLES OF TABOO LANGUAGE FROM SEASON ONE

ST	TT	Strategy Adopted	Euphemism/ dysphemism	Back Translation
Meeting chicks	تواعد الحسنات	Generalization	Euphemism	Meeting beautiful ladies
I will kick your ass	سأرفسك	Omission	Euphemism	I will kick you
Do you want to have sex?	هل تريد ان تمارس الحب؟	Substitution	Euphemism	Do you want to make love?
Oral sex	الجنس الفموي	Direct translation	dysphemism	Oral sex

Table 2 presents examples of taboo language from season 12 of *Two and a Half Men*, translated using different strategies of euphemism and dysphemism.

TABLE 2
EXAMPLES OF TABOO LANGUAGE FROM SEASON TWELVE

ST	TT	Strategy Adopted	Euphemism/dysphemism	Back Translation
Pick up chicks	تعاشر الجميلات	specification	dysphemism	Having sex with beautiful ladies
Hot women	نساء جميلات	substitution	Euphemism	Beautiful women
Whose penis is too large	لديهم قضيب كبير	Direct translation	dysphemism	He has a large penis
The hot nurse	المرضة	Omission	Euphemism	The nurse
Vagina	الاعضاء الانثوية	generalization	Euphemism	Female organs

From season 1, 69 instances of taboo language were taken from the first 10 episodes. Based on the authors' analysis, 33 out of 69 instances were euphemised, and subtitlers' strategies included generalisation, substitution, and omission. Thirty-six out of 69 instances were dysphemism, with subtitlers using direct translation in all instances. This means that subtitlers used 52.2% dysphemism and 47.8% toned-down taboo language. However, in season 12, only 11 out of 45 extracted instances of taboo language were euphemised. Subtitlers adopted 24.4% euphemism in comparison to 75.5% dysphemism. This means that the subtitlers of season 12 adopted less euphemism than those of season 1.

As shown in Table 3 and 4, subtitlers' strategies were either mainly direct translation for dysphemism or substitution and generalisation for euphemism. This means that they adopted the same strategies but with different frequencies. This indicates a particular norm at play among the subtitlers of seasons 1 and 12.

TABLE 3
RESULTS OF DTS- SEASON ONE

Season one/ Strategies adopted	Frequency		Percentage
Substitution	18	Euphemism	47.8%
Generalization	14		
Omission	1		
Direct translation	36	Dysphemism	52.2%

TABLE 4
RESULTS OF DTS- SEASON TWELVE

Season twelve / Strategies adopted	Frequency		Percentage
Substitution	5	Euphemism	24.5%
Generalization	5		
Omission	1		
Direct translation	31	Dysphemism	75.5%
Specification	3		

Based on the findings of this study, it is clear that there is a significant shift in the subtitlers' approach to dealing with taboo language between seasons 1 and 12 of the studied TV series. Season 1 had a very equal use of euphemism and dysphemism, with a slight preference for dysphemism at 52.2% versus 47.8% for euphemism. This result can be interpreted as an attempt to conform to societal norms and maintain cultural propriety of the Arabic culture.

However, this tendency changed dramatically in season 12, when subtitlers overwhelmingly preferred dysphemism, using it in 75.5% of situations, while euphemism played a minor role, accounting for only 24.4% of the cases. This movement highlights the changing nature of subtitling norms through time, which may be influenced by changes in cultural standards, viewer expectations, the changing dynamics of television censorship or other external factors. This shift over time may be attributed to the increased and greater acceptance of direct and explicit language in the media.

Table 3 and 4 present the subtitlers' selected norms for dealing with taboo words. Direct translation for dysphemism and substitution/generalization for euphemism were clearly the two key strategies adopted across both seasons. The subtitlers' continuous use of these strategies shows the existence of a distinct norm or convention that they adhere to throughout both seasons. This discovery raises important concerns about the underlying variables impacting subtitler decisions, such as the sensitivities of the intended audience, the broadcasting network's expectations, or even linguistic complexities in the Arabic language, as direct translation may be viewed as a more straightforward and transparent approach to maintaining the original message's impact.

Overall, these insights on the changing patterns of subtitling strategies and norms highlight the dynamic character of audiovisual translation practices as well as the complicated interplay between language accuracy and cultural adaptation in the industry. The evolving subtitling norms identified in this study not only reflect changes in societal attitudes but also

highlight the dynamic interaction between language, culture, and the translation process. Understanding these shifts within the context of the Arabic language and culture is essential for audiovisual translation practitioners, emphasizing the significance of adaptability and cultural sensitivity in delivering content that effectively resonates with Arabic-speaking audiences.

These findings offer valuable insights for both the field of audiovisual translation and the broader domain of cross-cultural communication. That is, the observed shift in subtitling norms during the analysed historical eras emphasizes the fluid character of translation conventions. This implies that subtitlers must adapt their strategies to changing cultural sensibilities and audience expectations in order to ensure effective communication. The study also emphasizes the importance of conducting more research into the delicate interplay between linguistic fidelity and cultural adaptation in subtitling, since it has consequences for keeping the integrity of source information while making it culturally relevant to target audiences.

Furthermore, the methodology proposed in this work for understanding translation norms, even when they cannot be directly observed, provides a useful tool for researchers investigating similar topics in various linguistic and cultural contexts. Finally, these findings encourage reflection on the ever-changing nature of translation processes and the significance of remaining aware of the societal forces that drive them.

VI. CONCLUSION

This study yielded original findings and provided insights into the norms of subtitling taboo language from English into Arabic. Using a DTS approach, we examined how taboo language was translated in two different time periods. Based on the findings, it would appear that dysphemism strategies were more used over time.

The research provided important insights into the changing norms for subtitling obscene language in English-to-Arabic translation. It not only documented the prevalent strategies used over the two historical periods, but it also suggested a possible normative trajectory for this unique translation environment. These findings help us understand the dynamic nature of audiovisual translation techniques, as well as the importance of considering norms in subtitling. Using larger samples over different time periods can clearly identify norms and their changes over time. Researchers can use our findings to embark on further research in the field of audio-visual translation. They can identify translators' tendencies and approaches in translating audio-visual material, leading to future revisions of subtitling practices. Moreover, future studies can go further in the investigation of changing norms and closely examine subtitlers' behaviour based on Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the field of cultural production, and translators' habits. For translators, the findings can elucidate the adopted strategies in translating taboo language and thus facilitate their future work.

APPENDIX. DATA FROM SEASON 1 AND 12

TABLE 1
DATA RELATED TO SEASON 1

ST word or expression	TT	Strategy adopted	Euphemism or Dysphemism	Type of taboo language
You SOB	ابن العاهرة	Direct translation	dysphemism	cursing
Damn	تيا	substitution	euphemism	cursing
Sex	الجنس	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
I sleep with beautiful women	انام مع نساء جميلات	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Monkey man	الرجل القرد	Direct translation	dysphemism	Name calling
ass	حمار	Substitution	Euphemism	Name calling
A musky smell	رائحة ممسك	generalization	euphemism	sex
Babe magnet	مغناطيس الفتيات	generalization	Euphemism	Name calling
Who I sleep with	مع من انام	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Shaking up with her	يمارس الجنس معها	Direct translation	Dysphemism	sex
I'm gay	انا شاذة	generalization	Euphemism	sex
Gay stuff	اشياء الشواذ	generalization	Euphemism	sex
You SOB	ابن العاهرة	Direct translation	dysphemism	cursing
Damn	تيا	substitution	euphemism	cursing
What the hell is going on	ما الذي يجري بحق الجحيم؟	generalization	Euphemism	Cursing
Do you want to have sex?	هل تريد ان تمارس الحب؟	Substitution	Euphemism	sex
Meeting chicks	تواعد الحسناوات	Generalization	Euphemism	sex
Casual sex relation	علاقة جنسية	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
I will kick your ass	سأرفسك	substitution	Euphemism	cursing
Bastards	او غاد	substitution	euphemism	cursing
The damn thing	اللعيبة	substitution	euphemism	Cursing
Dating chicks	مواعدة الجميلات	generalization	Euphemism	sex
His poop	قذراته	substitution	Euphemism	cursing
Tampon commercial	اعلان تجاري	Omission	Euphemism	sex
One night stand	علاقة ليلة واحدة	substitution	euphemism	sex

Lick	العق	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
My snow white ass	مؤخرتي الثلجية البيضاء	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
She doesn't like sleeping with men	انها لا تحب ان تنام مع الرجال	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Sissy sauce	الصلصة المخنثة	Direct translation	dysphemism	Cursing
Intimacy	العلاقة الحميمة	generalization	Euphemism	sex
Damn her	تيا لها	Substitution	euphemism	cursing
Oral sex	الجنس الفموي	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
My lesbian wife	زوجتي ساحقيه	Direct translation	dysphemism	cursing
I lay naked on your bed	أتمدد عاريه على سريرك	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
I'm an ass	انا اخرق	Substitution	Euphemism	Cursing
He thought I was doing her	اعتقد انني امارس الجنس معها	Direct translation	Dysphemism	sex
I'm at the peak of my sexuality	انا في قمة نشاطي الجنسي	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
My Sexual appetite	رغيتي الجنسية	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Little titsy	منشبية	Direct translation	Dysphemism	sex
Hot	مثير	Generalization	euphemism	sex
My new beau	عشيقتي الجديد	Direct translation	Dysphemism	Name calling
Bastard	سافل	substitution	euphemism	cursing
Sexy	مغري	generalization	euphemism	sex
Don't sass me	لا تجاوبني باحتقار	generalization	euphemism	cursing
Half-naked woman	نصف عارية	Direct translation	dysphemism	
Casual sex	المضاجعه	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
You're not sleeping with her	الاتضاجعها	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
I don't sleep with every chick	انا لا اضاجع كل مثيرة	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Her butt	مؤخرتها	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
We slept together once	تضاجعنا مرة واحدة	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
A woman's behind	مؤخرة امرأة	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Am I gay or straight?	هل انا شاذة او مستقيمة؟	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Sex objects	ادوات للجنس	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Breasts	ثديان	Direction translation	dysphemism	sex
Boobs	أثداء	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Fat ass	المؤخرة السمينة	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Gay kid	فتي شاذ	Direct translation	dysphemism	cursing
Dumb-ass	اخرق	Substitution	euphemism	cursing
That bitch	تلك اللعينة	Substitution	euphemism	cursing
You had sex	لقد تضاجعت بالامس	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Penis	عضو ذكري	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Cute ass	مؤخرة لطيفة	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Nuts	احمق	substitution	euphemism	cursing
You suck	انت سيء	substitution	euphemism	cursing
Notorious	سيء السمعة	generalization	euphemism	cursing
That crap	هذا الهراء	generalization	euphemism	cursing
Big ass	وعد	substitution	euphemism	cursing
You Knocked her up	جعلتها تحبل	Substitution	euphemism	sex
Manhood	رجولة	generalization	euphemism	sex

TABLE 2
DATA RELATED TO SEASON 12

ST word or expression	TT	Strategy adopted	Euphemism or Dysphemism	Type of taboo language
Slutty	وقحة	Direct translation	dysphemism	Name calling
Fart	تضرط	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Your nipple	حلمتك	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
My butt	مؤخرتي	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Your package	بضاعتك	generalization	euphemism	sex
My penis	قضيبتي	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
A pregnant stripper	متغرية حامل	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Sexist	عنصري حسب الجنس	generalization	euphemism	sex
A freaking baby	طفلا لعينا	Substitution	euphemism	cursing
Broken condom	واقي مخروق	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Lady body	شخص من جنس ثالث	specification	dysphemism	sex
We will not have sex	لن نمارس الجنس	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Vagina	الأعضاء الأنثوية	generalization	euphemism	sex
Amazing breasts	أثداء خلابة	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Mom's boobs	أثداء أمي	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
You're not gay	لست شاذا	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex

Pick up chicks	تعاشر الجميلات	specification	dysphemism	sex
My beau	الجميل خاصتي	substitution	euphemism	Name calling
Same sex couple	الازواج المثليين	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
A lot higher	منتشبة اكثر	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Asses	مؤخرات	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
When you masturbate	عندما تمارس العادة السرية	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Physical affections	الوضعيات الجسدية	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
She wants to have sex with me	تريد ان تمارس الجنس معي	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
crap	هراء	generalization	euphemism	cursing
I'm a gay	أنا مثلي	Direct translation	dysphemism	Name calling
You're gay	انتم مثليين	Direct translation	dysphemism	Name calling
You bitch	ايتها العاهرة	Direct translation	dysphemism	cursing
You've been hitting on me	لم تضربني من قبل	substitution	euphemism	sex
Nude photos	صور عارية	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
One penis	قضييب واحد	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
The hot nurse	الممرضة	Omission	Euphemism	sex
Unless she's begging your husband	عدا انها تضاجع زوجك	specification	dysphemism	sex
Constant need for sex	حاجتهم الملحة للجنس	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Animated penis	القضييب الكرتوني	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Hang out	تتشكع	generalization	euphemism	sex
Banged Santa	ضاجعت سانتا	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Hot women	نساء جميلات	substitution	euphemism	Name calling
Whose penis is too large	لديهم قضييب كبير	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
I'm not having sex	لن أمارس الجنس	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Bra	حمالة الصدر	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Jackass	احمق	Direct translation	dysphemism	cursing
Gay couple	زوج من الشواذ	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
Gay	شاذ	Direct translation	dysphemism	sex
What the hell	سحقا	substitution	euphemism	cursing

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