

Is There Such a Thing as More Taboo?
An Analysis on the Dutch Subtitling of Offensive and Taboo Words
in *Django Unchained* and *Inglourious Basterds*

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Abstract

Offensive and taboo words are becoming more common in audiovisual texts. Consequently, a translator or subtitler is faced with the complexities of transferring this type of language into the target text. This study is a qualitative and quantitative analysis of offensive and taboo words, their function, and the transfer of these components to the Dutch subtitles of *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) and *Django Unchained* (2012). An adapted version of Avila-Cabrera's (2015a) taxonomy, who differentiates between offensive and taboo words, is used in this study. Pinker (2007) and Dynel's (2012) typologies of function is used for the classification of function. The results show a frequent use of offensive and taboo words in both movies. There were significant differences in the offensive and taboo words found in the source texts and the target texts. For example, *Inglourious Basterds* contained offensive words comprised of references to diseases, whereas this was not the case in the source text. However, there were no significant differences in the subtitling of offensive and taboo words between the both movies. Overall, the results suggest that other reasons besides the harshness of the written offensive/taboo words, played a significant role in the translation choices made. Taboo words had more plot-pertinent functions than offensive words, and were therefore retained more often. Also, temporal and spatial constraints and the availability of certain offensive and taboo words in the target language affected the subtitling. In conclusion, the subtitling of offensive and taboo words might not always meet the viewers' expectations and those of traditional translation, however, there are certain linguistic and cultural justifications associated with the subtitling's choices.

Keywords: *Taboo words, Offensive words, Function, Django Unchained, Inglourious Basterds, Cultural Memory, Audiovisual Translation, Subtitling*

Table of Contents

List of Tables/Abbreviations	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	5
Literature review	8
Chapter 2: Taboo Language and Culture	8
Chapter 3: Audiovisual Translation	23
Chapter 4: Materials and Method	34
4.1 Materials	34
4.2 Method	37
Chapter 5: Results and Discussion	42
5.1 Django Unchained	42
5.2 Inglourious Basterds	61
5.3 Comparison <i>DU</i> and <i>IB</i>	75
Chapter 6: Conclusion	81
References	85
Appendices	91
Appendix A. Results Django Unchained.....	91
Appendix B. Results Inglourious Basterds.....	117
Appendix C. Guide of Criteria.....	124

List of Tables

Table 1 <i>Taxonomy of offensive and taboo words (based on Avila-Cabrera, 2015a)</i>	37-38
Table 2 <i>Offensive and taboo words (DU)</i>	43
Table 3 <i>Subcategories and types (DU)</i>	43-44
Table 4 <i>Offensive types (ST) and translation procedures (DU)</i>	45
Table 5 <i>Type-token ratio ‘racial slurs’ (DU)</i>	48
Table 6 <i>Offensive/taboo words function and procedures (ST) (DU)</i>	50
Table 7 <i>Retention of function (DU)</i>	56
Table 8 <i>Offensive and taboo words (IB)</i>	62
Table 9 <i>Subcategories and types (IG)</i>	62-63
Table 10 <i>Offensive types (ST) and translation procedures (IG)</i>	63
Table 11 <i>Type-token ratio ‘fuck’ in derogatory adjective/tone (IG)</i>	64
Table 12 <i>Type-token ratio ‘goddamn’ in ‘derogatory adjective/tone’ (IG)</i>	64
Table 13 <i>Offensive/taboo words function and procedures (ST) (IG)</i>	68
Table 14 <i>Retention of function (IG)</i>	72
Table 15 <i>Subcategories and types (DU and IG)</i>	76
Table 16 <i>ST and TT function (DU and IG)</i>	77

Abbreviations

AVT	Audiovisual translation
CM	Collective Memory
DU	<i>Django Unchained</i>
IG	<i>Inglourious Basterds</i>
NL	The Netherlands
SC	Source culture
ST	Source text
TC	Target culture
TT	Target text
WWII	World War 2
PGMCG	Promoting group membership and common ground

Chapter 1. Introduction

Movie director Quentin Tarantino has often been the subject of conversation in the media. Despite having several Oscar and Golden Globe nominations, the predominant interest in Tarantino's movies is of linguistic nature. More specifically, his generous use of taboo language such as the slur 'nigger'. According to Soler-Pardo (2017), it is not so much the use of the word itself, but the use of the word by a white movie director. The question one might ask: Is it Tarantino's voice, or is it the historical period he is trying to portray in the movie? In an interview on *Django Unchained* (2013), Tarantino states the following:

Well, you know if you're going to make a movie about slavery and are taking a twenty-first-century viewer and putting them in that time period, you're going to hear some things that are going to be ugly, and you're going to see some things that are going to be ugly (*Transition*, 2013, p. 54)

Tarantino's comment is closely related to language in use, and the function of words. He argues that taboo language might offend viewers, but it simultaneously functions as a tool for historical realism.

When it comes to subtitling the type of language in Tarantino's movies, the issue becomes even more complex. This complexity is mainly due to the perceived harshness of written taboo language over spoken (Díaz Cintas, 2001; Allan and Burrige, 2006; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007) and the constraints associated with subtitling (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007). Avila-Cabrera (2015a) differentiates between offensive and taboo words in a study on the subtitling of taboo language in *Pulp Fiction*. Offensive words are predominantly emotionally charged and used in a non-literal way, such as in 'What a *fucking* day' (p.4). Whereas taboo words are usually more literal and acceptable based on "the context, language, and/or medium where they are uttered", such as 'They have been *fucking* ' (p.4). According to Pinker (2007), one linguistic expression can achieve several functions. Pinker (2007) differentiates between five pragmatic functions of taboo language: abusive, cathartic, descriptive, emphatic, and idiomatic. Dynel (2012) adds that taboo language can also be used in a positive sense: to engender humor, and promote group membership and common ground.

Previous studies on the subtitling of taboo language have predominantly focused on whether taboo language has been retained and what strategies are used, without considering their function (Baines, 2005). Despite this, the offensive and taboo words' function can also be linked to the subtitlers' translation choices. Building on this, this thesis will focus on the Dutch subtitling of taboo language in *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) and *Django Unchained* (2012). This thesis will take the different functions the offensive and taboo words have in both movies into consideration. The aim is to analyze the offensive and taboo words in both movies, and how their function is transferred to the target texts, i.e., the Dutch subtitles.

Inglourious Basterds and *Django Unchained* make for interesting materials of study in relation to Dutch culture, because of the differences in Collective Memory. *IG* is set during World War 2, and *DU* is about the slavery period in the United States. *IG* and *DU* are the kinds of movies where the socio-cultural and historical context plays an important role. Although both movies are not based on true stories, they portray elements of historical realism. One of the tools used by Tarantino to portray these periods is through the use of language. More specifically, taboo language such as the slurs used during slavery and WWII. In relation to subtitling, it is then up to the subtitler, as a cultural mediator, to translate these words in a way that communicates the same or a similar feeling as in the source text (Bassnett, 2012). It is therefore interesting to see whether the subtitlers stayed closer to the source text and the portrayal of historical realism or the needs and norms of the target culture, and whether there is a difference between both movies.

The following research questions will be addressed in this thesis:

1. What offensive and taboo words can be found in *Inglourious Basterds* and *Django Unchained*, and what are the differences between both movies?
2. What are the functions of the offensive and taboo words in the two source texts, and how are these functions transferred to the target texts, i.e., the Dutch subtitles?

The following hypotheses for this study can be made:

- The subtitling of taboo language is subject to subtitling constraints such as the spatial and temporal (Díaz Cintas & Ramael, 2007), the constraints associated with the

translation of taboo language in general (e.g., Davoodi, 2009; Keating, 2014), and more specifically the subtitling of taboo language (Díaz Cintas, 2001; Han & Wang, 2014), therefore the amount of taboo language will significantly be reduced in the TT.

- Concerning function (Pinker, 2007; Dynel, 2012), offensive words are expected to have a less-plot pertinent character than taboo words (Han and Wang, 2014). Seeing that subtitling is a condensed type of translation, and only the most plot-pertinent information can be rendered (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007), offensive words will be significantly more reduced than taboo words.
- Taboo language cannot be seen as universal. Although it exists in every culture, every culture has a different way of expressing themselves (Fershtman, Gneezy, and Hoffman, 2011; Allan, 2015). Therefore, the needs and language use of the TC will be considered for the subtitling of *Django Unchained* and *Inglourious Basterds*.

This thesis consists of six chapters, including this introduction. Chapter 2 will give an overview of the theories and concepts related to taboo language, function, and the target culture. Chapter 3 will discuss AVT, subtitling, the translation and subtitling of offensive and taboo language. Chapter 4 will discuss the material and method used for this study. In chapter 5, the results and a discussion will be presented, followed by a conclusion in chapter 6.

Chapter 2. Taboo language and culture

In order to analyze the subtitling of taboo language in *IG* and *DU*, it is important to first conceptualize taboo language and the different sub-subjects. Chapter 2 will therefore focus on taboo language and culture. Taboo language and culture are so linked, therefore the focus will also be on culture. Chapter 2 will start with a section on taboo language, classifications of offensive and taboo words (2.1), their function (2.2 and 2.2.1), and offensive and taboo words in NL (2.3), and collective memory (2.4).

Taboo is complex and comes in many different forms. According to Fershtman et al. (2011), taboos are “strong social norms that are supported by severe social sanction” (p.14). A subject can be considered taboo to talk about, but a Jewish person eating non-Kosher food is also considered taboo. For this study, the focus will be on taboo language. Taboo language is a form of linguistic behavior that a culture or a social group considers offensive, shocking, or disrespectful (Ljung, 2011). For instance, from a young age, we hear we should not use words such as ‘fuck’, and some people want words such as ‘nigger’ taken out of the dictionary. Taboo language has an arbitrary nature. It is a forbidden part of language, yet it still exists; otherwise, it could not be considered taboo.

Taboo language is not universal or continuous, what is considered taboo differs from culture to culture, and from time to time (Fershtman et al., 2011; Allan, 2015). The difference between cultures, according to Fershtman et al. (2011), is because “a culture or society guides the behaviour and the thoughts of their members by agreed upon expectations and rules” (p. 139). These expectations and rules are dependent upon the culture, with their norms and customs. Jay (2009) elaborates and states that taboo language is “sanctioned or restricted on both institutional and individual levels under the assumption that some harm will occur if a taboo word is spoken” (p. 153). On an institutional level, the media, for instance, censors certain language. On an individual level, parents or other caregivers reprimand their children for using “bad words”. Taboo language is also not continuous in the sense that what was considered “normal” a few years ago, can be considered taboo nowadays. For instance, the change of *moorkop* to *chocoladebol*.

The use of taboo language differs not only between cultures but also within. According to Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory (1987), the difference in the use of taboo language is related to face. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that there are two types of face: positive and negative (p. 61). Positive face is the need to be accepted and appreciated, whereas negative face is the desire for freedom in your actions (p. 61-62). The use of taboo language belongs to the "face-threatening acts" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 65). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), what is regarded as face-threatening is "culture-specific, group-specific, and ultimately idiosyncratic" (p. 63-64). For instance, telling a friend 'Fuck you', would be considered less face-threatening than telling a teacher the same.

Not only does taboo language come in different forms, there are also different categories within taboo language. Since I am interested in the different categories of taboo language and how these are translated differently, it is important to make the concept of taboo language more concrete, which will be done in the next section.

2.1. Classification of taboo language

I will need to use a classification model of the different categories that exist within taboo language, to identify the taboo language in *IG* and *DU*, and compare it to the two target texts. However, such a classification is very tricky because there are several ideas and classifications when it comes to taboo language. The terminology within taboo language is often overlapping (Avila-Cabrera, 2015a) because the field is still in its early stages (Burns, 2008). According to Wajnryb (2005), the inconsistency in terminology is problematic, because, in order to "explore foul language seriously, we need a metalanguage that is precise and consistent" (p. 17).

Selecting any taxonomy to work with can then be seen as somewhat arbitrary. Unfortunately, some of the common names in the field only focus on certain categories within taboo language (Jay, 2009), and some use terms interchangeably (Burns, 2008). Therefore, I have chosen to use a taxonomy as set out by Avila-Cabrera (2015a). Avila-Cabrera (2015a) also acknowledges the inconsistency in the field and combines the works of several names

(Wajnryb, 2005; Hughes 2006; Jay, 2009) to propose a taxonomy, and differentiate between offensive and taboo words, in the study on the Spanish subtitling of *Pulp Fiction*.

According to Avila-Cabrera (2015a), offensive words are “terms that are considered derogatory, abusive and/or insulting” (p. 4). Offensive words are usually “mean, strong, bad or emotional” (Avila-Cabrera, 2016, p. 216). Taboo words, on the other hand, are “related to terms that are not considered appropriate or acceptable with regard to the context, culture, language, and/or medium where they are uttered” (Avila-Cabrera, 2015a, p. 4). For instance, when using the animal term ‘bitch’ when referring to a female dog, it is not seen as inappropriate; however, it is when it is used to address a woman. Example 2.1 further illustrates the difference between offensive and taboo words:

Example 2.1: Difference between offensive and taboo words

- (1a) What a **fucking** day.
- (1b) They have been **fucking**.

Although both sentences contain the same word, the first sentence contains an offensive word and the second a taboo word. In sentence 1a, ‘fucking’ is used in a non-literal way modifying ‘day’, whereas in sentence 1b, ‘fucking’ is used literally. Due to the differences between offensive and taboo words, it is interesting to see how such words are translated. Therefore this thesis will look at both categories.

From here on, I will use the terms ‘offensive’ or ‘taboo’, or taboo language as an umbrella term to refer to both categories simultaneously. In the next section, I will describe the subcategories and types in Avila-Cabrera’s (2015a) taxonomy, which I will use for this study.

2.1.1 Offensive words

Offensive word include subcategories (abusive swearing, expletives, and invectives), and types (cursing, derogatory tone, insult, oath, exclamatory swear word/phrase, and subtle insult).

A. Abusive swearing

Cursing

Wajnryb (2005) distinguishes cursing from other types of abusive swearing, because it involves invoking “the aid of a higher being” and is “future-oriented” (p. 17). A curse does not necessarily involve an impolite term (Wajnryb, 2005), e.g., ‘I hope you fall’.

Derogatory tone

Offensive words with a derogatory tone contain a degree of rudeness, such as in ‘Fuck you’ (Avila-Cabrera, 2015a, p.4). The type ‘derogatory tone’ can be directed towards someone, but it can also include a ‘derogatory adjective’, often used as fillers or intensifiers. For instance, ‘What a *fucking* day’.

Insult

Insults are directed towards others, and predominantly includes name-calling, such as in ‘You *fucker*’ (Wajnryb, 2005, p. 17). This type of abusive swearing can be scattered over various other categories within Avila-Cabrera’s taxonomy (2015a), such as ‘animal term’ (‘bitch’). However, as I would like my analysis to represent as accurate data as possible, the insults which specifically belong to other (sub)categories, such as ‘bitch’, will be classified in their more specific (sub)category.

Oath

The fourth type of abusive swearing is oaths, which involves swearing by something or someone (Hughes, 2006, p. 178-179). For instance, ‘I swear on my mother’.

B. Expletives

Expletives are used to pour out emotions (such as stress, pain, surprise, and disappointment) (Wajnryb, 2005). They do not have an explicit meaning and are not aimed at a particular person or thing but are used to express or alleviate emotions (Allan & Burridge, 2006). For instance, yelling ‘Shit’ when stubbing your toe.

C. Invectives

Although invectives are used to insult, they can be seen as a “refined version of an insult”(Avila-Cabrera, 2015a, p. 4). For example, in *DU*, Django is referred to as “fancy pants”. Invectives are often accompanied by a sort of irony, which “regular” insults do not have. According to Wajnryb (2005), invectives are usually used in more “formal contexts” and consists of “wit, puns, and wordplay” (p. 19).

2.1.2. Taboo words

D. Animal name terms

Depending on the intended function, when an animal term such as ‘bitch’ (a female dog) is used to address a human being, it belongs to the taboo subcategory ‘animal terms’ (Jay, 2009). For instance, in *DU*, the sentence ‘Send Marsha and her *bitches*’ is uttered. This sentence does not contain any form of a taboo word, because it is a reference to actual dogs.

E. Ethnic/ gender/ racial slurs

Slurs are different from ethnonyms. Ethnonyms are used as ethnic/racial labels, and slurs are used in a “derogatory fashion” (Keating, 2014, p. 296). Ethnic slurs are related to ethnicity, which concerns people who belong to the same group and have “shared characteristics, including geographical and ancestral origins, but particularly cultural traditions and languages” (Bhopal, 2003, p. 441). Racial slurs are related to race, which, according to Bhopal (2003), mainly concerns “physical characteristics”, such as skin color (p. 442). However, as Bhopal (2003) argues, and as confirmed by Hughes (2006), these concepts are often considered to be interchangeable and rather fluid. Gender slurs are gender-related taboo words, such as ‘bitch’ and ‘*kutwif*’. An offensive or taboo word can occupy two subcategories. For instance, ‘bitch’ can be classified as an ‘animal term’ and a ‘gender slur’.

F. Filth

This taboo subcategory concerns subjects or utterances considered dirty and, above all, not appropriate in certain settings- for instance, a comment on how monkeys eat their poop.

G. Profane/blasphemous

Jay (1992) describes blasphemy as “an attack on religion or religious doctrine” (p. 3). The difference with profanity is that blasphemy is directly aimed at the church. In contrast, profanity can be the use of religion or religious figures in a curse (Jay, 1992, p. 3).

H. Psychological/physical condition

This subcategory concerns the use of someone’s physiological or physical condition. It can be seen as a very direct insult because of the personal reference to someone’s condition, e.g., someone’s weight, mental capacity, or handicap. This subcategory is not to be confused with ‘slurs’. Slurs are focused on racial, ethnic, and demographic characteristics (e.g. gender); the taboo subcategory ‘psychological/physical condition’ (e.g. ‘idiot’) is independent of race, ethnicity, gender.

I. Urination/ scatology

According to Jay (1992), scatology refers to “human waste products and processes, whereas urination is the specific reference to urination in an obscene way. This subcategory is not to be confused with the expletives ‘Shit!’, which is used to release emotion.

The categories proposed by Avila-Cabrera (2015a) will help identify the offensive and taboo language, and how they behave differently in subtitling. It is also important to remember that the offensive or taboo words might be semantically similar but will have different functions (Pinker, 2007). The same word or phrase can have a different function depending on the setting and intended meaning. In view of translation, function is important because it denotes or, at least, suggests the way, and if, a taboo or offensive word has to be translated.

2.2. Function of taboo language

Pragmatics is the field of linguistics that is concerned with “language in use”, rather than words in isolation (Munday, 2016, p. 81). In this study, the material also consists of “language in use” rather than a string of unrelated words. To properly identify the functions of the offensive and taboo words in *DU* and *IG*, a combination of functions proposed by Pinker (2007) and Dynel (2012) will be used and discussed below.

Emphatic function

Emphatic use of offensive and taboo words is when they are used to emphasize or intensify something. The focus here is on creating a hyperbolic effect, either negative or positive (Pinker, 2007).

Example 2.2: Dialogue sentence (70) in *IB*

Aldo Raine ‘So you are the jew hunter.’

Hans Landa ‘I’m a detective. A **damn** good one.’

Descriptive function

Offensive words and taboo words can also function descriptively with the use of dysphemisms (Pinker, 2007). Dysphemisms are offensive and taboo words that are (intentionally) used to replace more neutral and inoffensive words (Allan & Burrige, 2006). For instance, the use of ‘pussy’ instead of ‘vagina’. According to Pinker (2007),

dysphemisms also include metonyms, such as the use of physical traits to refer to someone (p. 117). For instance, referring to a woman as ‘a piece of ass’. The difference between ‘emphatic’ and ‘descriptive’ is that ‘emphatic’ is used to emphasize a point whereas ‘descriptive’ is making a point provocatively.

Example 2.3: Dialogue sentences (70) in *DU*

Dr. Schultz ‘Let’s just hope she works in the house and not in the field.’

Django ‘She ain’t no field **nigger**. She pretty.’

Idiomatic function

‘Idiomatic’ is the third function proposed by Pinker (2007), and includes idioms such as ‘fucked up’, ‘screwed up’, and ‘screwed over’. This function also includes words and phrases used to capture attention such as ‘Fuck, man’ (p. 348). These words do not have any particular purpose but are more so about a social relationship. Idiomatic use can be considered similar to what Trudgill and Andersson (1990) refer to as the lazy function and can be described as a way of speaking. According to Finn (2017), the idiomatic function is used to “gain attention or appear macho” (p. 19).

Example 2.4: Dialogue sentence (67) in *DU*

Cleo Club Patron ‘Doctor, Django, how the **hell** are you?’

Cleo Club Patron ‘Who the **hell** have you got there?’

Abusive function

The fourth function, ‘abusive’, is directly aimed at or towards someone or numerous people (Pinker, 2007). The intended purpose of abusive swearing is to hurt, intimidate, or insult someone. If we were to take Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of face-threatening acts, the abusive function would be seen as face-threatening.

Example 2.5: Dialogue sentence (17) in *IB*

Aldo Raine ‘Just take this finger of yours and point out on this map where these parties are being held.” How many and what they brought to play with.’

Werner ‘**Fuck you** and your **jew dogs**.’

Cathartic function

The final function proposed by Pinker (2007) is the cathartic function. ‘Cathartic’ is when offensive and taboo words are used to release or express emotion (Pinker, 2007). For instance, when someone shouts ‘Shit!’, when stubbing their toe. It is different from the idiomatic function, in the sense that cathartic function is to release emotion, and idiomatic is a way of talking independent of emotion.

Example 2.6: Dialogue sentence (51) in *DU*

Spencer Bennet ‘Well, shitfire!’

Dynel (2012) adds two additional functions of offensive and taboo words that adhere to a “solidarity politeness strategy”: “promoting group membership and common ground” (pgmccg) and “engendering humour” (p. 27).

Engendering humour

‘Engendering humour’ is used to create laughter. However, according to Blake (2018), it is predominantly found in the comedy genre, because of the “naughtiness of breaking a taboo” and the shock associated with offensive and taboo words (p. 354). Based on the movies’ nature, it is not expected that this function will be used frequently.

Example 2.7: Dialogue sentence (51) in *DU*

Stephen “Hercules? More like **nigger-les**”

Promoting group membership and common ground

This function predominantly concerns using offensive and taboo words as an insult of endearment. For instance, a friend calling another friend ‘bitch’ or ‘idiot’, in a non-negative way. The most important thing is the bonding that grows out of tolerance with each other’s language (Dynel, 2012). In other words, I feel close to them; therefore, I feel at liberty to say these words. I expect to find insults of endearments in **IG**, considering the in-groups in the movie, such as The Basterds.

Importantly, the proposed functions (Pinker, 2007; Dynel, 2012) are by no means linked to one linguistic expression. ‘Fuck’ can achieve several functions, including cathartic (‘Fucking hell!’), and abusive (‘Fuck you’). The word ‘nigger’ is one of the most complex words in relation to function, and is also very central in *DU*. In order to classify the occurrences of ‘nigger’ as accurately as possible, this next section will focus on the function of ‘nigger’ specifically.

2.2.1 Function of ‘nigger’

According to Pryor (2016), “Prior to the 1770s, the labels nigger and slave were interchangeable, each describing an actual social category of involuntary black laborers” (p. 205). After that time, the interchangeable use was predominantly present in the South of the United States, because African Americans were considered free in the North.

After abolishing slavery (1865 in all of the United States), ‘nigger’ had a descriptive function to refer to black people (Allan, 2015). ‘Nigger’ started being used in a derogatory way somewhere between the early 17th century and the early 1800s (Pryor, 2016; King et al., 2018). Seeing that *DU* is set in the 1850s, both the slur and the synonymous use with ‘slave’ were already in use. Pryor (2016), however, points out that “nigger” has always been used to mark “people of colour as occupying a fixed social class” and although the word ‘nigger’ was used synonymously with ‘slave’, it was always used as a tool to differentiate between the white superior and the “other” (p. 205).

Nowadays, ‘nigger’ is used as a slur and is considered one of the harshest taboo words (King et al., 2018). Not until recently (the 1980s) has ‘nigger’ (or its derivative ‘nigga’) been used as an insult of endearment (King et al., 2018). Today, it is a common notion that ‘nigger’ should not be used by anyone other than the African-American community (King et al., 2018). Considering the period in which ‘nigger’ became an insult of endearment, it is expected that this function of ‘nigger’ will not be found in *DU*, which is set in the 1850s.

The function of offensive and taboo words becomes even more complex with words whose function can be considered contrastive, such as ‘nigger’ (both highly abusive and an insult of endearment). Moreover, because of its complex nature, it is interesting to see how ‘nigger’ will be translated into Dutch. In the next subchapter, I will, therefore, briefly discuss the word

‘nigger’ and other slurs in NL. However, before touching upon slurs specifically, I will first discuss offensive and taboo words in NL, in general.

2.3 Taboo and offensive words in the Netherlands

Since the 1960s (after the liberalization and democratization), offensive and taboo words have become more common in society in NL (Sterkenberg, 2001, p. 138). According to Sterkenburg (2001), taboo language in NL predominantly originated from religion (e.g., *godverdomme*) (p. 60). Nowadays, the Dutch language has quite a diverse variety of offensive and taboo words. There has been a shift from cursing, blasphemy, and profanity, to what Sterkenburg (2001) refers to as “obscene” terms (e.g., *fuck*, *klote*, and *shit*) (p. 145).

As already mentioned, there are offensive and taboo words that are intrinsically linked to a language. For instance, the Dutch use of disease in a cathartic way (*Kankerzooi!*).

It is important to note that this use of disease is different from talking about disease, which is also seen as taboo in some cultures. The use of disease this study will incorporate are taboo or offensive words comprised of references to diseases, such as ‘*tyfus*’ and ‘*kanker*’

(Sterkenburg, 2001). For instance, as an insult (*kankerlijer*) or as a curse (*Krijg de kanker!*).

Building on the fact that offensive and taboo words are so intrinsically linked with language, it can be expected that this form might be found in the TT. According to Witteman (2018), the harshness of disease as an offensive or taboo word depends on whether it is common. For instance, *tyfus* might be judged as less harsh than *kanker* because the disease is less common nowadays.

There are also forms of offensive and taboo words that are intrinsically linked with the culture. One example of this are slurs, because they are predominantly based on socio-historical factors (Keating, 2014). Due to the racially laden theme of both *DU* and *IB*, it can be expected that these are found in the ST, and the translator is confronted with them as well. It is therefore important to conceptualize not only the general use of offensive and taboo words in NL, but also the slurs and racial related terminology in the Netherlands. In order to get a better understanding on these subjects, this next section will give a brief overview.

2.3.1 Slurs in the Netherlands

In NL, there has been an ongoing discussion about race and/or ethnicity, and language. In contrast to, for instance, American culture, the lines between what is considered a slur and an ethnonym are quite blurry in NL. The outdated terminology surrounding race (Hondius, 2009) has led to the transfer of old and often unconsciously insulting types of addresses and racial jokes, which are full of stereotypes. According to Hondius (2009), in dealing with race and/or ethnicity, Dutch culture has decided that they do not see race (or ethnicity). However, despite having the best intentions, this approach led to a certain “uneasiness in everyday interaction”, as Hondius (2009) argues (p. 40). In NL, certain issues otherwise addressed, are ignored by not talking about race.

The Dutch ethnographic museum *Tropenmuseum (TP)* (2018) set up a list with race and ethnicity related words and their etymology. For instance, the use of *halfbloedje* and *pinda* as ethnonyms, despite them having been originated as racist terms to differentiate between the superior and inferior (p. 110). Similar is the use of ‘*jood*’ as an insult, such as *vuile jood*, especially in soccer culture. However, the anti-semitic connotation of using such a word as an insult is often not considered.

Haven given a very brief overview of the issue of racial and ethnic terminology, the word ‘nigger’ in NL needs some further discussion. The word is very central in *DU*, and might therefore also be a central part in the TT. It is therefore important to get a better understanding on the similar words that exist in Dutch culture. This will eventually lead to a better understanding of the translation choices made in relation to the word ‘nigger’.

2.3.2 ‘Nigger’ in Dutch

Several words can be considered for the translation of ‘nigger’. One of the options is ‘neger’. According to *TP* (2018), ‘*neger*’ originated from the Latin word ‘*niger*’, which means ‘black’ (p. 133). From the 17th century on, ‘*neger*’ was used as an ethnonym for people from Africa in NL (and its colonies) (*TP*, 2018, p. 133). ‘*Neger*’ was used to refer to slaves from 1682 on, according to Peterson (2002, p. 3).

In the 20th century (after abolishing slavery in NL in 1863), ‘*neger*’ was used in a racial typology where racial stereotypes were created (*TP*, 2018, p. 133). According to the Dutch

website *Slavernij en Jij* (n.d.), ‘*neger*’ was first used as a prefix and to refer to black people, such as in *negermuziek* and *negerdorp*. The prefix was predominantly used as an ethnonym for people with African roots. However, as *Slavernij en Jij* (n.d.) argues, the prefix began to convey a profound meaning with time. For instance, the *negerdorp* was associated with poverty, and the *negerpopje* was considered less than the white dolls (*Slavernij en jij*, n.d.). Consequently, due to the history of slavery and the stereotypical and negative characteristics attributed to ‘*neger*’, the word received more and more of a negative connotation. Contrastively, according to *TP* (2018), ‘*neger*’ was used by black people (e.g., Surinamese and the Antillians in NL) to embrace black awareness at the same time (p. 133).

Nowadays, the word has a complex existence in Dutch vocabulary. Dutch people from older generations consider ‘*neger*’ a polite reference to black people. This can partly be linked to its use as an ethnonym in the 20th century. Similarly, older generations from Surinam or the Antilles still refer to themselves as ‘*neger*’, because it was considered a respectful ethnonym (*Slavernij en Jij*, n.d.). In contrast, ‘*neger*’ is considered derogatory by other black people in NL, activists, and others (*TP*, 2018, p. 133).

The Dutch word ‘*nikker*’ can also be considered as an option for the translation of ‘nigger’. According to Peterson (2002), the first instance of the word ‘*nikker*’ was in 1302. ‘*Nikker*’ was then used to refer to the devil or an evil water spirit. In 1828, ‘*nikker*’ made its comeback to refer to black people. Kuipers (2000), argues that ‘*neger*’ “is not [a] very politically correct word, but not highly offensive, either; the more negative *nikker* (equivalent to “nigger”) is hardly ever used” (p. 152). Hondius (2009) argues that the difference between ‘*nikker*’ and ‘*neger*’, is that ‘*neger*’ was seen as a “neutral term to use for non-white, dark-skinned people”, whereas ‘*nikker*’ always had a pejorative and negative connotation (p. 42).

Both Kuipers (2000) and Hondius (2009) thus identify ‘*nikker*’ as a more pejorative term than ‘*neger*’. Simultaneously, however, Kuipers (2000) and Hondius (2009) identify ‘*nikker*’ as a translation of ‘nigger’. The use and perception of ‘nigger’ today might be similar to ‘*nikker*’. However, it does not suffice as a translation for the full history of the word. Even more ambiguous is the translation of the nursery rhyme “Ten Little niggers” as “*Tien Kleine Nikkertjes*” (1877) and the song as “*Tien kleine Negertjes*” (1879) (Historiek,

2018). Unfortunately, no explanation or studies could be found on this subject. However, this nursery rhyme is a good illustration of the complexities of the translation of ‘nigger’.

Building on this, it seems significantly important to translate ‘nigger’ and take its function into account. Simultaneously, the options available for the translation of ‘nigger’ in the TL need to be taken into consideration. Similarly to the translation of other offensive and taboo words, the needs and expectation of the TC on the translation of ‘nigger’ and other slurs need to be taken into account. *DU* and *IB* are both set in racially laden time periods. However, these time periods are historically very different especially in relation to the perception in Dutch culture. This leads to the final layer in this chapter; CM in NL. In order to analyze whether the translation choices are affected by CM, it is important to first briefly explain CM and give an overview on CM in NL.

2.4 Collective memory of WWII and Slavery

CM plays an important role in culture. CM can be seen as a construct between the past and the interpretation in the present, of experiences, i.e., the Holocaust, “making it into a shared cultural knowledge in “vehicles of memory”, such as books, films, museums, commemorations, and others” (Confino, 1997, p. 1386). According to Kansteiner (2002), CM is dependent on three agents: “the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopts and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform artifacts according to their own interests” (p. 180). The interaction between these three agents is what decides what is in the CM and what is not.

In Dutch culture, slavery is not a significant part of the CM. However, contrary to popular belief, the Dutch involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade was as much as 4.4 percent (Cain, 2016, p. 228). According to Cain (2016), the NL is in a state of “denial” when it comes to the commemoration of slavery. The Golden Age in NL (1575-1675) has been framed as a prolific period in NL; however, any mention of slavery (one of the most profitable concepts of the Golden Age) has predominantly been left out (Cain, 2016). According to Cain (2016), historians often downplay Dutch success due to slavery, and slavery as a whole (p. 229). Consequently, the perception of Dutch innocence in the slave trade was maintained and

created a sense of distance. Cain (2016) also holds the Dutch academy, literature, and school system responsible, and more so, their lack of diversity (p. 230-231). Many Dutch people recognize slavery as something that happened outside of NL and apart from their realm. If we were to take the interaction of the three agents involved in CM (Kansteiner, 2002), slavery is not a part of the Dutch CM.

Dutch CM of WWII, however, can be seen as more present. It only took NL three days (after the war) to set up a commemorate institute (Jeurgens, 2010, p. 57). In contrast, *Het Nationaal Instituut Nederlandse slavernijverleden en erfenis (NiNsee)*, took 140 years (Jeurgens, 2010, p. 57). Therefore a significant part of the “vehicles of memory” has been lost, which is usually a significant part of CM (Confino, 1997, p. 1386). In order for a memory to be remembered and retained, people must be “confronted” with the event. Concerning WWII, the vehicles of memory have been an active part of the CM: WWII commemoration, history books, and documentation.

The source audience will most likely be more culturally-invested in *DU* and slavery, whereas the target audience will be more invested in *IB* and WWII. A predominant part of Dutch culture sees WWII as a part of their history, their collective trauma, because their CM. Also, *DU* is very much about American slavery, not about Dutch slaves. This probably has an even more distancing effect on the Dutch viewers, than if *DU* was about Dutch slavery. The difference in CM might also be seen through the translation choices in the subtitles. For instance, the subtitler might be more careful when translating the slurs or other content in *IB* due to its sensitivity, and the subtitler might approach *DU* with more distance.

2.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to review taboo language and the cultural subjects related to taboo language. It is clear from the research reviewed that linguistic study on taboo language is in its early stages and can be complex. Therefore, Avila-Cabrera’s taxonomy of taboo language was chosen for this study, in which a distinction has been made between offensive and taboo words. The research on function of offensive and taboo words proved very important because function can denote the way in which certain offensive or taboo words have to be translated. Taboo language is intrinsically linked with language and culture. Word

such as ‘nigger’ proved to be even more complex, because slurs are based on socio-historical factors. Moreover, another layer that may affect the translation choices is the CM in Dutch culture in relation to the different time periods of *IG* and *DU*. However, in order to find out if the characteristics of offensive and taboo words function, and CM affect the subtitling of these words in the movies, it is important to also take a look at audiovisual translation.

Chapter 3 will therefore complement the review of literature and discuss AVT, subtitling, and the translation and subtitling of offensive words.

Chapter 3. Audiovisual Translation

In this chapter, first, AVT will be discussed in general. Then, since it is the focus of this thesis, subtitling (3.1), and the translation (3.2) and subtitling (3.3) of offensive and taboo words will be discussed. In section 3.4, the general tendencies of translating and subtitling offensive and taboo words will be discussed, and section 3.5 will briefly focus on function in subtitling research.

According to Pérez González (2009), “Audiovisual Translation is a branch of translation studies concerned with the transfer of multimodal and multimedia texts into another language and/or culture” (p. 13). Chiaro (2009) describes AVT as an “umbrella term” that includes “‘media translation, ‘multimedia translation’, ‘multimodal translation’, and ‘screen translation’” (p. 141). The most significant difference with other forms of translation is that audiovisual texts do not solely involve the translation of text, but other semiotic modes, such as verbal language, image, sound, music, and color (Taylor, 2013). Television and movies are the most common examples of audiovisual texts, and the most common form of AVT for these mediums are subtitling and dubbing (Chiaro, 2009). Subtitles are described by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) as:

a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off) (p. 8)

Chiaro (2009) adds to this that with subtitling, there is a need “to reduce or condense the source dialogues” (p. 147). According to Koolstra et al. (2002), this reduction is as much as “30 percent” for the shift from English audio to Dutch subtitling (p. 328). Dubbing, on the other hand, is less subject to spatial constraints, because the SL voice track is completely removed. Chiaro (2009) describes dubbing as “a process which uses the acoustic channel for translational purposes” (p. 141). More specifically, Koolstra et al. (2002) state that it involves removing the “original soundtrack” and replacing it with a new soundtrack in the TL (p. 327).

Dubbing and subtitling are subject to the respect it owes to synchrony. Aminoroaya and Amirian (2016) identify three types of synchrony constraints with dubbing and subtitling: lip-synchrony, body movement, and isochrony. Subtitling is predominantly subject to isochrony; subtitles have to appear and disappear in synchrony with the screen actor's utterances. On the other hand, dubbing is less subject to spatial constraints, because the SL voice track is completely removed. The voice-track has to match the screen actor's articulatory movement (lip-synchrony), if the character nods, the voice-track utterance should not contradict this movement (body movement), and if the actor finishes his or her utterances, the voice-track should also stop (isochrony).

According to Gambier (2006), subtitling and dubbing are often referred to as "adaptation", "manipulation", and "remake", instead of 'translation' (p. 3). The constraints and conventions associated with these modes of translation are the main reason for this distinction. These constraints affect the translation process. In subtitling, word-for-word translation is less important, and communicating the sense of the message is often considered enough, because subtitling is a condensed version of the dialogue (Díaz Cintas & Rinaudo, 2007). To understand what subtitlers have done to the taboo and offensive words and why, it is important to first discuss subtitling in more detail.

3.1 Subtitling

Subtitles come in many different forms and shapes. For this thesis, I will be focussing on intralingual subtitles. Interlingual subtitling is the shift from a SL to a TL (Díaz Cintas and Rinaudo, 2007, p. 17). Díaz Cintas and Rinaudo (2007) state that, "there is no fixed rule as to the minimum number of characters a subtitle must have, but subtitles counting less than 4 to 5 characters are rare" p. 85. Subtitles usually only have two lines, with the number of characters between 35-37 characters (depending on the TL) (Díaz Cintas and Rinaudo 2007, p. 85).

Subtitles should not appear on the screen too early and should also leave the screen on time. Subtitles that remain on the screen longer than needed will cause irritation or distraction, and subtitles that leave the screen too early can result in viewers missing out on important information (Díaz Cintas and Rinaudo, 2007). To circumvent this, Díaz Cintas and Rinaudo

(2007), state that “six seconds is the recommended maximum exposure time to keep a full two-liner (each containing 35-37 characters) on screen” (p. 89). From this point, the maximum and minimum amount of seconds a subtitle should appear can be calculated dependent on the number of characters.

Another unusual characteristic of subtitling, and the reason why it is also referred to as “vulnerable” translation, is that the ST and the TT are simultaneously present (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 57). The viewers may be able to compare and criticize the translation decisions made in the subtitles (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 57). However, the constraints associated with subtitling are often not taken into account by viewers (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 57). The vulnerability of subtitles affect the translation choices made, because there is always a risk of criticism from the viewers. Consequently, this also affects the subtitling of offensive and taboo words, which will further be discussed in section 3.2.

Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), state that “Most subtitles display a preference for conventional, neutral word order and simple well-formed stereotypical sentences” (p. 185), which often leads to normalization and leaves viewers wondering what was “lost in translation” (p. 57). Marked speech is a form of language that is considered at high risk for normalization (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007). It is the type of language that is considered non-standard, such as “style” and “taboo language” (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 187). Chiaro (2009) elaborates on this and states that “all elements that are unacceptable in standard, or even informal written language (e.g., hesitations, false starts, taboo language, etc.) are inevitably omitted” (p. 151). Building on this, and the constraints associated with subtitling, it can be expected that offensive and taboo words will significantly be reduced in the TTs.

For the translation of marked speech, subtitling companies, production companies, and other agents often offer translators guidelines on how to deal with them. For instance, the Dutch Netflix guidelines state that taboo language should be translated as “faithfully as possible” (Netflix Dutch Timed Text Style Guide, 2019). Although the Netflix guidelines suggest that there is a trend in which taboo language should not be reduced, other reasons and factors in translating taboo language should be discussed as well.

3.2 Translating Offensive and Taboo Words

Seeing that taboo and offensive words are complex, translators should be extra careful approaching the translation of these words. Translators should try to convey offensive and taboo words in the target language (TL), giving them the same strength as in the source language (SL) while simultaneously taking the TC and the acceptance of these words into account (Davoodi, 2009). Also, translators might be censored by the restrictions on what the product should look like, usually found in guidelines, or censorship by a higher institutional power.

The shift from one language to another can be considered difficult due to cross-cultural differences in the acceptance of certain offensive and taboo words. Therefore, it is important that the translator maneuvers between the SC and the TC, and more importantly, has an understanding of both cultures. Taboo and offensive words are “a social construct” and finding (near-) equivalents can be difficult (Dyrel, 2012, p. 28). Different languages have different ways of expressing offensive and taboo words. Because of this, subtitlers often chose to omit or soften an offensive or taboo word, instead of offering an unnatural translation (Hjort, 2009). For instance, the translation of “motherfucker” as “*moederneuker*”, which is considered unnatural.

Several models for analyzing the cross-cultural differences in linguistic variety have been proposed. The study by Han and Wang (2014), on the translation of offensive and taboo words into Chinese, is considered the most relevant for this study because it incorporates categories, function, and translation procedures. Han and Wang (2014) use a corpus-based approach to analyze the subtitling of English offensive and taboo words into Chinese, for the Australian series *The Family*. They adopt a four-stage procedure in their analysis. First, they identify the English taboo language and the corresponding subtitles. Then, these words are grouped into their categories (based on Zhou, 2005; Jiang, 2007) and their function (based on Ljung, 2011), and patterns are identified. In this thesis, an adapted version of this model will be used (further discussed in the Method section).

Moreover, there are offensive and taboo words that are so intrinsically linked with the culture that they are deemed untranslatable. According to Keating (2014), the translation of slurs is

especially complex, because it concerns “rephrasing cultural values linked historically, ideologically and functionally with these utterances” (p. 301). Keating (2014) analyzes the translation of ethnonyms and racial slurs in movies from American movies into Italian dubbing and subtitling. The results show some general tendencies for the transfer of slurs and ethnonyms into Italian subtitling and dubbing. For instance, the derivative ‘nigga’, used between friends, was translated as “*negraccio*”, which is the pejorative form in Italian. It can thus be seen as a challenge for the translator to communicate the same sense, especially if there is no match in the TL.

The linguistic and cultural problems of offensive and taboo words have a significant impact on the translation process. However, aside from the problems met in the translation of offensive and taboo, subtitling these words has its own implications, which will be discussed next.

3.2.1 Subtitling Taboo and Offensive words

There are several reasons why taboo language poses a difficulty for subtitlers. First, there is the notion that written taboo and offensive words are considered harsher than spoken words (Díaz Cintas, 2001; Allan and Burrige, 2006; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007). According to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), this is especially true “when they appear in enormous letters on the cinema screen” (p. 196). According to Díaz Cintas (2001), this is because of the difference in setting; reading can be seen as an “individual act”, whereas watching a tv-show or a movie is seen as more of “a social activity” (p. 51). Han and Wang (2014) argue that it is more so because taboo and offensive words are associated with informal speech, whereas written text is formal (p. 13). Briechele and Eppler (2019) attest the notion of the harshness of written words in their reception study on subtitling and dubbing. The results show suggest harshness in subtitles and dubbing was dependent on other “contextual factors”, such as gender and type of offensive or taboo words, rather than on the mode of translation. For instance, women rated the offensive and taboo words harsher than men, and slurs were also considered harsher. Moreover, other characteristics of dubbing, such as synchrony, should also be taken into account. For instance, merely omitting the taboo or offensive word in the TL voice track can cause inconsistencies with lip-synchrony.

Another constraint in the translation of offensive and taboo words is that of time and space. Subtitling is often considered a condensed type of translation, where only the most plot-pertinent information can be rendered (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 162). Subtitlers only have a certain amount of space and time in which they need to render as much as the message as possible. In some sentences, offensive/taboo words might be considered less necessary.

Example 3.1: Offensive word in subtitling

(3) “What a **fucking** horrible day.”

In example 3.1, “Fucking” might not be considered less relevant and will be the first to be omitted if there are spatial or time constraints. The subtitler might decide that a subtitle such as “*Wat een vreselijke dag*”, communicates enough of the sense of the original dialogue. Moreover, expletives uttered in isolation (e.g. Shit!) might be considered too short and will be omitted for that reason (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007).

The nature of subtitles as an vulnerable type of translation, also affects the translation of offensive and taboo words. On the one hand, the original dialogue can compensate the omission of offensive and taboo words. As explained by Koolstra et al. (2002), most viewers in Europe are competent in the English language and might recognize a few words from the ST audio (p. 329). However, this is especially relevant for expletives such as ‘Shit’ and ‘Fuck’, which are very recognizable. On the other hand, omitting these words might be accompanied by criticism from the viewers, who hear the offensive or taboo words in the original dialogue, but do not see them in the subtitles.

Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), point out that there is in an increasing presence of offensive and taboo words in audiovisual texts, independent of the complexities of their translation. Omission or toning down is not always the best option in subtitling taboo and offensive words because they often “fulfill a specific function”, such a thematic function, or contribute to characterization (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 196-197). For instance, in *DU* and *IB*, language is used as a tool to represent a sense of historical realism. Omission of or toning

down racial slurs would then affect the racially laden tone. Therefore, in the case of omission, offensive or taboo words might be compensated elsewhere if space permits it.

I expect that expletives and other offensive and taboo words, with a relatively non-plot pertinent character, are omitted sooner, than those which/that are plot-pertinent and/or used for characterization. Furthermore, from this discussion on taboo and offensive words, some general tendencies in the translation, and more specifically, subtitling of offensive and taboo words can be identified. These general tendencies are based on a study on subtitling (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007), the translation of race- and ethnicity-related words (Keating, 2014), and a study on subtitling offensive and taboo words (Han and Wang, 2014). Based on *IB* and *DU*'s characteristics, this selection of tendencies seems appropriate for analyzing the shift from SL and TL (and their respective culture) in both movies and will be discussed next.

3.2.2 General tendencies

The term translation procedures will be used here, instead of other terms such as ‘translation strategy’ or ‘translation solution’. Translation procedure is used in Vinay and Dalbarnet’s (1995/2004) sense of the word: to reflect “a specific technique or method used by the translator at a certain point”, whereas strategy concerns more of a general “overall orientation” (Munday, 2012, p. 99). The translation procedures used for this study will be discussed below.

A. Omission

‘Omission’ is when an offensive or taboo word in the ST, has been left out in the TT. According to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), ‘omission’ can be at word level or clause/sentence level (p. 165-166). ‘Omission’ is a common translation procedure for taboo language, especially in instances where the translator has to condense the message and decide what is most important (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007).

Example 3.2: Dialogue sentence (93) in *IB*

(3) Monsieur Candie: “**For God’s sake**. Can somebody help Hoot on his horse?”
Subtitles → Monsieur Candie: “*Kan iemand Hoot op z’n paard helpen?*”

B. Literal translation

‘Literal translation’ is when the TL has a word that matches the ST reference and is used for translation. Han and Wang (2014), describe literary translation as: “the rendition of English swearwords” (p. 13).

Example 3.3: Dialogue sentence (170) in *DU*

(4) Stephen: “Hurry up, **goddamn** it!”

Subtitles → Stephen: “*Schiet op, verdomme.*”

C. Category shift

‘Category shift’ is when there is a shift in offensive or taboo word category. According to Han and Wang (2014), ‘category shift’ is used in order to find a more “appropriate” rendition for the TC (p. 10). ‘Category shift’ avoids unnatural forms of translation and favors solutions that meet the viewers’ expectations and compensates for the differences in offensive/taboo words in the SL and TL (Han and Wang, 2014).

Example 3.4: Dialogue sentence (3) in *IB*

(5) Aldo Raine: “(...) and jumped out of a **fuckin** air-o-plane to teach the Nazis a lesson in humanity.”

Subtitles → Aldo Raine: “(...) *springend uit ‘n tyfusvliegtuig om de nazi’s wat menselijkheid bij te brengen.*”

D. Overplay

Keating (2014) identifies a tendency to translate slurs and other racially/ethnically laden words, which can not be grouped into the other tendencies. ‘Overplay’ is the tendency to amplify the harshness of slurs and other racially/ethnically laden words. According to Keating (2014), overplay is due to spatial and time constraints, misinterpretation of the context in which the word is uttered, or a lack of a (near-)equivalent (p. 304).

Example 3.5: Dialogue sentence (70) in *DU*

(6) Django: “She ain’t no field **nigger**.”

Subtitles → Django: “*Ze is geen veldnikker.*”

E. Compensation

Compensation can be used to make up for the loss of an offensive/taboo somewhere else in the TT (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007). For instance, if an offensive/taboo term is omitted due to temporal constraints, the translator can insert an (or the same) offensive/taboo term elsewhere in the TT. As seen in example 3.6, the omitted “*fucking*” is compensated by the replacement of “mouth” into “*muil*”, which is an animal term reference.

Example 3.6: Dialogue sentence (54) in *IB*

(7) Aldo Raine: “Just keep your fuckin **mouth** shut.”

Subtitles → Aldo Raine: “*Hou je muil.*”

F. De-swearing

De-swearing is used to translate an offensive/taboo term into a “plain” and “non-swearword” (Han & Wang, 2014, p. 13). The difference between de-swearing and omission is that with de-swearing the offensive or taboo term is replaced, rather than omitted. As seen in example 3.7, the insult “fucker” has not been omitted but replaced by the neutral personal pronoun “*hem*”.

Example 3.7: Dialogue sentence (56) in *IB*

(8) Shosanna Dreyfus: “Bring that **fucker** over here!”

Subtitles → Shosanna Dreyfus: “*Breng hem naar de tafel.*”

These tendencies will be used to analyze the shift from ST to TT in *IB* and *DU*. However, it is not enough to identify the tendencies in both movies, as already mentioned, function plays a significant role.

3.3 Function in subtitling analysis

Guillot (2012) states that analyzing excerpts in translation is often not enough in the comparative approaches in AVT research. Incorporating function in subtitling analysis is rather new, and studies in translation have mainly focussed on the retention of offensive and

taboo words and the translation procedures used (Baines, 2015). According to Guillot (2012), it should be considered a first step “to identify the functions of such features in the source-text dialogues, since if they have none, it does not matter much whether they are represented or not” (p. 113). Indeed, if taboo language did not have a function, it would not matter whether and why they would be omitted or not.

3.3.1 Functional equivalence

A theoretical framework for comparative analysis based on function is Nida’s Functional Equivalence (1964/2000). Han and Wang (2014) loosely incorporate this framework into their methodology, and it will be discussed briefly. The term “equivalence” is considered controversial, and there is little consensus into what it entails (Munday, 2012, p. 75).

According to Nida (1964/2000), translators should focus on two things: they should render the message, in “content and form” in the ST, while simultaneously tailoring the message to the needs of the TC (p. 128). Han and Wang (2014) argue that the target-oriented approach Nida introduces is key for subtitling analysis. Han and Wang (2014) base their analysis on Nida’s theory of Functional Equivalence in the sense that they take the “audience’s need” into consideration (p. 3). This consideration is especially relevant for the translation of offensive and taboo words because they are intrinsically linked with culture and language.

In Dutch, the concept of taboo and offensive language and function has not been fully explored. An MA thesis by Steenlandt (2015), conducts a comparative study on the translation of taboo language in an action film (*30 minutes or less*) and war drama (*Jarhead*). The study aims to determine whether there are differences in the translation of taboo language between the two genres. Steenlandt (2015) uses Trudgill and Andersson’s (1990) classification of function (Expletive, humorous, auxiliary, and abusive function), and adds two additional functions due to there being a gap in Trudgill and Andersson’s classification: ‘referential’ and ‘literal function’. The study found that deletion was used the most for taboo language in both movies, especially those with an auxiliary function. The results also showed that the differences between genres were minimal, and both opted for deletion the most (p. 61-62).

Another study that focuses on the translation of taboo language in Dutch subtitles is an MA Thesis by Nguyen (2015). Nguyen (2015) examines the linguistic functions, forms, and strategies in the translation of taboo language in *Reservoir Dogs*. In this contrastive study, Nguyen (2015) conducts an analysis based on the strategies employed in the translation of the taboo and offensive words, which is followed by a qualitative analysis on whether these linguistic functions, also based on Andersson and Trudgill (1990), have been retained. The results show that taboo and offensive words have been toned down, mainly because of the cultural differences. In the instances that the translator did translate the offensive/ taboo words, Nguyen (2015) argued that the translator did not succeed in finding a suitable equivalent (p. 91). Furthermore, Andersson and Trudgill's (1990) pragmatic classification proved limited due to some utterances not fitting any of the four functional categories (p. 94).

There have not been any Dutch studies incorporating the more recent classification of function by Pinker's (2007). Nor has there been any focus on the translation of movies set in such different periods in history (slavery and WWII), which is specifically interesting in NL, because the perception of slavery and WWII are significantly contrasting. This thesis will therefore contribute to the ever-growing research on taboo language and incorporate function and the differences in CM into its research.

3.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to briefly give an overview on audiovisual translation and subtitling. It is clear from the research that subtitling can be differentiated with other types of translation, especially due to its constraints and the presence of the ST. When looking at the subtitling of offensive and taboo words, the nature of subtitles play a significant role. Along with this are the general issues associated with the translation of offensive and taboo words, especially because these words are so intrinsically linked with language and culture. Out of the discussed research some general tendencies of the translation and subtitling of offensive and taboo words were identified and will be used for the analysis. Research on the subtitling of offensive and taboo words proves that function has not been taken into account often. The linguistic research that has been done on Dutch subtitling of offensive and taboo words and function, indicate that function plays a significant role.

Chapter 4: Materials and Method

This chapter describes the materials and method used to answer the following research questions:

1. What offensive and taboo words can be found in *Inglourious Basterds* and *Django Unchained*, and what are the differences between both movies?
2. What are the functions of the offensive and taboo words in the two source texts, and how are these functions transferred to the target texts, i.e., the Dutch subtitles?

First, the materials used in this study will be discussed (4,1), with a synopsis and background information on both *DU* (4.1.1) and *IB* (4.1.2). Then, the method will be discussed in 4.2.

4.1 Materials

The STs in this study are the movies *IB* (2009) and *DU* (2012), both directed by Quentin Tarantino. For the TTs, the Dutch subtitles of both movies from *Pathé Thuis* were used. *Pathé Thuis* is the streaming service of Dutch movie theater company Pathé. Initially, I had wanted to use the Netflix versions of both movies since Netflix is known for having slightly deviating norms when it comes to subtitling. However, only *DU* is available on the Dutch versions of Netflix. To avoid any biased results, I used the *Pathé Thuis* versions for both movies. *Pathé Thuis* offers so-called ‘open’ subtitling, which means that the subtitling cannot be turned off or changed (Díaz Cintas & Remael, p. 21-22).

Tarantino’s movies are known for their excessive use of offensive and taboo words, making them useful for this study. The movies *IB* and *DU* were chosen for this study because of their different socio-historical settings (WWII and slavery), especially taking into account the CM in Dutch culture (see section 3.4 of the Literature Review). As already mentioned, WWII might be more of a sensitive subject than slavery, which may affect the translation of related offensive and taboo words in the subtitling.

4.1.1 Django Unchained

DU (2012) was written and directed by Quentin Tarantino. It is two hours and 45 minutes long and R-Rated (IMDb, n.d). According to IMDb (n.d), *DU* can be placed under Western

and Drama genres, but also as a Spaghetti Western (Vognar, 2013). Although *DU* is fictional, Tarantino does show some elements of historical realism. The historical context of the movie is as follows. *DU* is set in 1858 (IMDb, n.d.), historically a troublesome time in the United States; slavery was still legal in the United States, and it was a few years before the outbreak of the Civil war (1861-1865). The American Civil war was predominantly caused by the disagreement between the free states in the North (with Delaware being the first in 1787) and slave states (Southern states), where slavery was still legal. *DU* is set in the middle of the rising tension between the South and the North, and this is displayed throughout the movie. For instance, in the first scene, Dr. Schultz points out the way to the North to the slaves, where they will be free.

4.1.1.1 Language in *Django Unchained*

The predominant language in *DU* is American English, and there is also some German. However, the German language is irrelevant for this study because there are no offensive or taboo words present. Furthermore, *DU* is full of the Southern dialect, and language that presents historical realism, such as the predominant use of ‘nigger’.

4.1.1.2 Reception of *Django Unchained*

DU received a fair amount of critique with its release in 2012. Tarantino is known for his excessive use of taboo language to shock (Vognar, 2013). In *DU*, Tarantino took it to the extreme, especially with the frequency of ‘nigger’ and received much negative attention (Vognar, 2013; Allan, 2015). According to Soler-Pardo (2018), the context in which this criticism should be viewed is him using it as a “white filmmaker”, going against the notion that only African-Americans can use this word (p. 243). The function ‘nigger’ has in *DU* says a lot about Tarantino’s use of the word. Whether ‘nigga’ (as an insult of endearment) is present in a movie set in the 1800s can be used as a good indication of whether Tarantino used ‘nigger’ to provoke or to present historical realism.

4.1.1.3 Synopsis *Django Unchained*

The movie is about Django (Jamie Foxx), a slave freed by a German bounty hunter, Dr. Schultz (Christopher Waltz). Dr. Schultz is on the hunt for three slave owners and needs Django’s help to find them. Dr. Schultz offers Django a part of the reward and his freedom.

Django agrees and plans to rescue his wife, Broomhilda, who is still enslaved. However, after killing the Brittle brothers, Schultz offers Django his help to rescue Broomhilda in return for his help with bounty hunting. Dr. Schultz and Django set out to the Deep South, where Mr. Candie enslaves Broomhilda. As they arrive at Mr. Candie's, Schultz and Django act as though they are interested in buying one of Candie's "fighting niggers". However, Stephen (Samuel L. Jackson) the in-house slave, catches on to them. Their reveal eventually leads to Schultz and Mr. Candie's death and the capturing of Django. However, Django escapes and returns to the plantation to free Broomhilda.

4.1.2 Inglourious Basterds

IB (2009) was also written and produced by Tarantino. The movie duration is two hours and 33 minutes. The genre of *IB* is Adventure, Drama, War, and R-Rated (IMDb, n.d.). The movie is set between 1941 and 1944, in "Nazi-occupied France" (IMDb, n.d.), specifically in Paris. The historical context of the movie is as follows. In short, the war in Europe lasted from 1939-1945. According to the online Holocaust Encyclopedia (HE) (2007), the war started in 1939 with the invasion of Poland by the German Nazis. The German Nazis considered themselves the "master race" (HE, 2007). The main casualties in the war were Jewish people, who were blamed for all of the problems, such as the economic crisis. They were sent to ghettos and concentration camps to be killed (HE, 2007).

4.1.2.1 Language in *Inglourious Basterds*

IB is a multilingual movie; English, German, French, and even some Italian dialogue. Therefore, the ST was analyzed through an English pivot text found (IMSDb, n.d.). Similarly to *DU*, *IB* has a racially laden context. The movie consists of racial and ethnic slurs, such as 'Jew degenerate'.

4.1.2.2 Reception of *Inglourious Basterds*

Despite *IB* commercial success, its release was also accompanied by much controversy. The main critique was due to its "rewriting of history" and its "rewriting of fantasy and facts" (Walters, 2009, p. 19). For instance, in the end, Hitler, amongst others, gets killed and the war ends. This lack of "respect" for the reality of the war has been under scrutiny.

4.1.2.3 Synopsis of *Inglourious Basterds*

The movie is predominantly about a group of American Jewish soldiers (led by Aldo Raine, played by Brad Pitt) called The Basterds, who take revenge on the Nazis. They are sent to Europe to help defeat the Nazis by scalping them. *IG* consists of two separate plots to assassinate the Nazis in the same cinema. The first is about Shoshannah, the owner of the cinema, who lives under a false name. She wants to blow up the cinema to seek revenge for what the Nazis did to her family. The other plot involves the German movie star and secret agent Bridget von Hammersmark and The Basterds. They orchestrate a plan to attend the screening as Italians and assassinate all the Nazis. In the end, Raine's disguise is blown, and Shoshannah gets killed by German Soldier Zoller. However, the plan succeeds, and German war leaders such as Hitler and Goebbels get killed.

4.2 Method

This section will discuss the methods used for this study. First, Avila-Cabrera's (2015a) taxonomy for classifying taboo and offensive words will be discussed in section 4.2.1. Section 4.2.2. will then discuss the subtitling analysis based on the model of Han and Wang (2014). Then, the data analysis will be discussed in 4.3 and the limitations in 4.4.

4.2.1 Taxonomy of Offensive and Taboo Words

This thesis bases the categories 'offensive words' and 'taboo words' on an adapted version of Avila-Cabrera's (2015a) taxonomy (Table 2, 2015a, p. 4), as discussed in section 2.1 of the Literature Review, reproduced here as Table 1.

Table 1

Taxonomy of offensive and taboo words (based on Avila-Cabrera, 2015a)

Category	Subcategory	Types	Examples
Offensive	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Speak English, Goddamn it! (DU)
		Derogatory tone	They don't give a fuck about him. (IG)
		Insult	Bring that fucker over here!
		Oath	I swear for God! (DU)

	Expletives	Exclamatory swear word/phrase	Fuck! (IG)
	Invectives	Subtle insult	Hey, Snowball! (DU)
Taboo	Animal name terms		And the little bitch ... (DU)
	Ethnic slur		You fucking bratwurst smelling ... (IG)
	Racial slur		I got no use for a nigger with sand. (DU)
	Sexist slur		Shut up, slut . (IG)
	Filth		You get the molasses out your ass. (DU)
	Body part/sexual references		Take your little ass ... (IG)
	Profane/ blasphemous		Jesus Christ , Stephen. (DU)
	Psychological/physical condition		I'm a German, you idiot! (DU)
	Urination/scatology		I would be shitting my pants. (IG)

As shown in Table 1, some adaptations have been made to Avila-Cabrera's taxonomy. For this study, the ethnic, racial, and gender slurs will be considered three separate subcategories within taboo words. This distinction is due to their significance as separate categories. Moreover, the subcategory 'gender slurs' is changed into 'sexist slur' in order to incorporate other related slurs, such as 'Faggot' (*IB*).

4.2.2 Subtitling analysis: STs and TTs

A quantitative and qualitative subtitling analysis was done based on Han and Wang (2014) to answer the research questions. In order to obtain the most reliable results, the same method was used for *DU* and *IB*.

While doing a subtitling analysis it is important to realize that there are two sets of world and time (Allan, 2016). First, there is "the set of worlds and times (contexts) that contain the author, the work, and the audience" (p. 10). Secondly, there is "the set of worlds and times evoked within the work itself" (p. 10). Similar to Avila-Cabrera (2015a), the categorization of taboo and offensive words will be extra-diegetic, i.e., what the audience will find taboo or

offensive. For instance, ‘nigger’ will be labeled as a racial slur, although it has not always been seen as a slur, as discussed in section 2.2.1 of the Literature Review. Classifying function will be intra-diegetic, i.e., based on the function it has in the audiovisual text. For instance, when Aldo Raine calls the officers who carry him out ‘dickheads’, it is labeled as abusive, whereas it might have been funny for the audience.

For the subtitling analysis, both *IB* and *DU* were watched twice to focus on the ST and TT separately. Also, one of the aims of this study is focussed on function, which is context-related. It is, therefore, important to pay close attention to the images of the audiovisual text.

The four-stage procedure based on Han and Wang (2014) will be discussed below.

4.2.2.1 Identifying offensive and taboo words (ST)

First, the offensive and taboo words were identified from the ST by looking at the transcript and the *Pathé Thuis* version of both movies. For this process, the film script from IMSDb (n.d.) was consulted and used as a tool. Offensive and taboo words were analyzed separately if the sentence or utterance contained two or more offensive or taboo words. For this analysis, the ST audio was used rather than the English subtitles since interlingual subtitling decisions should be based on the audio (and the image).

4.2.2.2 Identifying offensive and taboo words (TT)

In a second step, the offensive and taboo words in the Dutch subtitling were identified. The film scripts were used here as well, for example, to identify any instances of omitted or adapted offensive and taboo words.

4.2.2.3 Classification of offensive and taboo words (ST) and (TT)

As a third step, the ST and TT offensive and taboo words were grouped and classified according to Avila-Cabrera’s (2015a) adapted taxonomy (see figure 1). Moreover, in this step, the function of the ST and TT offensive and taboo words (based on Pinker, 2007; Dynel, 2012) was classified, as discussed in 2.2 of the Literature Review.

To make the labeling of function as objective and reliable as possible, I will use an adapted version of Steenlandt's (2015) 'guide of criteria', in which the criteria of the functions are made clear (See Appendix C).

4.2.2.4 Translation procedures

As a fourth step, the translation procedures used for the shift from English to Dutch subtitles were identified, based on the procedures proposed by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), Han and Wang (2014), and Keating (2014), as discussed in 3.2.2 of the Literature Review, were analyzed.

During the analysis, an alteration has been made, changing Han and Wang's (2014) 'category shift' into 'adaptation'. Han and Wang (2014) base their analysis on semantic categories, whereas the categories used in my analysis are broader, some of which contain several 'semantic categories'. A slur might fall under the category 'ethnic slur' in both the ST and TT, but can be in a different form. For instance, the translation of 'Two-faced French bourgeois' to '*Franse stroopsmeerder*'. This translation cannot be grouped under any other strategies, nor does it involve a category shift. To facilitate these shifts, I will be using 'adaptation' instead, which refers to replacing a ST word with a word more familiar for the TC.

The following procedures will thus be used in the analysis:

1) Omission, 2) Literal translation, 3) Adaptation, 4) Overplay, 5) Compensation, 6) De-swearing.

4.3 Data analysis

For the data analysis, Han and Wang (2014) use AntConc a freeware for corpus analysis. For this study, however, I have chosen to use Microsoft Excel, due to the manual labeling of the offensive and taboo words in both movies, to include audiovisual input. The data for the STs and TTs were inserted in Microsoft Excel to make a Pivot Table. For the results of both movies, percentages were used, as the movies did not have the same number of instances.

Similarly to Han and Wang (2014), a comparison between tokens and types was made for some of the subcategories.

Tokens and types

Tokens and types are often used in linguistics to distinguish between the total number of occurrences and the types of instances in that total number. According to Han and Wang (2014), tokens and types are used in comparative analysis to reveal yet another layer of difference between the categories.

It was analyzed whether the ST contained similar functions as the TT and whether the function was retained in the TT. Finally, the results of *DU* and *IG* were compared and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

4.4 Methodology limitations

The first limitation is the fact that *IB* is a multilingual text. The foreign ST dialogue is obtained through an English pivot text. The back translation might affect the accuracy of the ST because it is translated from, e.g., German back to English. Also, there is no information on the subtitler and thus no information on whether a pivot text was used, nor is there any other information I could obtain on the translation choices.

Another limitation is that the *Pathe Thuis* does not show the milliseconds of the movie duration, which would have helped identify the subtitling's temporal constraints more precisely.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

This chapter presents the results and a discussion of the study on the offensive and taboo words, their subsequent functions, and the transfer of function in *DU* and *IB*. This analysis aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What taboo and offensive words can be found in *Inglourious Basterds* and *Django Unchained*, and what are the differences between both movies?
2. What are the functions of the taboo and offensive words in the two source texts, and how are these functions transferred to the target texts, i.e., the Dutch subtitles?

This chapter is divided into three sections, i.e., the findings for *DU* (5.1), *IB* (5.2), and the comparison between the two movies (5.3). The findings will first provide insight into the categories, subcategories, and types of offensive and taboo words used in the STs, following Avila-Cabrera's (2015a) framework (section 5.1.1 and 5.2.1). The functions of the offensive and taboo words following Pinker's (2007) and Dynel's (2012) classification will be classified, following an on how the context-specific function of offensive and taboo language has been handled in translation (5.1.2 and 5.2.2). Finally, the translation procedures (section 5.1.3 and 5.2.3), following the framework of Han and Wang (2014) will be analyzed. However, since all the three objectives of the analysis are intertwined, some of the themes will be combined.

5.1 Django Unchained

Tarantino's movie *DU* is set in the 1850s, a few years before the American Civil war (1861-1865). The story of Django and Dr. Schultz predominantly takes place in the deep South of the United States, where slavery was still very much alive, and the tension between North and South began to rise. Based on the movie's socio-historical context, it is expected that a predominant part of the language will be related to race and that there will be more taboo words than offensive, more specifically slurs. Concerning slurs, and based on a previous study (Keating, 2014), I expect that the TT shift will be complex.

The results and a discussion of *DU* will be discussed below.

5.1.1 Offensive and Taboo Words

As Table 2 shows, the total occurrences of offensive/taboo words in the ST were 288, while the TT contained 156 taboo/offensive words. This shows that the ST contained 132 more offensive/taboo words than the TT; in other words, the TT contains 46% fewer offensive/taboo words than the ST. This considerable reduction of both categories from ST to TT is in line with notions in the study of subtitling offensive and taboo words, for instance, the spatial and temporal constraints associated with subtitling (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007; Han and Wang, 2014). It is also in line with previous studies on the Dutch subtitling of offensive and taboo words, where there was a significant amount of the offensive and taboo words omitted or neutralized (de-swearing) (Steenlandt, 2015; Nguyen, 2015).

Table 2

Offensive and taboo words (DU)

	ST	ST percentage	TT	TT percentage
Offensive words	118	43.5%	27	17.5%
Taboo words	170	56.5%	129	82.5%
Total	288	100%	156	100%

The offensive and taboo words were also divided into subsequent subcategories and types, following Avila-Cabrera's (2015a) taxonomy. Table 3 presents the subcategories and types, and the retention in the TT. The retention of the offensive/taboo words does not include the instances of compensation found, because the words have been added in the TT. The instances of compensation is labeled in Table 3 as (+) and counts for the total instances, but do not count for the retention.

Table 3

Subcategories and types (DU)

	ST	ST Percentages	TT	TT percentages	Retention in TT
Offensive	118		26 (+1)		22%
Abusive	95	33%	15 (+1)	10.5%	15.5%

swearing					
Expletives	14	5%	6	4%	43%
Invectives	10	3.5%	5	3%	50%
Taboo	170		126 (+3)		74%
Animal terms	4	1.5%	1	0.5%	25%
Ethnic slur	-	-	-	-	-
Racial slur	129	45%	93	60.5%	73%
Sexist slur	-	-	(+2)	1%	-
Filth	1	0.25%	-	-	-
Profane/blasphemous	7	2.5%	5	3%	71.5%
Psychological/physical condition	1	0.25%	1	0.5%	100%
Sexual/body part references	18	6%	25 (+1)	17%	+128%
Urination/scatology	9	3%	-	-	-

As shown in Table 3, only 22% of the offensive words are retained in the TT, compared to 74% for taboo words. The considerably higher reduction of offensive words over taboo words can be linked to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007). They state that only the most plot-pertinent information can be rendered in subtitling, due to its subsequent constraints (p. 148).

Considering the theme of *DU*, it made sense that the retention of slurs (73% retention) has precedence over other subcategories, such as ‘abusive swearing’ (15.5% retention). This finding is in line with Han and Wang (2014), who argue that offensive/taboo words “that function as fillers” are omitted sooner (p.1). A significant amount of the ‘abusive swearing’ category contained derogatory adjectives (see Table 4). Thus, when taking a closer look at the reasons why offensive and taboo words are omitted, although the harshness of the offensive and taboo words in writing plays a role (as argued by Díaz Cintas, 2001; Allan and Burrige, 2006; Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007), other reasons which will be discussed further are also of significant difference.

5.1.1.1 Offensive words

Table 4 shows the offensive types and the translation procedure used for all the offensive types.

Table 4

Offensive types (ST) and translation procedures (DU)

	De-swearing	Literal translation	Omission	Adaptation	Overplay
Cursing	1/ (1%)	7 / (6%)	4/ (3.5%)	1/ (1%)	-
Derogatory tone/adjective	17/ (14.5%)	1/ (1%)	35/ (29%)	5(4%)	-
Insult	4/ (3.5%)	-	4(3.5%)	14/ (12%)	-
Oath	-	-	-	1 (1%)	-
Exclamatory swear word/phrase	3 / (2.5%)	2/ (1.5%)	5(4%)	4 (3.5%)	-
Subtle insult	3(2.5%)	1 (1%)	2/ (1.5%)	4(3.5%)	-

As expected, ‘omission’ accounted for the translation procedure used the most for the offensive types, i.e., 42%. Some interesting patterns will be discussed next.

Derogatory adjective

‘Derogatory adjective/ tone’ was most frequently omitted (29%). This category consisted mostly of the use of ‘fucking’ and ‘goddamn’. Example 5.1 illustrates such a case:

Example 5.1: Dialogue sentence (59) in *DU*

Baghead #2 ‘But nobody can see.’

Mr. Spencer ‘So?’

Baghead #2 ‘So it would be nice to see.’

Mr. Spencer ‘Goddamnit, this is a raid. I can’t see. You can’t see. So what? All that matters is can the **fucking** horse see.’

In this dialogue, Mr. Spencer uses ‘fucking’ as a derogatory adjective, not adding anything to the sentence. The derogatory adjective was labeled ‘idiomatic’, because it does not modify ‘horse’, it is more so a way of talking or to indicate that there is an informal situation. In the subtitling of *DU*, this use of ‘fucking’ does not shift into the TT well. A general notion that all these translation choices are linked to the harshness of the written offensive and taboo words, would not do the translation choices justice. First, there is the rule of relevance in which due to time and space constraints, only the most relevant information can be retained (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007, p. 148). Since these derogatory adjectives do not add much to the sentence, they might be omitted sooner. It is also in line with Koolstra et al. (2002), who argues that there is a reduction of approximately “30 percent” with the shift from English audio to Dutch subtitles (p. 328). One option for translation, if space and time permitted it, could be: *‘Zolang de fucking paarden maar wat zien.’*, since ‘fucking’ is a word that has been borrowed into the Dutch language (Sterkenburg, 2001). However, first, the addition of ‘fucking’ would make for a subtitle that would not fit the six-second rule (Díaz Cintas & Ramael, 2007). Another reason for the omission of ‘fucking’ can be linked to the fact that there were no instances of borrowing found in the TT. This might indicate the subtitler’s disfavor for borrowing or a guideline from *Pathe Thuis*. Seeing that subtitling is a vulnerable type of translation, the translation of ‘fucking’ (excluding the option of borrowing) being so familiar in the TC, might cause for criticism or scrutiny. The omission of ‘fucking’ would thus be in line with Hjort (2009), who argues that instead of an unnatural translation of offensive and taboo words, translators might opt for omission or de-swearing.

Use of ‘goddamn’

Another interesting finding was the use of ‘goddamn’ and how it was found in three different offensive types: ‘Derogatory adjective’, ‘Expletive’, and ‘Cursing’. The three different ways goddamn was used in *DU*, illustrate what Avila-Cabrera (2015a) meant when stating that an offensive or taboo word, does not necessarily belong to a specific (sub)category.

Example 5.2: Dialogue sentence (94) in *DU*

Mr. Candie ‘For God’s sake. Can somebody help Hoot back up on his **goddamn** horse?’

Mr. Candie *‘Kan iemand Hoot op z’n paard helpen?’*

Example 5.3: Dialogue sentence (170) in *DU*

Stephen Hurry up, **goddamn!**

Stephen *Schiet op, verdomme!*

Example 5.4: Dialogue sentence (42) in *DU*

Baghead #1 **Damn!** I can't see fucking shit out of this thing.

Baghead #1 *Verdomme! Ik zie geen zak met dit ding.*

Similarly to Han and Wang (2014), the translation of '*verdomme*' suggests that offensive and taboo words are intrinsically linked with language. The translation of '*verdomme*' (example 5.3 and 5.4) can be linked to similarities in offensive/taboo words in Dutch and English, in which a significant number has a religious meaning (Sterkenburg, 2001, Wajnryb, 2005). The presence of a (near-)equivalent in two languages implicates a lesser risk for the subtitler to translate a word. Interesting to see is that 'goddamn' as a curse is predominantly retained and translated as '*verdomme*' (5.3). Expletive 'goddamn' is either translated as 'Verdomme' (5.4) or neutralized, whereas the derogatory adjective is omitted (5.2). The different translation choices made with the same word ('*verdomme*'), again, indicate that there is more at hand than the harshness of offensive and taboo words in writing.

5.1.1.2 Taboo words

The taboo words accounted for 56.5% of the offensive/taboo words in the ST. Most taboo words' subcategories were fairly straightforward, so I will only discuss some interesting patterns found.

Nigger

All of the slurs found in *DU* were about or towards black people, which is in line with Tarantino's controversial style (Vognar, 2013; Allan, 2015). The type/token ratio for the subcategory racial slurs for both the ST and the TT can be found in Table 5.

Table 5

Type-token ratio ‘racial slurs’ (DU)

	ST	TT
Types	8	3
Token	129	94

As shown in Table 5, a significant number of slurs were found, but the types were limited. In the ST, ‘nigger’ was the predominant type and was found 114 times. Some of the types were Garboon (twice), picaninny (three times), and Jimmie (three times). In the TT, ‘nigger’ (type) accounted for 85 (token) of the slurs, the other types ‘zwarte’ was used eight times, and ‘zwartje’ once. Interestingly, the number of slur tokens has not significantly decreased, but the slur types have.

In contrast to Keating’s study on slurs (2014), a significant amount of the instances of ‘nigger’ was retained in the TT. There were also some instances where ‘nigger’ was omitted or neutralized (de-swearing) in the TT. The following two examples illustrate the two main reasons why ‘nigger’ was either omitted or neutralized.

Example 5.6: Dialogue sentence (178) in *DU*

Stephen They are here for that girl.
 Mr. Candie What girl? Hildi?
 Stephen Yeah. Hildi. Her and Django. Them **niggers** know each other.

Stephen Ze willen dat meisje.
 Mr. Candie Welke meisje? Hildi?
 Stephen Jazeker. Zij en Django kennen elkaar.

Example 5.7: Dialogue sentence (178) in *DU*

Stephen Them bounty hunters are going to catch you.
 Stephen Can’t no **nigger gunfighter** kill all the white folks in the world.

Stephen Jij komt op de posters te staan.
 Stephen **Je** kunt heus niet alle blanken afmaken.

In example 5.6, ‘Them niggers’ is omitted, or more specifically, the two sentences are condensed into one due to repetition, which, according to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), is one of the main reasons for ‘omission’. In example 5.7, ‘nigger’ is neutralized (de-swearing) into ‘Je’. One of the reasons for de-swearing can be because of time constraint. Also the translation of ‘nigger gunfighter’ would make for an unnatural translation such as ‘nikker schutter’, similar to ‘nigger-love’ which has also not been retained in the TT. A third reason could be that there was no match in the TL, such as with the word ‘picaninny’ which has also been neutralized. Again, subtitles as a vulnerable type of translation (Díaz Cintas & Remael, p. 57), and the potential scrutiny of viewers might have resulted in omission or de-swearing. Moreover, seeing that slurs are one of the harshest types of taboo language (Keating, 2014), de-swearing, instead of an unnatural translation, might have been a better option for the subtitles. Building on this, these findings suggest that the omission of nigger (14 times) and de-swearing (15 times), was not due to its harshness, but more so because of the subtitling and linguistic constraints associated with subtitling. This finding also suggests that the subtitling of slurs is very much dependent upon the role the word plays in a movie. Simply omitting ‘nigger’, because of its harshness would take a way of Tarantino’s comment about the necessity of certain things that are ugly to hear or see when portrayed (*Transition*, 2013, p. 54). This finding does not suggest, however, that a general tendency of the subtitling of ‘nigger’ is that it is predominantly retained. Other uses of ‘nigger’, such as a term of endearment in contemporary movies might be omitted sooner, as found by Keating (2014).

The analysis of offensive and taboo words, show that there are more taboo words (56.5%) than offensive words (43.5%). The word ‘nigger’ is the most frequent and accounts for 67% of the taboo words and 39.5% of the total words. The use of offensive and taboo words in *DU* suggest that its use is predominantly for thematic effect and historical realism. The reduction of offensive words in *DU* (retention of 22%), was mainly due to spatial and time constraints and Diaz Cintas and Remael’s (2007) rule of relevance. Whereas, the reduction of taboo words (retention of 74%), was mainly due to repetition, space and time constraints, and differences in language.

The next section will discuss the offensive and taboo word functions found in *DU*.

5.1.2 Function of Offensive and Taboo Words

In analyzing the function, Pinker (2007) and Dynel's (2012) classification of function was used. Due to the genre and the focus on tension between black and white in the movie, it was expected that the functions 'idiomatic', 'engendering humour', and 'pgmcg' would only account for a small amount of the functions. Table 6 shows the frequency of function found in the ST and the translation procedures used per function.

Table 6

Offensive/taboo words function and procedures (ST) (DU)

Function ST/ Procedures used	Adaptation	De-swearing	Omission	Literal translation	Overplay	Total found
Abusive	68/ 60%	25/ 22%	13/ 11%	7/ 6%	-	113/ 39.5%
Cathartic	7/ 22.5%	3/ 9.5%	9/ 28.5%	12/ 38.5%	-	31/ 10.5%
Descriptive	14/ 16%	28/ 32%	7/ 8%	-	39/ 44.5%	88/ 30.5%
Emphatic	-	8/ 50%	8/ 50%	-	-	16/ 5.5%
Idiomatic	1/ 2.5%	6/ 15.5%	31/ 79.5%	1/ 2.5%	-	39/ 13.5%
Pgmcg	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engendering humour	1/ 100%	-	-	-	-	1/ 0.5%
						288/ 100%

Each function and the translation procedures will be discussed in the following section through some interesting or complex examples.

Descriptive

Descriptive function accounted for 30.5% of the offensive and taboo words. The most complex classification of function was with the word 'nigger'.

Use of nigger

Based on previous research, where it has been stated that ‘nigger’ was also used to refer to social status (as slave) (Pryor, 2016), findings by Soler-Pardo (2017) show that the use of ‘nigger’ in audiovisual texts differs depending on the time the movie was set in, and hints in the movie (see example 5.8), I decided to include the option of a descriptive function for the use of ‘nigger’.

Example 5.8: Dialogue sentence (70) in *DU*

Dr Schultz Apparently, that’s is where your wife is. And that’s the repellent gentleman who owns her.

Let’s just hope she works in the house, not in the field.

Django She ain’t no field **nigger**. She pretty. And she talk good too.

Dr Schultz Nou, daar is je vrouw. En die vervelende man bezit haar.

Dr Schultz Hopelijk werkt ze niet op het veld.

Django Ze is geen **veldnikker**. Ze is knap. En ze kan goed praten.

Example 5.8 shows a conversation between Django and Dr. Schultz, in which they talk about Broomhilda, Django’s wife. When Django points out that Broomhilda is a “field nigger”, he is using the word synonymously with ‘slave’. First, it would make no sense for Django to use a slur to refer to his wife. Secondly, the modification of “nigger” with “field” shows that Django refers to a specific kind of slave, one who works on the plantation field, and not as a slur. Another hint in the movie that ‘nigger’ was still very much in use as synonymous to ‘slave’ is the paratext “HOUSE NIGGER SERVANT UNIFORMS”. In which, it be unjustifiable for a clothing store to use a racial slur. Therefore the label as ‘descriptive’ would be more fitting. The use of ‘niger’ synonymously with ‘slave’ is, however, still a form of a dysphemism, seeing that the word ‘slave’ was also in use, and ‘nigger’ has always been used to differentiate between the white superior and the ‘Other’ (Pryor, 2016, p. 205).

Consequently, there should be some sort of distinction made in the subtitling between the slur and the descriptive form, which will further be discussed in section 5.1.3. However, as Keating (2014) argues, because slurs are so socio-historically linked, it is difficult to translate.

Body part reference

The use of ‘body part reference’ and fixed expressions also accounted for a significant amount of the descriptive function, as shown in example 5.9.

Example 5.9: Dialogue sentence (191) in *DU*

Stephen They **playin your ass** for a fool, that's what I'm talkin' bout. They ain't here for no muscle bound Jimmie, they here for that girl.

Mr Candie What girl? Hildi?

Stephen *Ze willen u belazeren.*

Stephen *Ze zoeken geen gespierde slaaf.*

Mr Candie *Ze willen dat meisje.*

In example 5.9, the main reason for de-swearing is because of space constraints. Also, there is the problem that a similar expression is simply not present in the Dutch language. This finding is consistent with the study by Han and Wang (2014), in which some offensive and taboo words were neutralized, merely because there was no similar expression available. Seeing that subtitling is a vulnerable type of translation (Díaz Cintas & Ramael, 2007), again the decision for de-swearing or omission suggest avoidance of an unnatural translation (Hjort, 2009).

Abusive

The abusive function was found 113 times in the ST, which accounted for 39.5%. Most of the abusive function was retained 66% (6% literal translation, and 60% adaptation), but adapted to a TC term (e.g. ‘*klootzak*’ instead of ‘son of a bitch), which will be discussed further in 5.1.3.

Sometimes the distinction between ‘nigger’ as ‘descriptive’ or ‘abusive’ was more complex to classify:

Example 5.10: Dialogue sentence (23) in *DU*

Mr. Spencer It is against the law for **niggers** to ride horses in this territory.

Dr. Schultz This is my valet. My valet does not walk.

Mr. Spencer I said, **nigger** on horses...

Dr. Schultz His name is Django. He is a free man, he can ride what he pleases.

Mr. Spencer *Nickers mogen hier niet paardrijden.*

Dr. Schultz *Dit is m'n bediende. Hij gaat niet lopen.*

Mr. Spencer *Ik zei dat nickers hier..*

Dr. Schultz *Hij heet Django. Hij is een vrij man en hij mag doen wat hij wil.*

Example 5.11: Dialogue sentence (28) in DU

Mr. Spencer Well, what if I say, I don't like you, or your fancy pants **nigger**.

Mr. Spencer *Nou ik mag je niet. En die dure nikker van je ook niet.*

These two examples present two ways in which 'nigger' is used by Mr. Spencer. In example 5.10, 'nigger' is used synonymously to 'slave' and thus 'descriptive'. Mr. Spencer refers to Django as 'nigger' because he believes he is a slave. However, even after Dr. Schultz explicitly states that Django is a free man, Mr. Spencer sneers at Django and Dr. Schultz and still refers to Django as 'nigger'. Consequently, Mr. Spencer's use of the word suggests that it is no longer used synonymously to slave but in a demeaning way, since Mr. Spencer knows Django is a free man (example 5.11).

Cathartic

Cathartic function accounted for 10.5% and was translated literally in 38.5% of the occurrences. This significant amount of literal translation is mainly, because in both cultures, the use of religion is common in the taboo language culture (Sterkenburg, 2001), and 'goddamn' had a counterpart in the TL, which is '*verdomme*'. However, even when the offensive or taboo words were neutralized (de-swearing), some of the meaning was retained, as shown in example 5.12.

Example 5.12: Dialogue sentence (28) in DU

Dr Schultz In other words, Marshall, you owe me two hundred dollars.

Django **I'll be damned.**

Dr Schultz *Met andere woorden...*

Dr Schultz *U bent me 200 dollar schuldig.*

Django *Niet te geloven.*

In this utterance, Dr. Schultz kills a sheriff and then claims the bounty from the Sheriff. Django is so shocked about the whole situation, that he uttered 'I'll be damned', which is then translated as '*Niet te geloven*', also communicating surprise. This finding is consistent with the notion that subtitling is not so much a word-for-word type of translation, but more so an adaptation (Diaz Cintas & Ramael, 2007; Gambier, 2006).

Emphatic

The 'emphatic function' accounted for only 5.5% of the total offensive and taboo words and was either omitted or neutralized (de-swearing), resulting in no 'emphatic function' found in the TT. The main reason is that the 'emphatic' function, together with 'idiomatic' are considered the least significant for plot development (Pinker, 2007; Han and Wang, 2014). Consequently, this might suggest that the intensifying and emphasizing factor of the utterance was lost in the subtitles. However, this was not necessarily the case, as shown in the examples below:

Example 5.13: Dialogue sentence (257) in *DU*

Chicken Charlie **Damn** sure.

Chicken Charlie Heel zeker.

As shown example 5.13, although the offensive 'damn' has been neutralized, the meaning of the sentence is still intact. Han and Wang (2014), found a similar case where 'bloody' was translated as 'very'. They also point out that although both are "intensifiers of gradable adjectives", the Chinese subtitles soften the negative effect (p.9). Again, although the offensive or taboo words have been omitted, the sense of the dialogue has been retained. The implications for the subtitler in these instances might be that there will be less scrutiny on the omission/de-swearing of the taboo language, because the sense is still retained.

Idiomatic

The idiomatic function accounted for 13.5%. The idiomatic function was mainly used to promote social connection (Pinker, 2007) and appear macho (Finn, 2017). The transfer of the idiomatic function was significantly low, only 5% was retained, and the rest was either omitted (79.5%) or de-swearing was used (15.5%). The high frequency in omission is also one of the reasons why there were less offensive words found in the TT, i.e., 79.5% of the words with an idiomatic function were ‘derogatory adjectives/tones’. Also, the emphatic and idiomatic functions, which are considered the least significant for plot development (Pinker, 2007; Han and Wang, 2014), combined accounted for 43% of the functions in the offensive category. In contrast, they only accounted for 2.5% in the taboo category. This finding is in line with Steenlandt (2015), who uses Andersson and Trudgill’s (1990) proposed functions. The results showed a significant reduction in ‘auxiliary function’ (84.9% was omitted) (p. 59), which can be considered similar to the ‘idiomatic function’.

Although a large amount of the idiomatic function offensive and taboo words were omitted or neutralized (de-swearing), some of the meaning has partly been retained, such as in example 5.14, in which ‘*nou*’ expresses a similar social connection, or informal setting and surprise.

Example 5.14: Dialogue sentence (178) in *DU*

Dr. Schultz (...) Willard Peck, with a price on his head of two hundred dollars. That's two hundred dollars, dead or alive.

Marshall What the **hell** you saying?

Marshall (...) *is een gezochte crimineel die Willard Peck heet. Er staan 200 op z'n hoofd. 200 dollar, levend of dood.*

Marshall *Wat zeg je me nou?*

Engendering humour

As expected, the function ‘engendering humour’ was not frequent, i.e., only found once. It is important to note that this finding relies on the choice to label function intra-diegetic. If the functions were analyzed extra-diegetic instead of intra-diegetic, some instances might have

been labeled as ‘engendering humour’. Instances that were considered ‘abusive’ for the characters might have been considered funny for the audience. For instance, when Django calls Billy Crash a ‘hillbilly’ right before killing him when he mispronounces his name. More specifically, there is the genre of *DU* and the fact that the movie is predominantly focussed on revenge and the cruelty of slavery. There is thus little room for humour in the plot.

Pgmcg

There were no instances found of ‘pgmcg’ in *DU*. This partly answers whether Tarantino uses ‘nigger’ to shock or to create historical realism, seeing that the word was not used as an insult of endearment until the 1980s (King et al., 2018), whereas *DU* is set in the 1850s. In line with Soler-Pardo’s (2017) study, it can be concluded that there was no inconsistencies in Tarantino’s use of ‘nigger’, or as Soler-Pardo argues ‘nigger’ is rather used for “reproducing genuineness” (p. 249).

5.1.2.1 Retention of function

Table 7 shows the results of the retention of function and shows that 69.5% of the function has been retained in the TT. The translation procedure ‘adaptation’ accommodates 56.5% of the retention of function, which mainly included the adaptation of insults and slurs, which were adapted but still considered abusive.

Table 7

Retention of function (DU)

Translation procedure/ Retention of function	Adaptation	De-swearing	Omission	Literal translation	Overplay	Total
Yes	85/56.5%	-	-	19/13%	-	104/ 69.5%
No	5/ 3.5%	-	-	1/ 0.5%	40/ 26.5%	46/ 30.5%

As shown in Table 7, in 30.5% of the cases, the function was not retained in the TT, i.e., after translation, a different function had to be assigned to the offensive/taboo word. In general, this distinction was difficult because function is related to “language in use”

(Munday, 2016, p. 81). For instance, the use of ‘goddamn’ can have different functions, which can not always be classified by looking at the subtitles.

However, there was one instance in which it was clear and also accounted for a majority of the functions not retained; the translation of ‘nigger’ as ‘nikker’. This can be linked to Keating’s (2014) study, where some instances of ‘overplay’ of the offensive charge of ethnonyms were found, because of misinterpretation or because a language did not have a near-(equivalent) for a word (see example 5.8).

As discussed in the Literature review (section 2.3.2), ‘nikker’ is more pejorative and has not been identified as having been used synonymously to ‘slave’. In general, the decision to translate ‘nigger’ as ‘nikker’ may be linked to three reasons:

1. ‘Nigger’ has been translated as ‘nikker’ before (i.e., *Tien Kleine Nikkertjes*) and has also been identified as a translation of ‘nigger’ (Kuipers, 2000; Hondius, 2009). However, the use of ‘nikker’ is similar to ‘nigger’ used as a slur, but not so much to refer to slaves (see section 2.3.2 of the Literature review). In other words, the translation of ‘nigger’ as ‘nikker’ does not reflect all of the uses of the word in the 1850s.
2. To combat the different functions discussed above, the subtitler could have chosen to use both ‘nikker’ and ‘neger’ in the subtitles. However, the use of ‘neger’ (used synonymously to slave) (Peterson, 2002) and ‘nikker’ (pejorative) (Kuipers, 2000; Hondius, 2009), simultaneously in *DU*, can be considered confusing for the audience. Consequently, this would go against the objectives of subtitles to render the original dialogue as much as possible, so that the audience, together with all the semiotic elements, can comprehend it as easily as possible (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007).
3. The third reason that can be considered for the choice of ‘nikker’ instead of ‘neger’ is linked to the subtitler being a cultural mediator (Bassnett, 2012). The subtitler might consider ‘neger’ inappropriate for the socio-historical setting in *DU*, since it is still considered as a polite term for some older generations in the NL, to this day (*EIG*, 2018, p. 113).

The choice of the subtitle for 'nikker' does have consequences for the intra-diegetic labelling of function. The word 'nikker' was thus always marked as 'abusive', in the TT, whereas in the ST it was classified as either 'abusive' or 'descriptive'. Consequently, these shifts were labeled as having the translation procedure 'overplay'. Whether or not this shift in function and thus the labelling of 'overplay' can be linked to CM, will be discussed further in 5.2.3.

In summary, the abusive function was found the most in *DU*, and 'pgmcg' was not found at all. Out of all the offensive and taboo words transferred to the TT, most of DU's function has been retained (69.5%). The abusive function was specially retained, which makes sense since it can be regarded as a plot pertinent function. In contrast, other less significant functions, such as 'idiomatic', were only transferred to the TT once, and 'emphatic' was not transferred at all. Even in the instances where the offensive or taboo word was omitted, some of the meaning was still retained. This finding emphasizes the nature of subtitling as a sense-for-sense translation, rather than word-for-word. Moreover, the most problematic classification of function was with the word 'nigger', which functions as 'descriptive' and 'abusive', and was sometimes difficult to differentiate between. Moreover, due to its translation as 'nikker', it was always classified as 'abusive', in the TT.

5.1.3 Procedures

The most frequent translation procedure was 'adaptation', which accounted for 31% of the total translation procedures. De-swearing (24.5%) and omission (23.5%) both accounted for a reduction of offensive and taboo words in the TT, and together accounted for the most used translation procedures (48%), which is similar to other studies on the subtitling of offensive and taboo words (e.g., Han and Wang, 2014; Avila-Cabrera, 2015a; Steenlandt, 2015). As already mentioned, 'overplay', specifically the translation of 'nigger' and 'nikker' accounted for a fair amount (14%). The least frequent translation procedure was 'literal translation' (7%), which makes sense seeing that offensive and taboo words are very much linked with culture and language (Fershtman et al., 2011; Allan, 2015). The translation procedures have already been discussed throughout this subchapter. Therefore, I will only discuss some interesting patterns.

Adaptation

The most frequently adapted offensive and taboo words were slurs, (subtle) insults, and other sorts of name-calling, such as the taboo subcategory animal term (i.e., ‘bitch’). The high number of ‘adaptation’ can be linked to the fact that offensive and taboo words are so intrinsically linked with language and culture. ‘Adaptation’ might compensate the fact that there is no match in the TL vocabulary, such as in the example below.

Example 5.15: Dialogue sentence (174) in *DU*

Stephen Them **motherfuckers** ain’t here to buy no Mandingos. They want that girl.

Mr. Candie Stephen, what the hell are you talking about?

Stephen They playing your ass.

Stephen *Die klootzakken komen geen Mandingo’s kopen. Ze willen dat meisje.*

Mr. Candie *Stephen, waar heb je het over?*

Stephen *Ze willen u belazeren.*

Example 5.15 shows a conversation between Stephen and Mr. Candie in which Stephen tells Mr. Candie about Django and Dr. Schultz’s scheme to buy Broomhilda. Stephen refers to Dr. Schultz and Django as “Them **motherfuckers**”, which is then translated as “*klootzakken*”. The results of this study suggest a pattern in which the insults in the ST are predominantly based on references to parents, i.e. ‘son of a bitch’ and ‘motherfucker’, whereas in the TT, it is predominantly based on body part references such as ‘*klootzakken*’ and ‘*eikel*’. This finding is similar to Han and Wang (2014), who also found a shift in semantic categories, based on the differences in culture and language. It is also in line with Nguyen (2015), who found that the semantic category ‘sex’ was the most frequent in *Reservoir Dogs*, whereas in the subtitles, the most frequent category was ‘body parts’. This finding is in line with the notion that there are different ways in which different cultures express taboo language (Dyrel 2012, p. 28). This finding has several significant implications for the subtitling of offensive and taboo words. The adaptation of offensive and taboo words might not meet viewers’ expectation and cause for scrutiny, however it does so in a scholarly way. By looking at the different taboo language systems of the SC and the TC, these types of adaptation suggest that they are justified. Consequently, it shows that offensive and taboo words need a different way

of subtitling. These words are so intrinsically linked with culture (Dynel, 2012; Keating, 2014), language (Davoodi, 2009), and based on emotion (Pinker, 2007), and should thus not always be a word-for-word type of translation. Moreover, this finding also suggests that qualitative analysis on the subtitling of offensive and taboo words, should also be reconsidered.

Omission

The instances where the offensive or taboo words were omitted, can predominantly be linked to forced text reduction. For example, in *Django Unchained* (dialogue sentence 5), “Damn leg is busted” is translated as: “*M’n been is gebroken*”. This utterance consists of 23 characters, and the subtitles appear no longer than 2 seconds. If the subtitler had retained the offensive words with a literal translation such as ‘*verdomme*’, the number of characters in the subtitles would have been 32. If we were to take the six-second-rule (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007), the addition of ‘*verdomme*’ would exceed this limit by 7.3 characters. In other words, the retention of the offensive word in the TT would produce a subtitle that is hard to read.

In summary, the most frequently used translation procedures did not retain the offensive and taboo words in the TT (i.e., de-swearing with 24.5% and omission with 23.5%, accounted for 48% in total). This was mainly due to spatial and time constraints, and the notion that some offensive/taboo words are considered less plot-pertinent. Despite this large number of omission and de-swearing, the subtitles often still attempted to retain its sense. The most frequently used translation procedure ‘adaptation’ is mainly because offensive and taboo words are intrinsically linked with culture and language, especially slurs, which accounted for a fair number of the taboo words in *DU*.

5.1.4 Conclusion Django Unchained

The analysis of *DU* suggests that taboo and offensive words were predominantly for thematic purposes. The taboo words which accounted for 56.5% of the taboo language were predominantly used as slurs and to portray the tension between the different parties (i.e., slave owners, slaves, Django, and Dr. Schultz). In line with Tarantino's style, there also was a fair amount of offensive words found, especially those belonging to the offensive type ‘derogatory tone’. However, only 23% of the offensive words were retained, versus 76% of

the taboo words. The omitted and neutralized (de-swearing) offensive and taboo words suggest that the main reasons that they were not found in the subtitles was spatial and temporal constraints, repetition, and differences in language. The results also suggest that function plays a significant in the subtitling of offensive and taboo words. Offensive words were less-plot pertinent or of less importance. For instance, ‘idiomatic’ (13.5% of all the functions found in the ST) was not found in the TT. This suggests that there were other offensive/taboo words with more significance, such as the abusive function, which accounted for 39.5% and was predominantly retained in the TT. The subtitling of insults and slurs were often adapted. This was in line with other research (Keating, 2014) and the notion that offensive and taboo words are so intrinsically linked with language and culture (Fershtman et al., 2011; Han and Wang, 2014).

The next section will look at **IB**.

5.2 Inglourious Basterds

IG is set during WWII, in 1941. The story of the Bastards, a group of Jewish-American soldiers, takes place in Paris. The movie shifts between three different stories: the Bastards' adventures, who are sent to Europe to scalp the Nazis and end the war, the Nazis, and Shoshannah, the movie theater owner. Based on the in-groups present (e.g., The Basterds, the German soldiers, Nazis) in **IG**, I expect that idiomatic function and ‘pgrmcg’ will be frequent. Also, based on the movie’s historical context, it is expected that the use of slurs, especially racial and ethnic, will be frequent. The results of the analysis of **IG** will be discussed below.

5.2.1 Offensive and taboo words

As Table 8 shows, the total occurrences of offensive/taboo words in the ST was 72, while the TT contained 46 taboo/offensive words in total. This shows that the TT contained 26 fewer offensive/taboo words than the ST; 36% fewer taboo/offensive words than the ST, confirming the findings put forward by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) that subtitling relies on text reduction, and more specifically, findings that a significant amount of offensive/taboo words will not be retained in the TT (Díaz Cintas, 2001; Han & Wang, 2014).

Table 8

Offensive and taboo words (IB)

	ST occurrences	ST percentage	TT	TT percentage
Offensive words	40	55.5%	18	39%
Taboo words	32	44.5%	28	61%
Total	72	100%	46	100%

Table 9 shows a more detailed presentation of the categories. Similarly to *DU*, the instances of compensation are labeled with (+), and are not included in the retention of offensive and taboo words.

Table 9

Subcategories and types (IG)

	ST occurrences	ST Percentages	TT occurrences	TT percentages	Retention in TT
Offensive	40	55.5%	18	39%	45%
Abusive swearing	36	50%	17	37%	47%
Expletives	3	4%	1	2%	33.5%
Invectives	1	1.5%	-	-	-
Taboo	32	44.5%	26 (+2)	61%	81%
Animal terms	1	1.5%	1 (+2)	6.5%	100%
Ethnic slur	11	15.5%	10	22%	90%
Racial slur	5	7%	5	11%	100%
Sexist slur	3	4%	-	-	-
Filth	1	1.5%	1	2%	100%
Profane/blasphemous	-	-	-	-	
Psychological/physical condition	2	3%	2	4.5%	100%

Sexual/body part references	7	10.5%	7	15%	100%
Urination/scatology	1	1.5%	-	-	-

45% of the offensive words were retained, whereas, for the taboo words, this number was 81%. The most frequent subcategory in *IG* is ‘abusive swearing’ with 37%; however, in the TT, this number decreases with 52.5%; or 47.% was retained.

5.2.1.1 Offensive words

As shown in Table 10, the offensive subcategory ‘abusive swearing’ was significantly reduced, with 52.5% fewer instances in the TT than in the ST, the ‘expletives’ found had to 65% fewer instances; and the one invective found in the ST was neutralized (de-swearing) in the TT. Table 11 shows the offensive types and how they have been translated into the TT to give a more detailed presentation of what happened to the offensive types.

Table 10

Offensive types (ST) and translation procedures (IG)

	De-swearing	Literal translation	Omission	Adaptation	Overplay
Cursing	-	1/ (2.5%)	-	1/ (2.5%)	-
Derogatory tone/adjective	3/ (7.5%)	4/ (10%)	16/(40%)	6/(15%)	-
Insult	1/ (2.5%)	1/ (2.5%)	1/ (2.5%)	2/ (5%)	-
Oath	-	-	-	-	-
Exclamatory swear word/phrase	-	-	1/ (2.5%)	2/ (5%)	-
Subtle insult	1/ (2.5%)	-	-	-	-

Derogatory tone/adjective was the most frequently found type of the ‘abusive swearing’ subcategory (accounted for 72.5% of the types), it was also the most frequently omitted type

(40%). Consequently, this automatically means that the TT will contain a significantly less amount of derogatory adjectives/tones, which will be discussed below.

Derogatory adjective/tones

The ‘derogatory adjective/tones’ predominantly consisted of several types of the words ‘fuck’ and ‘goddamn’. The token/type ratio for these offensive types can be found in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11

Type-token ratio ‘fuck’ in derogatory adjective/tones (IG)

	ST
Types	2
Token	17

Table 12

Type-token ratio ‘goddamn’ in ‘derogatory adjective/tones’ (IG)

	ST
Types	2
Token	8

The two types ‘fuck’ and ‘fucking’, and ‘damn’ and ‘goddamn’ were mainly used as an intensifier or a way of talking (‘idiomatic’). Other types of ‘derogatory adjective/tones’ included the filler ‘hell’. A majority of the derogatory adjectives were omitted or neutralized in the TT.

Some utterances with a derogatory adjective/tones (25%) were retained in the TT. A majority of the derogatory adjective/tones that was retained was adapted, such as in the example below.

Example 5.16: Dialogue sentence (2) in IG

- Aldo Raine I sure as hell didn't come down from the goddamn Smoky Mountains, cross 5,000 miles of water, fight my way through half of Sicily and jump out of a **fucking** airplane to teach the Nazis lessons in humanity.
- Aldo Raine *Ik weet niet hoe 't met jullie zit, maar ik kom niet uit de Smoky Mountains,*
- Aldo Raine *over de oceaan, vechtend op Sicilië, springend uit 'n tyfusvliegtuig om de*
- Aldo Raine *nazi's wat menselijkheid bij te brengen.*

As shown in example 5.16, most of the derogatory adjectives such as ‘goddamn’ and ‘fucking’ were omitted in the TT. However, ‘fucking airplane’ was translated as ‘*tyfusvliegtuig*’. This form of adaptation was found three times in the subtitles. The adaptation and use as ‘tyfus’ as a derogatory adjective are in line with the notion that offensive and taboo words are culturally and language determined (Allan and Burrige, 2006; Dynel, 2012) since the Dutch language still uses diseases in an offensive way (Sterkenburg, 2001). The use of ‘*tyfus*’ as a derogatory adjective, instead of for instance ‘*kanker*’, is in line with Witteman (2018), who states that the recentness of a disease is linked to how harsh others judge it. The use of ‘*kanker*’ might be considered too harsh, on top of the notion that offensive/taboo words are already considered harsher in written form (Díaz Cintas, 2001; Allan and Burrige, 2006).

Insults

The insults in *IG* only accounted for 12.5% of the offensive types. Interesting was the translation of ‘son of a bitch’, as shown in example 5.17.

Example 5.17: Dialogue sentence (4) in *IG*

- Aldo Raine They're the foot soldiers of a Jew-hating mass-murdering maniac and they need to be destroyed. That's why any and every **son of a bitch** we find wearing a Nazi uniform, they're going to die.
- Aldo Raine *Ze zijn de voetsoldaten van 'n maniakale Jodenhater.*
- Aldo Raine *We moeten ze vernietigen.*
- Aldo Raine *Als we hoerenzonen met 'n nazi-uniform vinden,*
- Aldo Raine *gaan ze er allemaal aan.*

This translation of ‘son of a bitch’ as ‘*hoerenzonen*’ is similar to the translation of ‘motherfucker’ and ‘son of a whore’ as *hijo de puta* [son of a whore], found by Avila-Cabrera (2015a) in the Spanish subtitles of Tarantino’s screenplays (p. 44). However, as de Coster (2007), points out, ‘*hoerenzonen*’ in Spanish and Dutch differ (p. 168). In Spanish, it is very much frowned upon to use this type of insult towards someone, while in Dutch culture, it can be seen as more comical (p. 168), perhaps because of its infrequent use and its unnatural construction. The translation as ‘*hoerenzonen*’, goes against Davoodi (2009), who argues that in translating offensive or taboo words, the words should have the same strength as in the SL. A more common word such as ‘*klootzakken*’ would have been more fitting to create the same effect with the TC audience.

The low number of ‘insult’ found in *IG* does not mean that there was relatively few abusive name-calling present in *IG*. A predominant part of the name-calling in *IG* was war and race-related (e.g. slurs), and will be discussed next.

5.2.1.2 Taboo words

The taboo words accounted for 44.5% of the offensive/taboo words, and 81% of the taboo words were retained in the TT. Most taboo words’ subcategories were fairly straightforward, so I will only discuss some interesting patterns.

Abusive name-calling

Out of all the taboo words found, 75% had an abusive function, and almost all of them can be classified as abusive name-calling. There were slurs found, such as in the example below:

Example 5.18: Dialogue sentence (15) in *IG*

Aldo Raine Now, take your **Wiener-schnitzel-licking finger**, and point out on this map what I want to know.

Werner Fuck you. And your **Jew dogs**.

Aldo Raine *Neem je wienerschnitzel-vinger en wijs ze op de kaart aan.*

Werner *Krijg de pest. En je Joodse honden.*

The slurs in *IG* represent the tension between the Germans and Jews. A fair amount of the slurs were directed towards either Germans or Jews. Based on the discussion of CM (section 3.4 of the Literature Review), the hypothesis was that the subtitling of *IG* would have been approached carefully. However, seeing that all of the ethnic and racial slurs, except for one (see example 5.19), have been retained, this was not proven.

Example 5.19: Dialogue sentence (7) in *IG*

Hitler I have an order I want relayed to all German soldiers stationed in France. The **Jew degenerate** known as The Bear Jew, henceforth, is never to be referred to as The Bear Jew again.

Hitler *Een bevel voor alle soldaten geleverd in Frankrijk.
Het onmens bekend als Berenjood wordt vanaf nu nooit meer Berenjood genoemd.*

As shown, in example 5.19, ‘Jew’ has been omitted from the TT. Instead of CM’s difficulties, a more obvious reason for this omission would be the spatial constraint and repetition in the ST. Especially because the rest of the ethnic and racial slurs have been retained. The subtitle in example 5.19, already has 76 characters, and adding ‘Joden’, would exceed the number of characters per line advised by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007). Moreover, referring to Jews as degenerate would have been recognizable enough for the TC since it was common propaganda during WWII to view Jewish people as non-human.

In summary, the TT of *IG* contained 46% fewer taboo/offensive words than the ST. Overall, there were more offensive words (55.5%) found in *IG* than taboo words (44.5%).

Simultaneously, the offensive words were left out of the TT the most, either by de-swearing (12.5%) or omission (45%). The main reason is the significant amount of ‘derogatory adjective/ tone’ found in the ST, of which almost none were retained in the TT. This was either because of a lack of space/time or because they did not add much to the sentence. Concerning the name-calling (i.e., slurs, insults, and other subcategories) were predominantly related to the war and the tension between the parties. The expectation that the slurs in *IG*

would be approached more sensitiveness was not confirmed, seeing that 93% of the racial and ethnic slurs have been retained.

In the following section, the functions will be discussed through some interesting patterns found.

5.2.2 Functions of offensive/taboo words in *IG*

Similarly to *DU*, Pinker (2007) and Dynel's (2012) classification was used to identify the different functions present in *IG*. Table 13 shows the frequency of function found in the ST and the translation procedures per function.

Table 13

Offensive/taboo words function and procedures (ST) (IG)

Function ST/ Procedures used	Adaptation	De-swearing	Omission	Literal translation	Overplay	Total found
Abusive	14/ 19.5%	2/ 3%	7/ 9.5%	12/ 16.5%	-	35/ 48.5%
Cathartic	2/ 3%	-	1/ 1.5%	1/ 1.5%	-	4/ 5.5%
Descriptive	5/ 7%	3/ 4%		2/ 3%	-	10/ 14%
Emphatic	1/ 1.5%	2/ 3%	2/ 2.5%	3/ 4%	-	8/ 11%
Idiomatic	3/ 4%	-	11/ 15%	1/ 1.5%	-	15/ 21%
Pgmecg	-	-	-	-	-	
Engendering humour	-	-	-	-	-	

Abusive function

The abusive function was found 35 times and accounted for 48.5% of the total offensive/taboo words. The omission of the 'abusive' function is mainly due to some insults made by Aldo Raine, which are not so audible, and were omitted four times.

Similarly to '*tyfus*', a derogatory adjective, the use of 'pest' was also used to translate an offensive term with an abusive function (see example 5.18). As shown in example 5.18, the

subtitled chose to translate ‘Fuck you’ as ‘*Krijg de pest*’, instead of retaining the ST phrase, which is also in frequent use in Dutch culture. This translation involves a category shift from ‘derogatory adjective tone’ to ‘curse’, while maintaining a similar tone.

Cathartic

The cathartic function only accounted for 5.5% of the total offensive/taboo word functions found, and three of the four instances were retained in the TT. Interestingly, the expletive ‘Shit!’ was translated as ‘Verdomme’, despite ‘Shit!’ being one of the most frequently used offensive words in Dutch culture (Sterkenburg, 2001). Again, this indicates some sort of guideline from *Pathe Thuis* to not borrow offensive or taboo words from the TL.

Descriptive

The descriptive function was found in 14% of the offensive/ taboo words. A majority of the taboo subcategory ‘body part reference’ functioned descriptive, as shown in the example below.

Example 5.19: Dialogue sentence (24) in *IG*

Shoshannah I don't understand, what have I done?
 Driver She wants to know what she's done?
 Gestapo Get your **ass** in that car.

Shoshannah *Wat heb ik gedaan?*
 Driver *Ze wil weten wat ze gedaan heeft.*
 SS soldier *Als de donder die auto in.*

In example 5.19, the ‘body part reference’ is gone. The other instances of ‘body part references’ also show an untranslatability of the synecdoches (use a part of a whole to refer to something/someone) used in the ST to refer to someone. In contrast, the ‘body references’ with a literal use, such as in the example below, are retained in the TT.

Example 5.20: Dialogue sentence (38) in *IG*

Hellström You were saying?

- Hicox I was saying that makes two of us. I've had a gun pointed at your **balls** since you sat down.
- Stiglitz That makes three of us.
- Hellström *Wat wou u zeggen?*
- Hicox *Ik wou zeggen dat we met z'n tweeën zijn.*
Ik heb 'n pistool op uw ballen gericht sinds u hier zit.
- Stiglitz *Nu zijn we met z'n drieën.*

Seeing that the two types of use of 'body part references' behave so differently, I found that Pinker's (2007) descriptive function fell short in the classification of the function. Pinker's classification does not differentiate between the literal meaning and the referential, in this case of 'body parts'. Two separate functions for referential meaning (i.e. example 5.19) and literal meaning (i.e., example 5.20) might facilitate a better distinction between the two uses. Especially since they behave so differently in translation.

Emphatic

The emphatic function accounted for 11% of the total functions found in the ST. The emphatic function was retained half of the time. The instances of de-swearing often still kept some of its sense in tact, as in example 5.21.

Example 5.21: Dialogue sentence (64) in IG

- Aldo Raine **Goddamn** Nazi farts, sons of bitches! Get your hands off me.
- Aldo Raine *Vieze fascist... vuile nazi-varkens, blijf van me af.*

In example 5.21, Aldo Raine is escorted out of the theater. The derogatory adjective 'goddamn' is neutralized in the TT. However, the use of '*vieze*' combined with 'fascist' does retain some of its meaning and derogatory tone.

Idiomatic

With 21%, the 'idiomatic function' was the second most frequent function found in **IG**. All of the offensive/taboo words with an 'idiomatic function' belonged to the offensive type

‘derogatory adjective’. Tarantino predominantly used 'derogatory adjective/tone' for characterization and to signify that there is a social connection, as shown in the examples below.

Example 5.22: Dialogue sentence (18-20) in *IG*

Donny Teddy **fucking** Williams knocks it out of the park!
 Donny Fenway Park is on its feet for Teddy **fucking** Ballgame!
 Donny He went yard on that one, on to **fucking** Lansdown Street!

Donny *Teddy Williams slaat ‘m het park uit.*
 Donny *Fenway Park staat op z’n kop voor Teddy Honkbal.*
 Donny *Dat was een homerun naar Lansdown Street.*

The ‘derogatory adjective’ in example 5.22 does not modify or add anything to the sentence. This use of the ‘derogatory adjective’ can be ascribed to a sort of characterization, or more generally, a characterization of The Basterds and their language use. This idiomatic use of offensive words can be linked to Finn (2017), who states that the idiomatic function is predominantly used to “gain attention or appear macho” (p. 19). Indeed, most of the derogatory adjectives can be ascribed to a sort of behavior of men amongst themselves.

In the TT, however, ‘fucking’ has been omitted. If the idiomatic ‘derogatory adjective’ is indeed used for characterization, the omission is inconsistent with Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), who state that taboo language can also be an important part of the characterization and/or theme of an audiovisual text and that at least one “filler” should be retained (p.197). On the other hand, seeing that subtitles are subject to several constraints and them being condensed versions of the original dialogue (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007), the omission of these words makes sense. Also, the other semiotic modes, such as body movement and the image in the movie, in general (Taylor, 2013), might communicate enough of this macho characterization.

Promoting group membership and common ground

Contrary to expectations, the function ‘pgmcg’ (discussed in 2.2 of the Literature review) was not found at all. One of the reasons could be the movie’s focus on the animosity between the Nazis and the Basterds, instead of the relationships within the in-group.

Engendering humour

The function ‘engendering humour’ was not found in *IG*, either. Similarly to *DU*, this might have something to do with the choice to label the function in the movie intra-diegetic instead of extra-diegetic.

5.2.2.1 Retention of function

Retention of function and which translation procedures accounted for this shift can be found in Table 14.

Table 14

Retention of function (IG)

Translation procedure/ Retention of function	Adaptation	De-swearing	Omission	Literal translation	Overplay	Total
Yes	27 (61%)	-	-	16 (37.5)	-	43/ (98.5)
No	1/ (2.5%)	-	-	-	-	1/(1.5%)

From all the offensive and taboo words that were retained in the TT, there was only one instance where the function was not retained, as shown in example 5.23.

Example 5.23: Dialogue sentence (52) in *IG*

Bridget That sounds good.
Aldo Raine It sounds like **shit**, but what else we gonna do, go home?
Bridget No, it's good. If you don't blow it, with that, I can get you in the building.

Bridget *Klinkt goed*
Aldo Raine *Klote. Gaan we naar huis?*

Bridget

Nee, het klinkt goed.

As shown in example 5.23, the translation is a bit off regarding function. 'Shit' in the ST refers to Bridget's plan (descriptive), in which The Basterds pretend to be Italian. In the TT, however, '*Klote*' seems to be used more in the sense of surprise or disappointment (cathartic), especially preceding the question '*Gaan we naar huis?*'. This finding emphasizes the importance of function of offensive and taboo words, and how its translation can change the sense of the utterance.

In summary, the abusive function was the most frequent use (48.5%) in the ST and predominantly consisted of slurs and other war-related insults. The idiomatic function accounted for 21% and was predominantly used for characterization and as a way of talking. 'Descriptive' accounted for 14%, the empathic 11%, and the cathartic for 5.5%. 'Engendering humour' was not found at all. A significant amount of the offensive and taboo words that were transferred to the TT retained their function (98.5%). The one instance that there was no retention of function was the shift from descriptive to cathartic.

5.2.3 Procedures

The most frequent translation procedure was adaptation (34.5%). The second one was omission with 29%, which was expected based on the subtitling restrictions and the notion that written words are harsher than spoken (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007; Hang and Wang; 2014). Literal translation accounted for 26.5% of the procedures, and the least frequent was de-swearing (10%). Instances of 'overplay' were not found in *IG*. Since the translation procedures have been discussed throughout this subchapter, I will only discuss some interesting findings.

Compensation

In addition to the procedures used for the shift from ST to TT, compensation was found twice. In both instances, the omission of derogatory adjectives was compensated with an animal term, such as the example below.

Example 5.24: Dialogue sentence (54) in *IG*

Hirschberg I don't speak Italian.
 Aldo Raine Like I said, third best. Just keep your **fucking** mouth shut. In fact why don't you start practising, right now.

Hirschberg *Ik spreek geen Italiaans.*
 Aldo Raine *Ik zei: Derde, zei ik. Hou je muil.*
 Aldo Raine *Begin te oefenen.*

The compensation found in the TT, once again, emphasizes the nature of subtitling as being a form of 'adaptation' rather than word-for-word.

Literal translation

In the subtitling of *IG*, a fair amount of the ethnic slurs (63.5%) were translated literally, such as the one in the example below.

Example 5.25: Dialogue sentence (58) in *IG*

Shoshannah I have to go down and socialize with these **Hun pigs**.
 Shoshannah Let's go over it again?

Shoshannah *Ik moet met die varkens omgaan.*
 Shoshannah *We nemen 't nog even door.*

In this utterance, Shoshannah refers to the Nazis, and it is translated literally as 'varkens'. The slur was classified as an ethnic slur, instead of racial, based on Bhopal's (2003) description of slurs having "shared characteristics, including geographical and ancestral origins, but particularly cultural traditions and languages" (p. 441). In contrast, racial slurs are related to "physical characteristics" (p. 442). Although inconsistent with Keating's (2014) notion that slurs are untranslatable because they are intrinsically linked with culture and history, the literal translation of slurs in *IG* is most likely facilitated by the fact that there is a similar slur culture, especially because the movie is set in Europe. The reference to Nazi-Germans as pigs, in WWII, is also recognizable for the Dutch culture, and other slurs such as 'kraut' were also translated literally (as '*mof*'), because of the TL availability.

In summary, the most frequent translation procedure was adaptation (34.5%), and the least frequent de-swearing (10%). Also, there were two instances of ‘compensation’ found in *IG*, which compensated the omission of a derogatory adjective. Surprisingly, a fair amount of the ethnic slurs was translated literally (63.5%), which is inconsistent with other findings in other studies on the translation of slurs (Keating, 2014). However, it does suggest that the use of offensive and taboo words in the SL is closely related to those in the TL.

5.2.4 Conclusion Inglourious

In conclusion, 40 offensive and 32 taboo words were found in *IG*. In the TT, this number was reduced with 36%. The reduction of offensive words, with 55% fewer instances, was the most significant. The results suggest that a predominant part of the offensive words were used for characterization, and that the taboo words were predominantly used to portray the animosity between the Nazis and others. In the TT, mainly this animosity purpose was retained, whereas almost all of the offensive words for characterization were omitted. In the instances where the derogatory adjective was retained, it was adapted into ‘tyfus’, common in Dutch culture. Surprisingly, a fair number of slurs were translated literally, a finding that goes against the results of other studies. The expectation that the slurs in *IG* would be approached cautiously, due to the WWII CM in Dutch culture, was not proven. Seeing that 93% of the racial and ethnic slurs were retained and not softened, but rather adapted or translated literally, consequently, part of hypothesis 2 was also not proven. The most frequently found function was ‘abusive’ (48.5%), and the least frequent was emphatic (11%).

5.3 Comparison *Django Unchained* and *Inglourious Basterds*

Since the research question of this study aims to compare the results of both movies, this subchapter will briefly compare some of the findings of *DU* and *IG*.

5.3.1 Offensive and taboo words

As shown in table 15, there is a difference in the distribution of offensive and taboo words between both movies; *DU* contained more taboo words than offensive words, whereas, in *IG*, this was per contra. In the TT, on the other hand, both movies consisted of more taboo words

than offensive words, and in both movies, there was a significant reduction of offensive and taboo words found.

Table 15

Subcategories and types (DU and IG)

	ST <i>DU</i>	TT <i>DU</i>	ST <i>IG</i>	TT <i>IG</i>
Offensive	43.5%	17.5%	55.5%	39%
Abusive swearing	33%	10.5%	50%	37%
Expletives	5%	4%	4%	2%
Invectives	3.5%	3%	1.5%	-
Taboo	56.5%	82.5%	44.5%	61%
Animal terms	1.5%	0.5%	1.5%	6.5%
Ethnic slur	-	-	15.5%	22%
Racial slur	45%	60.5%	7%	11%
Sexist slur	-	1%	4%	-
Filth	0.25%	-	1.5%	2%
Profane/blasphemous	2.5%	3%	-	-
Psychological/physical condition	0.25%	0.5%	3%	4.5%
Sexual/body part references	6%	17%	10.5%	15%
Urination/scatology	3%	-	1.5%	-

The difference in offensive and taboo words in both movies can be linked to the high frequency of ‘abusive swearing’. In *IG*’s ST, there was a high frequency of ‘derogatory adjectives’, whereas in *DU*, slurs were predominant, and especially the word ‘nigger’ (taboo). In *IG*, the insults were mainly war-related and consisted of slurs regarding Jews or the German, and a reference to Hitler as a ‘Jew-hating maniac’ whereas in *DU* the insults were

either towards black people (i.e., ‘nigger’ and ‘picaninny’) or more general (i.e., ‘motherfucker’).

The findings suggest that most of the offensive and taboo words in *DU* are to reiterate historical realism (45% in ST was slurs and 60.5% in the TT). In contrast, a majority of the offensive and taboo words used in *IG* is predominantly for characterization and to create a particular setting (50% in the ST was ‘abusive swearing’, and of the types, 72.5% was ‘derogatory tone/adjective; in the TT this number was 39% and 25%’).

5.2.2 Functions of offensive/taboo words

As Table 16 shows, in both *DU* and *IG*, the ‘abusive function’ was most frequent, in the ST and the TT. The significantly high frequency of ‘descriptive function’ in *DU* is due to the double use of the word ‘nigger’ (as ‘slave’ and a slur), and in *IG*, a similar word was not found.

Table 16

ST and TT function (DU and IG)

Function/ Movies	ST (<i>DU</i>)	TT (<i>DU</i>)	ST (<i>IG</i>)	TT (<i>IG</i>)
Abusive	113/ 39.5%	119/ 77.5%	35/ 48.5%	27/ 59%
Cathartic	31/ 10.5%	20/ 13%	4/ 5.5%	4/ 8.5%
Descriptive	88/ 30.5%	13/ 8.5%	10/ 14%	6/ 13%
Emphatic	16/ 5.5%	-	8/ 11%	4/ 8.5%
Idiomatic	39/ 13.5%	1/ 0.5%	15/ 21%	5/ 11%
Pgmcg	-	-	-	-
Engendering humour	1/ 0.5%	1/ 0.5%	-	-

One of the most significant differences was the retention of ‘idiomatic’ and ‘emphatic’ function in *IG*, whereas, in *DU*, these functions were almost entirely omitted. Example 5.26 and 5.27 illustrate the different approaches to the ‘idiomatic function’ in both movies.

Example 5.26: Dialogue sentence (59) in *DU*

Baghead #2 ‘So it would be nice to see.’

Mr. Spencer ‘Goddamnit, this is a raid. I can’t see. You can’t see. So what? All that matters is can the **fucking** horse see.’

Baghead #2 *Het is fijn om te kunnen zien.*

Mr. Spencer *Dit is een aanval. Niemand kan wat zien.*

Mr. Spencer *Nou en? Zolang de paarden maar wat zien.*

Example 5.27: Dialogue sentence (3) in *IG*

Aldo Raine I sure as hell didn't come down from the goddamn Smoky Mountains, cross 5,000 miles of water, fight my way through half of Sicily and jump out of a **fucking** airplane to teach the Nazis lessons in humanity.

Aldo Raine *Ik weet niet hoe ‘t met jullie zit, maar ik kom niet uit de Smoky Mountains,*

Aldo Raine *over de oceaan, vechtend op Sicilië, springend uit ‘n tyfusvliegtuig om de*

Aldo Raine *nazi's wat menselijkheid bij te brengen.*

A significant pattern found in both movies, as shown above, is that in *DU*, the derogatory adjective is omitted, whereas, in *IG*, it is adapted to ‘*tyfusvliegtuig*’. The idiomatic function was retained more often in *IG* than in *DU*, signaling that the subtitler might have viewed it as more significant in *IG*. This can be linked to Finn (2017), who argues that the idiomatic function is to “appear macho” (p. 19). Indeed, in *IG* this type of characterization seems more important than in *DU*.

5.2.3 Translation procedure

Based on the discussion in the Literature review (section 3.4), the hypothesis was that the subtitler would approach the ST of *IG* more carefully, because of the difference in CM, and thus the needs of the TC. However, seeing that there were no significant differences between the translation of the slurs and other sensitive insults in both movies, this was not proven. In both movies, a predominant part of the slurs were adapted (37.5% for the racial slurs in *DU*, and the ethnic and racial slurs in *IG* 56%). There were even some instances of a literal

translation of slurs in *IG*. In both *DU* and *IG*, the slurs were omitted because of repetition, spatial and temporal constraints, and odd constructions (i.e., example 5.7).

The significant difference in the use of ‘overplay’ in *DU* (14% of the translation procedures) in contrast to *IG* (none found), can also not directly be linked to CM, in the sense that there was less caution in the translation of the slurs related to the historical event of slavery in contrast to WWII. First, the word ‘nigger’ is complex and ambiguous, which makes the translation of the word in itself difficult independent of the CM. Secondly, there is the fact that there was no information on the subtitler, and no interview held to determine why certain translation choices were made. However, Keating’s (2014) argument that there seems to be a certain correlation between linguistic features and the way different cultures denote racial slurs, the racial uneasiness in NL (as discussed in 2.3.1 of the Literature Review) can be used as an explanatory hypothesis. The terminology of racial difference has been an avoided subject, and historical terminology has been inexplicit and difficult to determine (Hondius, 2009). Especially in contrast to the United States, where the subject of race and its (historiographical) terminology is constructed into society. Seeing that there is a certain incomprehension in the TC, the replacement of a more pejorative term for a neutral ST term might have gone unnoticed. If the socio-historical time-period was taken into account, a form of ‘nigger’ with neutral and negative connotations might have a better fit. Although, Dutch culture differentiate significantly in regards to the CM of slavery and WWII (Jeurgens, 2010; Confino, 1997), not enough evidence was found to directly link the translation choices to CM.

5.2.4 Conclusion *DU* and *IG*

Overall, *DU* and *IG* showed significantly fewer differences than expected. The most significant difference in the ST was that there were more offensive words in *IG* than taboo words and the other way around. This difference was predominantly because in *IG* the language was used for characterization (i.e., the offensive type derogatory adjective was found frequently). In contrast, in *DU*, it was mainly used for historical effects (i.e., the slurs and the use of ‘nigger’ in the meaning of slave). The different use of taboo language was also confirmed by the functions found in both movies. A significant number of functions in *IG*’s ST were either emphatic (11%) or idiomatic (21%) and were retained in the TT, whereas in

DU it was the opposite and the idiomatic function was only retained once, and there was no emphatic function found in the TT at all. In both movies, ‘adaptation’ was used the most. The hypothesis that the offensive/taboo words in *IG* would be approached more carefully due to the CM in NL was not proven, seeing that almost all of the slurs were retained, and /or even translated literally.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

To discover how offensive and taboo words are transferred into Dutch subtitles and to what extent the function of these words and the TC impact the transfer, the movies *DU* and *IG* were analyzed and compared. The following research questions were addressed in this thesis:

1. What taboo and offensive words can be found in *Inglourious Basterds* and *Django Unchained*, and what are the differences between both movies?
2. What are the functions of the taboo and offensive words in the two source texts, and how are these functions transferred to the target texts, i.e., the Dutch subtitles?

The subtitling analysis used for this study was based on the model of Han and Wang (2014), and for the categorization of taboo language, Avila-Cabrera's (2015a) taxonomy was used. A combination of Pinker (2007) and Dynel's (2012) typology was used to identify the functions of the offensive/taboo words. I then analyzed if the shift from ST to TT was done through 1) Omission, 2) Literal translation, 3) Adaptation, 4) Overplay, 5) Compensation, or 6) De-swearing. All the translation procedures used were selected from previous studies on the translation of taboo and offensive words (Han and Wang, 2014; Keating, 2017), or subtitling in general (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007). The offensive and taboo words were collected from the ST audio and Dutch subtitling in the versions on the Dutch streaming website *Pathe Thuis*.

6.1 Research questions and hypothesis

The results show that there was a diverse use of offensive and taboo words found in both movies. *DU* contained more taboo words and *IG* more offensive words. A majority of the words found in *DU* belonged to the 'slur'-category. In *IG* 'derogatory adjectives' were most frequently found. Offensive words were omitted significantly more than taboo words, in both movies. This was in line with other research on the transfer of offensive and taboo words into Dutch subtitles, but also with more general studies on the subtitling of offensive and taboo words. The result showed that there was a difference in the translation of offensive and taboo words, in which the taboo words were regarded as more plot-pertinent and thus more often retained than offensive words. It was found that the main reason for the omission or

neutralization (de-swearing) of taboo words was repetition, space and time, and complicated constructions (i.e., ‘nigger gunfighter’). For offensive words, omission and de-swearing was mainly due to space and time and ‘the rule of relevance’.

Besides spatial and temporal constraints, the results suggest that function also plays an important role in the shift from ST to TT. With the exception of ‘pgmcg’ and ‘engendering humour (Dyrel, 2012), all the functions were frequently found in both movies. Overall, function affected the transfer of offensive and taboo words in two ways. First, function affected the retention or omission/de-swearing of offensive words on sentence level. In general, the results suggest that words with a more plot-pertinent function (‘descriptive’ and ‘abusive’) were at a lesser risk of being omitted (or de-swearing) than those that were of less significance (‘idiomatic’ and ‘emphatic’). This finding was in line with Diaz Cintas and Ramael’s (2007) ‘rule of relevance’, and with other research (Steenlandt, 2015; Nguyen, 2015). This difference also confirm the first and second hypotheses, in which it was expected that there would be a significant reduction of offensive and taboo words in the TT, and that especially the offensive words, which are generally considered as less-plot pertinent, were not retained. Secondly, function, within a movie also affected the shift from ST to TT. The results suggest that in *IG*, the idiomatic function was regarded as more important, because it was more often retained than in *DU*.

The third hypothesis, in which it was expected that the needs and availability of the TC and their language would be taken into account in the subtitling, was partly confirmed. The most important finding in this regard was the different semantic categories found in both TTs. For instance, ‘*tyfus*’ as derogatory adjective and adapted insults such as ‘*klootzak*’. The language differences also affected the subtitling. Some offensive/taboo words were untranslatable and therefore omitted or neutralized (de-swearing). Offensive and taboo words follow a different linguistic pattern in American and Dutch culture. Therefore, a literal translation of taboo language proves easier said than done.

Taking culture into account, it was expected that due to the differences in cultural memory, the translation of *IG* would have been approached more carefully. However, seeing that almost all of the slurs in *IG* were retained, and some even translated literally, this hypothesis was not confirmed. Similarly, the translation of ‘nigger’ as ‘nikker’ could also not

be linked to the less careful approach of *DU*, due to the complexity of the word itself and having no access to information on the subtitler.

The results of this thesis suggest that besides the nature of subtitling, other things such as Dutch culture, the different linguistic patterns, and function of offensive and taboo words are significant. Considering, that the subtitling of offensive and taboo words is a complex task, in which the subtitler maneuvers between the ST and TT, and the SC and TC (Bassnett, 2012), it is only fair to take all of these implications into account when “quality-checking” the subtitling of offensive and taboo words. The findings of this study contribute to the existing studies by identifying the differences in shifts between offensive and taboo words and their function into Dutch. The thesis confirms the results of existing studies (Keating 2014; Avila-Cabrera-2015a, Avila-Cabrera, 2015b; Steenlandt, 2015, Nguyen, 2015). By combining function and the categorization of offensive and taboo words, this thesis also adds some new perspectives on the subject. Suggesting that both function and the different offensive and taboo (sub)categories behave in a certain way in the Dutch subtitles. The results of this study add to the ever-growing research on taboo language and Dutch subtitles. Moreover, it suggests new ways in which the subtitling of offensive and taboo words can be studied in relation to CM.

6.2 Recommendations and limitations

While the findings offer new insights and reiterate other studies in the study of subtitling and function, this study of course also has its limitations. A first limitation is that the categorization and labelling in a subtitling analysis is never unbiased. I found that Avila-Cabrera’s (2015a) taxonomy was helpful for this study, especially because the model was based on AVT-research. However, as the results were highly dependent on the categorization used, there is some hesitation concerning the overlapping category and subcategories. An even more extensive definition of each category would help avoid confusion. One might consider a term such as “black motherfucker” (*DU*), more representative for the offensive type ‘Insult’ than the taboo subcategory ‘Racial slur’.

Also, I found Pinker’s typology somewhat insufficient for this study. First, some of the functions listed by Pinker (2007) lack a clear definition and caused some overlapping, such as

the ‘empathic’ and ‘idiomatic’ function. The adapted version of Steenlandt’s (2015) ‘guide of criteria’ helped take away some of the subjectivity of the classification of function, but a more precise and elaborate classification of function might have been more useful for this thesis. Also, there was the problem with the literal and non-referential offensive or taboo words, which were both classified as ‘descriptive’. Since they behave so differently in the Dutch translation, a distinction between the two would have been better for this study. Moreover, the complex classification of the function of ‘nigger’ suggests that there is a need for a typology used explicitly for the translation of slurs, or at least race-related language, which would be a recommendation.

Another limitation of the study was that there was no information found on the subtitle. Therefore, this thesis is solely based on explanatory hypothesis. A recommendation for further study is to include interviews and or information on the subtitle, if available. This addition will create new insights, and also confirm or reject the findings in this study.

A final limitation of the study is that only one language pair has been studied. However, seeing that there are such linguistic differences between the two languages in this study, a comparison between *DU* and *IG* in more languages would have made the results more comprehensive. Also, the results might have been more overarching. Seeing that the results now only suggest certain patterns between the subtitling of offensive and taboo words from English to Dutch, and more specifically in *DU* and *IG*.

6.3 Further study

As already mentioned, due to spatial and temporal constraints, offensive and taboo words are often omitted. For further study, it might be interesting to see to what extent these words are omitted in the subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, and what the effects are. Moreover, studies have shown that offensive and taboo words can also be used positively. This form of positive perspective, however, was barely found in this study. Further study might analyze whether there is a difference in the function of the n-word between movies of different periods and whether Dutch subtitles take this into account. More specifically, in what way the translation of the n-word behaves set in different socio-historical contexts of movies, e.g., a comparison between *Django Unchained* (the 1850s), *Green Book* (1960s), and *Bad Boys* (21st century).

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Results Django Unchained

Nr.	Time code	ST utterance (audio)	O or T (ST)?	Subcategory (ST):	Type (O):	Function (ST):	TT utterance:	O or T (TT)?	Subcategory (TT):	Type (offensive term) (TT)	Translation procedure:	Function (TT)	Retention of function?
1	06:56	Speak English, <u>Goddamn!</u>	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Spreek Engels.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2	07:20	Last chance, <u>fancy pants.</u>	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Laatste kans, <u>aansteller.</u>	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
3	07:58	You <u>goddamn</u> son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	<u>Smerige</u> klootzak.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
4	07:58	You <u>goddamn</u> son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	<u>Smerige</u> klootzak.	T	Body part reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
5	08:19	<u>Damn</u> leg is busted.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	M'n been is gebroken.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
6	08:50	<u>God-fuckin-damn</u> it!	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word/phrase	Cathartic	<u>Verdomme</u>	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word/phrase	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
7	08:50	<u>God-fuckin-damn</u> it!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	... <u>verdomme</u> !	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
8	09:22	<u>Nigger</u> , don't you touch my brother's coat.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Blijf van m'n broers	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

							jas af, nikker.						
9	09:41	Goddamnit!	O	Abusive swearing	Curse	Cathartic	Verdomme	O	Abusive swearing	Curse	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
10	10:09	You go to hell, dentist!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Abusive	Loop naar de hel, tandarts!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
11	12:59	There's a nigger on the horse!	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Een nigger op een paard.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
12	13:28	They ain't never seen no nigger on no horse, before.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Ze hebben nooit een nigger te paard gezien.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
13	14:14	Get that nigger out of here.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Stuur die nigger eens weg.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
14	18:48	These jokkers will be gone soon.	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Deze idioten zijn	T	Psychological condition	O	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

							zo weer weg.						
15	19:01	... come into Bill sharp's town and show your ass?	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Descriptive	... om me uit te dagen?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
16	20:14	Someone get poor Bill out of the goddamn street.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Zorg dat Bill niet op straat blijft liggen.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
17	19:50	You and your nigger come out, right now,...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Kom samen met je nikker...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
18	21:40	What the hell you saying?	O	Expletive	Exclamatory word/phrase	Idiomatic	Wat vertel je me nou?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
19	22:44	I'll be damned	O	Expletive	Exclamatory word/phrase	Cathartic	Niet te geloven.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
20	23:59	I got no use for a nigger with sand.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Ik heb niets aan nikkers met lef.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
21	25:44	(Paratext) House nigger servant uniforms	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	House nikker servant uniforms	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
22	27:22	It's against the law for niggers to ride horses in this territory.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Nikkers mogen hier niet paardrijden.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
23	27:30	I said, niggers on horses--	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Ik zei nikkers op...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
24	27:35	Not around my niggers, he can't	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	... waar mijn	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N

							nikkers het zien.						
25	28:11	I wish to purchase one of your nigger gals.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	...uw nikkermeisjes aanschaffenen.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
26	28:14	You and your Jimmie...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Bent u met uw slaaf...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
27	28:17	... to buy one of my nigger gals?	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	om een nikkermeisje te kopen?	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
28	28:21	... or your fancy-pants nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	En die dure nikker van je ook niet.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
29	28:26	I don't sell you a tinker's damn.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Descriptive	Ik verkoop jou geen ene moeder.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
30	28:50	What's your Jimmie's name, again?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Hoe heet je slaaf ook weer?	T	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
31	29:44	... like any of the other niggers around here,	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	nikkers	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
32	29:46	cause he ain't like any other nigger around here.	T	Racial slur		Descriptive	want dat is hij niet.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
33	31:43	...she ain't going to be worth a damn thing.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	...is niets meer waard.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
34	35:04	Goddamn son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Dat meen je niet.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
35	35:05	Goddamn son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	Dat meen je niet.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
36	36:52	Who are you two jokers?	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Wie zijn jullie?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-

37	39:10	... that's them sons of bitches.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	... daar heb je die klootzakken.	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
38	39:56	We're coming for you, nigger!	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	We komen je halen, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
39	40:11	That is way too simple for these jokers.	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Dat is te simpel voor ze.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
40	40:19	We're gonna whup that nigger-lover to death.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	We slaan dat nikkervriendje dood.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
41	40:21	... that garboon myself.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...die zwarte.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
42	40:27	Damn...	O	Expletive	Exclamatory word/phrase	Cathartic	Verdomme	O	Expletive	Exclamatory word/phrase	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
43	40:28	I can't see fucking shit out of this thing!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Ik zie geen zak met dit ding.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
44	40:28	I can't see fucking shit out of this thing!	T	Scatology	-	Descriptive	Ik zie geen zak met dit ding.	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
45	40:35	I'm fucking with my eyeholes.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Idiomatic	Ik zoek m'n oogaten.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
46	40:39	Oh. Oh, shit. I made it worse.	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Cathartic	Nu is het nog erger.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
47	40:40	Who made this goddamn shit?	T	Scatology	-	Descriptive	Wie heeft die troep gemaakt?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
48	40:40	Who made this goddamn shit?	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Wie heeft die troep gemaakt?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-

49	40:46	Well, make your own goddamn masks!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Maak dan zelf een masker.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
50	41:05	Shit!	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Cathartic	Verdomme!	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
51	41:19	Well, shitfire! If you don't wear them while riding...	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Cathartic	Als je ze tijdens het rijden niet draagt...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
52	41:23	Well, I can't see in this fucking thing!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Maar ik zie niets.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
53	41:26	I can't breathe and I can't ride in this fucking thing.	-	-	-	-	Ik krijg geen lucht en ik zie geen zak.	T	Body part reference	-	Compensation	Descriptive	-
54	41:26	I can't breathe and I can't ride in this fucking thing.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Ik krijg geen lucht en ik zie geen zak.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
55	41:28	Well, fuck all y'all...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Abusive	Flikker toch op.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
56	41:35	...for you, ungrateful sons of bitches.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	...voor jullie.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
57	41:50	We got a killer nigger over that hill, there.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Die zwarte vermoordt mensen.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
58	42:28	Goddamn it, this is a raid!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Dit is een aanval.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
59	42:34	... can the fucking horse see?	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Zolang de paarden maar wat zien.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
60	42:40	Sons of bitches	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Klootzakken	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

6 1	42:4 1	I can't see shit	T	Scatology	-	Idiomatic	Ik zie helemaal niets.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
6 2	42:4 3	Get that nigger out from under that wagon.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Trek die nikker onder de wagen vandaan.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
6 3	42:4 7	And get that nigger-lover out of the wagon.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Breng die nikkervrien d hierheen.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
6 4	42:5 1	That nigger ain't down here, Big Daddy!	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Hij ligt er niet, Big Daddy.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
6 5	43:2 4	Goddamnit!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursin g	Cathartic	Verdomme !	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
6 6	43:3 5	Can't see shit out of this!	T	Scatology	-	Idiomatic	Ik zie geen ene moer.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogato ry tone	Adaptation	Idiomatic	Y
6 7	55:0 6	Doctor, Django, how the hell are you?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Dokter, Django, hoe gaat het?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
6 8	55:0 8	Who the hell have you got there?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Wie hebben jullie daar?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
6 9	55:1 1	Who the hell is the Wilson-Lowe Gang?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Wie zijn dat nu weer?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
7 0	57:0 9	She ain't no field nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Ze is geen veldnikker	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
7 1	57:1 2	... they goddamned her.	O	Abusive swearing	Cursin g	Descripti ve	Dat was haar ondergang !	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
7 2	57:1 6	She ain't no field nigger, but she aint good enough for the house either.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Ze is niet goed genoeg	-	-	-	Omission	-	-

							meer voor in huis						
7 3	58:0 4	Well, I say fuck that farmer.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory tone.	Abusive	Die boer kan doodvallen ..	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
7 4	59:3 3	A black slaver is worse than the head house nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	...dan hoge huisnikker s.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
7 5	59:3 7	And that is pretty fucking low.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	En dat is behoorlijk erg.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
7 6	1:00 :36	One could almost say house a nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	In feite ben je dus een nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
7 7	1:02 :06	Keep fighting, niggers!	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Doorvecht en.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
7 8	1:02 :46	He's not doing what I told him. For God's sake!	T	Profane/bl asphemous	-	Cathartic	Hij luistert helemaal niet.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
7 9	1:05 :29	...to lick his pole...	T	Body part/sexua l reference s	-	Descripti ve	... stuur een meisje langs.	T	Body part/ sexual reference s	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
8 0	1:07 :15	I sought you out to purchase a fighting nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Ik ben hier voor een	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N

							vechtnikke r.						
8 1	1:08 :14	You see, you wanna buy a beat-ass nigger from me.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Julie willen een vechtnikke r...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 2	1:08 :15	those are the beat-ass niggers I wanna sell, ...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	... en die vechtnikke rs wil ik verkopen.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 3	1:08 :18	He don't wanna buy the niggers you wanna sell.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Hij wil er geen die je wilt verkopen	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
8 4	1:08 :21	He wants the nigger you don't wanna sell.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Hij wil de nikker die je niet wilt verkopen.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 5	11: 08: 22	Well, I don't sell the niggers...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Ik verkoop geen nikkers...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 6	1:08 :53	For a truly talented specimen? The right nigger?	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Voor een echt getalente erde nikker?	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 7	1:10 :11	... that a niggers can aspire to.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	... dat nikkers zouden kunnen bereiken.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 8	1:10 :13	Say, one nigger that just pops up in 10,000...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	1 op de 20.000 nikkers kan dat.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
8 9	1:10 :14	The exceptional nigger	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	De uitzonderin g.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
9 0	1:10 :46	... exceptional niggers like Bright Boy, here...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	soort nikkers als deze	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N

							slimmerik..						
9 1	1:10 :56	The name of the game is keep up, not catch up, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Zorg dat je ons bijhoudt, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
9 2	1:11: 19	Are you kidding me? this nigger just--	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Serius? Hij...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
9 3	1:11: 39	For God's sake. Can somebody help Hoot on his horse?	T	Profane/bl asphemous	-	Cathartic	Kan iemand Hoot op z'n paard helpen?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
9 4	1:11: 39	Can somebody help Hoot back up on his goddamn horse?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	...op z'n paard helpen?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
9 5	1:12 :45	Oh, you are one lucky nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Je hebt geluk gehad, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
9 6	1:13 :03	Then you keep your goddamn eyeballs of me.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	Kijk dan niet zo naar me.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
9 7	1:13 :09	Now move, niggers!	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Lopen, nikkers.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
9 8	1:13 :13	You niggers gonna understand something about me.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Julie moeten me goed begrijpen.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
9 9	1:13 :17	You get the molasses out your ass,	T	Filth	-	Descripti ve	Doorlopen	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 0 0	1:13 :19	. you keep your goddamn eyeballs of me.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	en ogen op de rond.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 0 1	1:13 :45	You mind telling me what the hell you doing?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Wat doe je nou?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-

1 0 2	1:15 :15	Allright niggers. Back at it.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Oke, nikkers. We gaan door.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 0 3	1:16 :21	... would you please shut these goddamn dogs up?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	... zorg dat die honden stoppen met blaffen.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 0 4	1:16 :27	Get these goddamn dogs	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Haal die rothonden. ..	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 0 5	1:16 :28	... away from this nigger!	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	...weg bij die nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 0 6	1:17 :56	I expect to get five fights out of a nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	... verwacht ik minsten vijf gevechten voor je...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 0 7	1:18 :18	I want five goddamn fights.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	... vijf gevechten wil zien.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 0 8	1:18 :55	... ain't paying a penny for that piccaninny.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...geen cent voor hem.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 0 9	1:19 :15	... won't pay a penny for this piccaninny, here...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	voor hem over hebt...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 1 0	1:19 :35	He ain't never seen a nigger like you...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Hij heeft nog nooit een nikker ...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 1 1	1:19 :55	Seeing you want pay for this picaninny here.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	aangezien je geen cent voor hem over hebt.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 1 2	1:20 :02	... you won't mind me handling this	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	...is het geen	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-

		nigger any way I see fit?					probleem als ik deze zaak afhandel.						
1 1 3	1:20 :10	He's your nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Het is uw nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 1 4	1:20 :15	... to nigger heaven.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	naar de nikkerhemel sturen...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 1 5	1:24 :40	Hello, my ass.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Descriptive	Ja, het zal wel.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 1 6	1:24 :41	Who this nigger up on that nag?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Wie is die nikker op die knol?	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 1 7	1:25 :04	... who this nigger on that nag?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...wie die nikker op die knol was.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 1 8	1:25 :08	Hey, Snowball	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Hé, sneeuwbal!	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
1 1 9	1:25 :12	Just who the hell you calling...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Denk je dat je me 'sneeuwbaal' mag noemen?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 2 0	1:25 :14	... horse boy	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Denk je dat je me 'sneeuwbaal' mag noemen?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 2 1	1:25 :18	I will snatch your black ass...	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Abusive	...ik trek je van die knol af...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 2 2	1:25 :27	This nigger here?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Die nikker?	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 2 3	1:25 :29	-That nigger there.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Inderdaad.	T	Racial slur	-	De-swearing	-	-

1 2 4	1:25 :33	cheeky black bugger, like yourself, Stephen.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...brutale zwarte.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 2 5	1:25 :40	Calvin, just who the hell is...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Calvin, waarom heb je...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 2 6	1:25 :41	... is this nigger you feels the need to entertain?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	die nikker uitgenodigd.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 2 7	1:25 :49	you old, decrepit bastard,...	T	Psychological/Physical condition	-	Abusive	En jij, ouwe zak...	T	Body part/sexual reference s	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 2 8	1:25 :55	... why I got to take lip off this nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Waarom moet ik naar hem luisteren?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 2 9	1:26 :20	... when this black-ass motherfucker's gone!	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	... als die klootzak weg is.	T	Body part/sexual reference s	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 3 0	1:26 :27	...and get them	-	-	-	-	zorg als de sodemieter	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Compensation	Descriptive	-
1 3 1	1:26 :27	goddamn rooms ready!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	dat die kamers in orde zijn.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 3 2	1:26 :36	Can't believe you brought a nigger to stay...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Een nikker die in huis mag slapen.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 3 3	1:27 :15	Niggers don't walk around here.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Niggers lopen hier niet.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 3 4	1:27 :16	Niggers run.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Ze rennen.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 3 5	1:27 :23	..., about the nigger girl you were talking about?	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	... dat meisje waar we het over hadden.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-

1 3 6	1:27 :26	Nigger gal?	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Dat nikkermeis je?	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 3 7	1:28 :25	... to her own damn self.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	...omdat ze door die bosjes rende.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 3 8	1:28 :31	All damn day.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	De hele dag, natuurlijk.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 3 9	1:28 :35	And the little bitch...	T	Animal term	-	Abusive	En die trut...	T	Sexist slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 4 0	1:28 :42	Hildi is my nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Hildi is m'n nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 4 1	1:28 :48	Jesus Christ, Stephen.	T	Profane/bl asphemous	-	Cathartic	Jezus, Stephen.	T	Profane/bl asphemous	-	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
1 4 2	1:28 :50	... a nigger that speaks German...	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	...nikker die Duits spreekt...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 4 3	1:28 :56	You take her ass out	T	Body part/sexual reference s	-	Descriptive	, maar je haalt haar eruit.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 4 4	1:29 :23	Get her ass up out of there!	T	Body part/sexual reference s	-	Descriptive	Haal haar eruit.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 4 5	1:32 :45	It's not every nigger speaks German.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	.Niet iedere nikker spreekt Duits.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 4 6	1:37 :20	... nigger nicknames get started.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	...die bijnamen ontstaan.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 4 7	1:37 :44	..., what's that nigger you let--?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	... laat je die nikker...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

1 4 8	1:37 :51	... in the nigger-fight game,	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	... in het nikkervech ten.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 4 9	1:38 :07	In need more than just a big nigger	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Ik wil meer dan een grote nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 5 0	1:38 :27	More like Nigger-les.	T	Racial slur	-	Engende ring humor	Of Nikker-les.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Engendering humor	Y
1 5 1	1:38 :32	...for the right nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	...de juiste nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 5 2	1:38 :40	I am not saying Eskimo Joe is the wrong nigger. per se.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Ik bedoel niet dat Eskimo Joe per se niet goed is.	-	-	-	Omission	-	Y
1 5 3	1:38 :44	...in the nigger-fight game...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	... van nikkergeve chten.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	N
1 5 4	1:38 :55	One must not forget what it is about in the nigger-fight game...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Vergeet niet waar het om draait bij nikkergech ten.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	N
1 5 5	1:38 :56	- a nigger that can win fights.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Je nikker moet winnen.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	N
1 5 6	1:39 :55	... a dose of nigger-love.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	...nikkerlief de.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	N
1 5 7	1:39 :59	Nigger-love is a powerful emotion, boy!	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Dat is een krachtige emotie.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 5 8	1:40 :04	Once it catches your ass.	T	Body part/sexua l reference s	-	Descripti ve	Je verzuipt erin.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-

159	1:40:36	You know that <u>nigger</u> , don't you?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Jij kent die <u>nikker</u> , he?	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
160	1:40:40	Don't "who" me, <u>bitch</u> .	T	Animal term	-	Abusive	Onzin, <u>trut</u> .	T	Sexist slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
161	1:41:17	Eskimo Joe's a quality <u>nigger</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Eskimo Joe is een goede <u>nikker</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
162	1:41:44	It wasn't me who came to you to sell a <u>nigger</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Ik wilde geen <u>nikker</u> verkopen.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
163	1:42:44	a <u>persnickety</u> man	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	..., de <u>muggenzifter</u> .	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
164	1:44:01	She like them <u>niggers</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Die vindt ze lekker.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
165	1:44:11	... don't have many <u>niggers</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...niet veel <u>nikkers</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
166	1:44:37	They don't have <u>niggers</u> there.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Daar zijn geen <u>nikkers</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
167	1:44:41	... the <u>nigger's</u> endurance for pain.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	...de pijngrens van <u>nikkers</u> .	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
168	1:44:44	These <u>niggers</u> are tough,...	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Het zijn taaie wezens.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
169	1:44:50	...loose her <u>goddamn</u> mind	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	... zou ze doordraaien.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
170	1:46:45	Hurry up, <u>goddamnit!</u>	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Schiet op, verdomme	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
171	1:47:25	... why you won't come talk to these	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	... die <u>nikkers</u>	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

		niggers.					moeten praten.						
1 7 2	1:47 :28	Shit get fucked up around here, I get blamed	T	Scatology	-	Idiomatic	Ik krijg overal de schuld van.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 7 3	1:47 :28	...get fucked up around here, you blame us.	O	Abusive swearing	Derrogatory tone	Idiomatic	Ik krijg overal de schuld van.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 7 4	1:48 :26	Them motherfuckers	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Die klootzakken...	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 7 5	1:48 :33	..., what the hell are you talking about?	O	Abusive swearing	Derrogatory adjective	Idiomatic	..., waar heb je het over?	-	-	--	Omission	-	-
1 7 6	1:48 :36	They playing your ass...	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Descriptive	Ze willen u belazeren.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 7 7	1:48 :41	muscle-bound Jimmie	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	gespierde slaaf.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 7 8	1:49 :05	Her and Django. Them niggers know each other.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Zij en Django kennen elkaar.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 7 9	1:49 :19	...for a nigger with a chewed-up back...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...voor een beschadigde nikker...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 8 0	1:49 :21	... that nigger Django is in love with Hildi.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Omdat Django verliefd is op Hildi.	-	-	--	Omission	-	-
1 8 1	1:49 :27	... why that German gives a fuck...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Descriptive	... waarom die Duitser er wat om geeft...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-

1 8 2	1:49 :28	who that uppity son of a bitch...	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	wie de brutale zak...	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 8 3	1:50 :14	Goddamn time-wasting...	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	tijdverspil nde	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 8 4	1:50 :16	... sons of bitches.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	...klootzak ken	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 8 5	1:50 :20	Sons of bitches!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Klootzakke n	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 8 6	1:50 :33	...old crow	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	... met dat oudje.	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 8 7	1:50 :39	That'd be a hell of a note...	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	Leg dat maar eens uit.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 8 8	1:51 :53	...a long damn time.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	Heel lang.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 8 9	1:52 :57	... cut my daddy's goddamn throat	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	...m'n pa de keel afgesnede n.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 9 0	1:55 :40	Jackass!	T	Animal term	-	Abusive	Eikel	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 9 1	1:56 :07	Sit your ass	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Descripti ve	Ga zitten.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 9 2	1:56 :08	... in that goddamn chair.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	verdomme 	O	Expletive	Exclamat ory word/phr ase	Literal translation	Cathartic	N
1 9 3	1:56 :22	... that for the right nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	dat u voor de juiste nikker...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N

1 9 4	1:56 :45	It would appear that Broomhilda is the right nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	lijkt het erop dat Broomhilda de juiste nikker is.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
1 9 5	2:02 :24	for this nigger, here...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...voor deze nikker...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 9 6	2:02 :36	take this goddamn hammer...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Emphatic	... met deze hamer.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
1 9 7	2:02 :27	... and beat her ass to death with it.	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Descriptive	om haar dood te slaan...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
1 9 8	2:03 :22	... and his unexceptional nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	en z'n nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
1 9 9	2:10 :01	... don't mean shit	T	Scatology	-	Descriptive	...betekent geen zak.	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
2 0 0	2:10 :22	... before this nigger-loving German shakes my hand...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	...voor dit nikkervriendje me de hand schudt...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 0 1	2:10 :22	...cut her ass down.	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Descriptive	knal je haar overhoop.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 0 2	2:11: 43	Niggers going crazy...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Die nikker draait door.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 0 3	2:12 :02	Holy!	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Cathartic	God!	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
2 0 4	2:12 :05	Son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Wat is dit...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 0 5	2:12 :11	Damn it!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-

206	2:12:13	Fucking... Get the...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Cathartic	Verdomme	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
207	2:12:17	Damn it!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Sodemieter!	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
208	2:12:19	Son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Verdomme	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Adaptation	Cathartic	N
209	2:12:20	What the... Fucking...Nigger.	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Cathartic	Klotenikker	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	N
210	2:12:21	Goddamnit!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Verdomme	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
211	2:12:23	What the fuck is going on?	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Cathartic	Wat gebeurt er?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
212	2:12:26	You stupid son of a...	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Domme...	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
213	2:12:29	Who the fuck	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory tone	Cathartic	Waarom had die	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
214	2:12:31	gave a nigger...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	nikker	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
215	2:12:32	a goddamn gun	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	dan ook een pistool?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
216	2:13:09	Nigger I'm gonna kill!	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Ik maak je af!	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
217	2:13:11	God! Oh, my God!	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Cathartic	Mijn god.	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
218	2:13:14	Motherfucker!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Klootzak.	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
219	2:13:20	Shit!	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Cathartic	Verdomme!	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
220	2:14:43	Stop shooting, god damn it!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Hou eens op.	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y

							verdomme .						
2 2 1	2:15 :10	... her goddamn brains out.	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	...haar kop kapot.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 2 2	2:15 :10	... her goddamn brains out.	-	-	-	-	...haar kop kapot.	T	Animal terms	-	Compensatio n	Descriptive	-
2 2 3	2:15 :13	That is no threat, horse boy.	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Dat is geen dreigemen t.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 2 4	2:15 :24	Horseshit!	O	Expletive	Excla matory word/p hrase	Cathartic	Onzin	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 2 5	2:15 :29	I swear for God!	O	Abusive swearing	Oath	Descripti ve	Ik zweer het.	O	Abusive swearing	Oath	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
2 2 6	2:15 :35	...believe your black ass.	T	Body part/sexua l reference s	-	Abusive	jou geloven?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 2 7	2:15 :39	I don't give a good goddamn...	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory tone	Descripti ve	Dat interesseer t me geen zak.	T	Body part/sexua l reference s	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
2 2 8	2:15 :47	this bitch's brains out.	T	Animal term	-	Abusive	... knallen we haar kapot.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 2 9	2:16 :10	I can't hear you, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Ik hoor je niet, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 3 0	2:18 :17	Cock-a-doodle -doo, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Kukeleku, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 3 1	2:18 :45	them nuts	T	Body part/sexua l reference s	-	Descripti ve	van je ballen	T	Body part/sexua l reference s	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
2 3 2	2:18 :46	blackie	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	, zwarte.	T	Racial slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y

2 3 3	2:20 :13	Your black ass...	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Abusive	Jij bent het enige waar...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 3 4	2:20 :14	all them motherfuckers at the Big House.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	iedereen in huis...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 3 5	2:20 :23	... to kill your ass.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Descripti ve	...om je te vermoorde n.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 3 6	2:20 :28	fucking with...	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory tone	Descripti ve	...te maken.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 3 7	2:20 :29	... your fun parts.	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Descripti ve	...kroonjuw elen...	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
2 3 8	2:20 :42	snip a nigger's	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	als je de...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 3 9	2:20 :43	nuts...	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Descripti ve	ballen.	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
2 4 0	2:20 :54	Shitfire!	O	Expletive	Excla matory Swear Word	Cathartic	Nondeju!	O	Expletive	Exclamat ory Swear Word	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
2 4 1	2:20 :58	The niggers we sell to...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	De nikkers die naar...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 4 2	2:21 :20	The niggers we sell to...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Maar de nikkers die naar...	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 4 3	2:21 :30	giving your ass to the...	T	Body part/sexua reference s	-	Abusive	dat je naar...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 4 4	2:22 :28	nigger-hole	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	nikkergat	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
2 4 5	2:23 :29	black	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	zwarte	T	Racial slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y

2 4 6	2:23 :38	What the fuck are you talking about?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory tone	Idiomatic	-Waar heb je het over?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 4 7	2:23 :47	You be damned, we are no bandits,...	O	Abusive swearing	Cursin g	Idiomatic	We zijn geen bandieten, ...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 4 8	2:23 :48	blackie	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	zwarte	T	Racial slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
2 4 9	2:24 :40	these jokers	O	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	Wat hebben ze gedaan?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 5 0	2:24 :45	These sons of bitches killed innocent people.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Onschuldige mensen vermoord.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 5 1	2:25 :04	I ain't no goddamn slave!	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Ik ben geen slaaf	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 5 2	2:25 :06	Do I sound like a fucking slave?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Idiomatic	Klink ik als een slaaf?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 5 3	2:25 :08	That is a shitload	T	Scatology	-	Idiomatic	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 5 4	2:26 :00	Did that black...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Kwam die zwarte...	T	Racial slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
2 5 5	2:27 :00	Was the black his slave?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Was hij de slaaf van die blanke?	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 5 6	2:27 :10	You fucking sure about that?	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	Weet je dat zeker?	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2 5 7	2:27 :12	Damn sure	O	Abusive swearing	Derog atory adjecti ve	Emphatic	Heel zeker	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
2 5 8	2:27 :27	Nigger and the German...	T	Racial slur	-	Descripti ve	Die duitser en hij...	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-

259	2:27:34	Fuck Roy, this can be big.	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Idiomatic	Roy, we kunnen een grote slag slaan.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
260	2:28:00	You got yourself a deal, blackie.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Afgesproken, zwartje.	T	Racial slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
261	2:28:12	... for a black fellow.	-	-	-	-	... voor een zwarte.	T	Racial slur	-	Compensation	Abusive	-
262	2:28:26	...with goddamn dynamite...	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	... met dynamiet...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
263	2:28:31	... in the nigger-cage?	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	in de nikkerkooi.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
264	2:28:41	Don't drop the fucking thing	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	Maar let hem niet vallen.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
265	2:32:12	...with them goddamn dogs.	O	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective	Idiomatic	...met die honden is.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
266	2:32:21	... motherfuckers.	T	Abusive swearing	-	Abusive	...klootzakken.	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
267	2:30:45	O, Jesus.	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Cathartic	O, jesus.	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
268	2:37:15	You black son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Zwarte klootzak.	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
269	2:37:18	The D is silent, hill billy.	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	De D spreek je niet uit.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
270	2:38:32	I count six shots, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Ik telde zes schoten, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

271	2:38:36	I count two guns, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	En twee pistolen, nikker.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
272	2:38:47	you seen all manner of shit done to niggers.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	allerlei martelingen gezien.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
273	2:38:47	you seen all manner of shit done to niggers.	T	Scatology	-	Descriptive	allerlei martelingen gezien.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
274	2:38:50	Oh God!	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Cathartic	O, god.	T	Profane/blasphemous	-	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
275	2:38:51	Motherfucker!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
276	2:38:52	Damn it!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Cathartic	Verdomme!	O	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
277	2:38:55	Shit!	O	Expletive	Exclamatory swear word	Cathartic	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
278	2:38:58	How many niggers you think you see come...	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	Hoeveel niggers heb je zien...	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
279	2:39:10	... nothing but horseshit.	T	Scatology	-	Descriptive	was gelul.	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
280	2:39:13	I am that one nigger in 10,000.	T	Racial slur	-	Descriptive	... Ik ben die ene nikker van de 10.000.	T	Racial slur	-	Overplay	Abusive	N
281	2:39:19	You son of a bitch!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Klootzak	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
282	2:39:22	Oh, you motherfucker!	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Gore klootzak.	T	Body part/sexual references	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

283	2:39:24	let me kill this nigger!	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Laat me die nikker afmaken.	T	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
284	2:39:29	They are going to catch your black ass.	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Descriptive	Ze krijgen je te pakken.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
285	2:29:31	You gonna be on the wanted posters now, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Jij komt op die posters te staan.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
286	2:39:38	You can run, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Vlucht maar.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
287	2:39:44	They ain't just kill you, nigger.	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Ze doden je niet zomaar.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
288	2:39:46	You done fucked up!	O	Abusive swearing	Derrotogary tone	Descriptive	Je hebt het goed verpest.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
289	2:39:52	This Candyland, nigger!	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Dit is Candyland.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
290	2:40:08	Can't no nigger gunfighter...	T	Racial slur	-	Abusive	Je kunt heus niet alle blanken afmaken.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
291	2:40:14	They gonna find your black ass!	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Descriptive	Ze vinden je heus wel.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
292	2:40:25	You uppity son of a--	O	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Jij brutale kloot...	T	Body part/sexual reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

Appendix B. Results Inglorious Basterds

Nr	Time code	ST utterance (audio)	O or T (ST)?	Subcategory (ST):	Type (offensive term):	Function (ST):	TT utterance:	Offensive or taboo word (TT)?	Subcategory (TT):	Type (offensive term) (TT)	Translation procedure:	Function (TT)	Retention of function?
1	21:17	But I sure as hell did not come	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	... maar ik kom niet...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
2	21:19	from the goddamn Smoky mountains	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	... uit de Smoky Mountains.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
3	21:26	and jumped out of a fuckin air-o-plane.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	springend uit 'n tyfusvliegtuig	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Adaptation	Idiomatic	Y
4	21:33	They're the foot soldiers of a Jew-hating, mass-murdering maniac.	Taboo	Psychological/physical condition	-	Abusive	Ze zijn voetsoldaten van 'n maniakale Jodenhater.	Taboo	Psychological/physical condition	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
5	21:37	every son-of-a-bitch	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	...hoerenzonen.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
6	23:18	Joden swine	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Joodse schoften	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
7	24:28	Jew degenerate	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Onmens	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
8	25:51	Kraut sarge	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Moffen sergeant	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
9	26:44	who got the fuck outta Munich	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	die uit München vluchtte, ...	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
10	29:40	Besides you we know there is another kraut Patrol...	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Naast jou, weten we, is er nog 'n moffen patrouille.	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y

11	29:42	fucking around somewhere.	Offen sive	Abusive swearin g	Derogato ry adjective/ tone	Idioma tic	Naast jou, weten we, is er nog 'n moffen patrouille.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
12	29:45	would be a goddamn snipers delight.	Offen sive	Abusive swearin g	Derogato ry adjective/ tone	Idioma tic	...'n schuttersfee st.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
13	31:10	I'm gonna ask you one last-goddam n-time	Offen sive	Abusive swearin g	Derogato ry	Idioma tic	..., nog één keer.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-

					adjective/ tone								
14	31:18	... beat your ass to death with it.	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Derogato- ry adjective/ tone	Descri- ptive	... en slaat hij jou aan- gort.	-	-	-	De-swearin- g	-	-
15	31:25	wienerschnit- zel lickin- finger	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusiv- e	wienerschnit- zel-vinger.	Tabo- o	Ethnic slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
16	31:36	Fuck you	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Derogato- ry adjective/ tone	Abusiv- e	Krijg de pest	Tabo- o	Disease	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
17	31:37	... and your jew dogs.	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusiv- e	joden honden	Tabo- o	Ethnic slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
18	33:30	I would be shitting my pants.	Taboo	Filth	-	Descri- ptive	Ik deed 't in m'n broek als ik jou was.	Tabo- o	Filth	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
19	33:33	Teddy fucking Williams	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Derogato- ry adjective/ tone	Idioma- tic	Teddy Williams	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
20	33:35	... fuckin- ball game.	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Derogato- ry adjective/ tone	Idioma- tic	... honkbal.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
21	33:41	... to fucking Lansdown Street.	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Derogato- ry adjective/ tone	Idioma- tic	... naar Lansdown Street.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
22	33:45	Damn it, Hirschberg.	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Cursing	Cathar- tic	Verdomme, Hirschberg.	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Cursin- g	Literal translation	Cathartic	Y
23	33:50	Get the fuck up.	Offen- sive	Abusive swearin- g	Derogato- ry adjective/ tone	Abusiv- el	Sta op.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
24	46:11	Get your ass in that car.	Taboo	Body part/sex- ual referen- ce	-	Descri- ptive	Als de donder die auto in.	-	-	-	De-swearin- g	-	-
25	46:39	Negro sweat	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Abusiv- e	negerzweet	Tabo- o	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

26	49:00	simpleton	Offensive	Invectives	Subtle insult	Abusive	... niet dom.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
27	49:21	Shit!	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory swearword/phrase	Cathartic	Verdomme	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y
28	50:10	...two faced french bourgeois.	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	... Franse stroopsmeesters.	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
29	50:20	...to hell with the French.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Abusive	... naar de duivel met die Fransen.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Cursing	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
30	56:00	a negro in your employ.	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Abusive	een neger in dienst heeft.	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
31	56:56	the prowess of a negro.	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Abusive	... niet laten afhangen van 'n neger.	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
32	57:07	as your negro may be	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Abusive	... hoe getalenteerd uw neger ook is.	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
33	1:05:08	all our rotten eggs.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	alle rotte eieren	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
34	1:05:38	The Jerrys...	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	De moffen...	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
35	1:06:38	...the goddamn rendez-vous...	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Idiomatic	...die rendez-vous	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
36	1:06:39	...was in a fuckin basement.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Idiomatic	...in 'n tyfuskelder was.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Adaptation	Idiomatic	Y
37	1:08:18	This Jerry of yours...	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Die mof van jou, ...	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
38	1:23:24	of the Negro in America?	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Abusive	... de historische neger van Amerika?	Taboo	Racial slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
39	1:26:23	right at your testicles.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Descriptive	...dat op uw kruis gericht is.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
40	1:26:2	at my	Taboo	Body	-	Descriptive	... op m'n	Taboo	Body	-	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y

	9	testicles.		part reference		ptive	kruis?	o	part reference				
41	1:26:49	Shut up, slut.	Taboo	Gender slur	-	Abusive	Kop dicht.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
42	1:26:49	-	-	-	-	-	Kop dicht.	Taboo	Animal term	-	Compensation	Abusive	-
43	1:27:01	...at your balls...	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Descriptive	...op uw ballen...	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Literal translation	Descriptive	Y
44	1:28:26	... damn good stuff.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Emphatic	...verdomd goed spul.	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory word/phrase	Literal translation	Emphatic	Y
45	1:28:48	...to your Nazi balls.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Descriptive	... tegen je nazi-ballen.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Literal translation	Descriptive	Y
46	1:29:34	I'm a German, you idiot!	Taboo	Psychological/physical condition	-	Abusive	Ik ben Duitser, idioot.	Taboo	Psychological/physical condition	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
47	1:30:14	Make a sound whore, and I spit!	Taboo	Gender slur	-	Abusive	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
48	1:32:53	Just take that fucking traitor...	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	Pak deze tyfusverraader...	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Adaptation	Idiomatic	Y
49	1:33:08	Not so goddamn fast, doc.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Emphatic	Niet zo snel, dok.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
50	1:33:32	What the fuck happened?	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	Wat is er verdomme gebeurd?	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Adaptation	Idiomatic	Y
51	1:37:40	Fuck a duck	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory	Cathartic	Krijg nou wat	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory swear	Adaptation	Cathartic	Y

					swearword/phrase					word/phrase			
52	1:38:29	Take your little ass...	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Descriptive	Kom je wel over....	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
53	1:39:08	it sounds like shit	Taboo	Scatology	-	Descriptive	Klote	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Adaptation	Cathartic	N
54	1:39:33	Just keep your fuckin mouth shut.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Emphatic	Hou je muil.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
55	1:39:33	Just keep your fuckin mouth shut.	-	-	-	-	Hou je muil.	Taboo	Animal term	-	Compensation	Descriptive	-
56	1:43:21	Bring that fucker over here!	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Breng hem naar de tafel.	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
57	1:43:23	You either do what the fuck we tell you to	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Idiomatic	Doe wat ik zeg.	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
58	1:51:50	I have to go down and socialize with these Hun pigs	Taboo	Animal term	-	Abusive	Ik moet omgaan met die varkens.	Taboo	Animal term	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
59	1:56:34	Fucking dickheads.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Abusive	Godverdomme, eikel.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Literal translation	Abusive	Y
60	1:56:35	Fuck you.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Abusive	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
61	1:56:34	Fuck.	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory swearword/phrase	Cathartic	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
62	1:56:	Fuck you too.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/ tone	Abusive	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
63	1:56:50	Faggot fuck.	Taboo	Gender slur	-	Abusive	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-

64	1:56:51	Goddamn Nazi farts,	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Emphatic	Vieze fascist	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
65	1:56:51	Goddamn Nazi farts,	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	Vieze fascist	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
66	1:56:51	sons of bitches!	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Insult	Abusive	-	-	-	-	Omission	-	-
67	1:56:52	You fucking bratwurst smelling...	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Emphatic	Vuile nazi-varkens	-	-	-	De-swearing	-	-
68	1:56:52	Joden swine	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Vuile nazi-varkens	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
69	1:57:13	You Jerry-banging, Limburg-smelling Kraut-burger	Taboo	Ethnic slur	-	Abusive	Vieze, vuile mof	Taboo	Ethnic slur	Insult	Adaptation	Abusive	Y
70	1:59:36	A damn good detective.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Emphatic	Ik ben rechercheur, 'n verdomd goeie.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Literal translation	Emphatic	Y
71	2:21:33	They don't give a fuck about him.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Descriptive	Maakt ze geen moer uit.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Adaptation	Descriptive	Y
72	2:21:55	Damn good deal.	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory swearword/phrase	Emphatic	Verdomd goeie deal.	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Literal translation	Emphatic	Y
73	2:22:37	... goddamn uniform.	Offensive	Expletive	Exclamatory swearword/phrase	Idiomatic	verdomd uniform	Offensive	Abusive swearing	Derogatory adjective/tone	Literal translation	Idiomatic	Y
74	2:22:38	the rest of your pecker-sucking life.	Taboo	Sexual reference	-	Abusive	de rest van je kloteleventje.	Taboo	Body part reference	-	Adaptation	Abusive	Y

Appendix C. Guide of Criteria

Guide of criteria function offensive/taboo words (based on Steenlandt, 2015)

	Address to 2 nd person	Address to stranger	About 3 rd person	Intention to insult	Used as insult of endearment	Promoting social connection	Literal/referential meaning	Used as intensifier	Expresses strong feelings/emotions	Negative or positive emphasis	No relation to the word
Emphatic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+/-	+	+	-
Descriptive	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	+/-	-	-	-	-
Idiomatic	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+/-	-	-	+
Abusive	+	+/-	+/-	+	-	-	+/-	-	+	-	-
Cathartic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
PGMCG	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Engendering humour	+/-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

+ yes

- no

+/- possibly/sometimes

