Deadpool in Dutch: Translation strategies used to translate English swearwords to Dutch subtitles in Deadpool
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Inhoudsopgave

1. Introduction

According to the opening credits of this movie, the lead actor is an idiot, the producers are all asshats, and the director is an overpaid tool. Considering that this text is shown while also showing a slow-motion shot of a brutal fight with multiple people are getting shot, it really sets the tone for the movie. *Deadpool* is violent. It is extreme, from the start to the end. And swearing plays a big part in it.

A swearword is a word that "should target something that is prohibited or restricted by social or religious customs, i.e. taboos" (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 50; Ljung, 2011: 4, Pinker, 2006; in Briechle & Eppler, 2019: 391). Swearing is used to express strong emotions, but in movies swearwords are also there to make scripted dialogue seem more natural because it is part of everyday human communication (Briechle & Eppler, 2019: 393). But not only that. According to Fernández Dobao (2006) and Pardo (2015) swearing has three communicative functions in a feature film: expression of emotions, creating humour and characterisation (Lu, 2023: 14). In *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016), swearing is used to characterise both the movie and the character. Its R-rating with violence, sex and humour is created by the characters using a lot of swearwords. Therefore, swearing plays a huge role in this movie.

Swearing in movies, and specifically the translation of the swearing for subtitles in movies, has been researched by multiple researchers before, such as Guillot (2023) and Lu (2023), which will both be discussed in the Literature review. They have looked at multiple films and languages, and all have used slightly different definitions and categorisations of swearwords and their translations. However, all of them found the same result, which is that swearing is often omitted. Swearing that can be heard in the dialogue in the audio is often not found in the subtitles. The main reason for this is the general assumption that swearwords are always perceived stronger in writing than in spoken language. While subtitles represent spoken language, it is still a written language and would thus mean that the swearwords are perceived as more offensive. This results in the swearwords often being omitted in the subtitles to prevent offending the viewers, even though this assumption has been proven wrong by Briechle and Eppler (2019), as will be discussed in the Literature review of this thesis. Still, most research found that omission was the most used strategy to not offend the viewers.

With the Dutch being known for using a lot of swearwords and swearing being so important for the characterisation for both the movie and character of Deadpool, I want to research whether omission being the most used strategy is also the case in the movie *Deadpool*, just like in previous research. Therefore, the research question for this thesis will be:

Which translation strategies by Pedersen (2011) are used to translate swearwords from English to Dutch subtitles in the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016)?

To research this, I will first identify all the swearwords found in the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016), to then categorise them according to the types of swearwords identified by Pinker (2006), to see if the type of swearword has an effect on what translation strategies will be used. Then, I will see how these swearwords have been translated into Dutch, categorising them in the strategies identified by Pedersen (2011).

The hypothesis for this question is that the strategy omission will be used most often to translate the swearwords, because this follows the general trend of the previous research done in the same field and because they are perceived as stronger in written than in spoken language (De Meo, 2014). Furthermore, swearwords are often the easiest word to remove when the subtitle is too long to be read, because they are often used simply to intensify the sentence and the intensity can still be perceived by the viewers through the video and the audio of the movie. Therefore, it is likely for swearwords to most often be removed from the subtitle.

The second most used strategy, I expect will be retention. Subtitles work with the 'contract of illusion' (Pedersen, 2011: 22), which means that the viewer and subtitler agree that the subtitles are the dialogue itself. The Dutch use a lot of swearwords that originate from English, for example 'shit', and therefore if these are omitted but are still recognised from the audio, it will be obvious that the subtitle is not actually the original dialogue and frustrate the viewers. Or when this recognisable swearword does get translated, it might confuse the viewer since they already understand the English swearword. Furthermore, the retention of the English swearword can result in it being perceived as less strong. Dewaele (2004) has shown that swearwords in a second language, so English for the Dutch viewers, is perceived as having much less emotional force than a swearword in their native language. Therefore, if the swearword is not or cannot be omitted, but comes across as too strong in Dutch, retaining the original English swearword seems like a logical solution.

In this thesis, I will first discuss the previous literature on this topic in the Literature review. First, the more general topic of AVT and subtitling will be discussed, followed by the translation of swearwords in subtitling. Then, in the Methods section the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) will be discussed, to then focus on the categorisation of the swearwords by Pinker (2007) and what strategies are used to translate by Pedersen (2011) will be explained. After explaining the methods, the results will be discussed and analysed to see what translation strategy is used most often and whether the type of swearword says something about the strategy used. In the Discussion, I will shortly summarise these findings and then

discuss the limitations of this study, as well as discuss some ideas for future research. Finally, the whole thesis will be summarised in the Conclusion.

At the end of the thesis there is the Bibliography, which mentions all of the sources used, and the Appendix, which shows all the swearwords found in *Deadpool* (Miller 2016) and their categorisations.

2. Literature review

2.1 AVT and subtitling

Audiovisual translation, also known as AVT, was for a long time ignored in the academic and educational circles of Translation Studies. However, it has existed since the invention of cinema. It was only in the 1990s that audiovisual translation became more prominent in the world of research, and now, it is one of the most prolific areas of research within Translation Studies (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2020: 1).

Translation used to be thought of as the translation of the printed word, with the exception of the interpreting of live audio. However, multimodal products have many more elements than just printed words. Audiovisual programs create their reality with the interplay of two codes, namely images and sound. The meaning of the words spoken is therefore not only conveyed through talking and dialogue, but also through the images, camera movements, special effects and music. That is why Chaume (2012: 100; in Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2020: 4) defines the audiovisual text as "a semiotic construct woven by a series of signifying codes that operate simultaneously to produce meaning". This means that the visual channels, the images, work together with the acoustic channels, for example the dialogue and music. This makes the translation of audiovisual products quite difficult. Both the visual and acoustic channels give meaning to the audiovisual product, but only the acoustic channel gets translated. The visual channel mainly stays the same.

There are three main modes of AVT: dubbing, voice-over and subtitling (Pedersen, 2011: 3-4). Dubbing replaces the source language (SL) soundtrack with a target language (TL) soundtrack, the original voices get replaced by the translations. Voice-over keeps the source language soundtrack but adds a voice over this soundtrack that reads the translation out loud. It is most often done by just one voice, in comparison to dubbing where every character gets their own voice. Subtitling keeps the source soundtrack and adds the translation in written word to the visual image of the audiovisual programme (Pedersen, 2011: 4). This means that the translation is read by the viewer and that the original audio stays the same. The original content is therefore fully available for the viewer while also accessing the translation.

This thesis focuses on the interlingual subtitling of *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016). This means that the original message, the dialogue of the movie, is not only transferred from one language to another, from English to Dutch, but also from one mode to another. It changes from the audio channel, the spoken word, to the written mode. Gottlieb (2001: 16) calls this phenomenon semiotic jaywalking, "interlingual subtitling 'jaywalks' or crosses over from SL spoken mode to TL written mode" (Pedersen, 2011: 11).

These characteristics make subtitling a difficult translation practice. That is why in early academic works, according to Díaz Cintas & Remael (2020: 6), audiovisual translation was also called constrained (Titford, 1982) and subordinate (Díaz Cintas, 1998) translation. Subtitling is not simply translation, there are multiple constraints when subtitling, namely spatial and temporal constraints

The spatial constraints of subtitling are based on the fact that there is only limited space available on the screen to fit the subtitles. The subtitles should not block too much of the images being shown and should therefore not be too long or have too many lines. This results in a maximum number of lines that can be shown on screen and that those lines have a maximum number of characters. Important is the fact that all characters are counted, so a blank space or full stop is also a character (Pedersen, 2011: 19). The number of characters fitted into a line depends on a multitude of factors, such as the amount of space on screen and the preference of the creator of the audiovisual product. Disney+, on which the film *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) is available, has a limit of 42 characters per line and a maximum of two lines.

As mentioned before, subtitling keeps the original soundtrack and adds the written translation to the visual image. This results in subtitling having temporal constraints. The subtitles should be shown on screen at the same time as the source is being spoken. On top of that, the message should be displayed for a certain amount of time in order for the viewer to be able to read it (Pedersen, 2011: 19). However, subtitles should also not be shown on the screen for too long, since this might result in viewers reading the subtitles more than once. Generally speaking, the subtitling industry considers that three seconds is necessary for the viewer to be able to read a full one-liner (De Linde & Kay, 1999: 7; in Pedersen, 2011: 19) and therefore six seconds for a two-liner (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998: 64f; in Pedersen, 2011: 19). Gottlieb adds to that by saying that there should be a limit of 12 characters per second, also known as the 12 cps rule. This means that a full two-liner, in Gottlieb's case this contains 72 characters, should stay on the screen for 6 seconds in order for 90% of the (hearing) viewers to be able to read it (Gottlieb, 2001: 20; in Pedersen, 2011: 19-20). Disney+ has a maximum of 20 cps.

The way subtitles work for viewers is a tacit agreement, a 'contract of illusion', between the subtitler and the viewers (Pedersen, 2011: 22). This means that the viewers accept that the subtitles are the actual dialogue, that what is read is also what is said. However, in reality, this is rarely the case. To go from verbal material to written means that a lot of the elements found in spoken language disappear. The

language is often cleaned up, which means the removal of hesitations and stuttering, for example. Furthermore, to be able to make the subtitles fit within the limits of the spatial and temporal constraints, the dialogue often has to be condensed (Pedersen, 2011: 22). Not every word that is spoken can always fit into the subtitle, because there is simply no space or time. Therefore, "it requires a good deal of willing suspension of disbelief for the viewers to sign the contract of illusion" (Pedersen, 2011: 22). It becomes especially difficult for viewers to believe that the subtitles are the dialogue when they are also able to understand the language being spoken. This can result in them not fully enjoying the experience, because they can notice the differences between the SL dialogue and the TL subtitles.

2.2 Swearwords in subtitles

All languages have specific people, places, customs, institutions and food that are specific to the culture. What exactly these terms mean, and the connotations they entail, might not even be known to people that are not from that specific culture. Pedersen (2011: 2-3) refers to these terms as Extralinguistic Cultural References, ECRs for short. These references are difficult to translate because they most often do not have a precise equivalent in the target language, or the target audience will simply not know what exactly this term is referring to. Therefore, when translating, there are different strategies that can be used. The original term can be kept and explained, it can be changed to a cultural reference of the target culture or just completely removed. In subtitling, because of the constraints and times, the easiest choice is to remove the ECR.

Thus, Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECRs) are terms that are specific to a culture (Pedersen, 2011: 2-3). These are quite a challenge to translate, especially in subtitling because of the spatial and temporal constraints. One type of these ECRs is swearing, because a swearword "should target something that is prohibited or restricted by social or religious customs, i.e. taboos" (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990: 50; Ljung, 2011: 4; Pinker, 2006; in Briechle & Eppler, 2019: 391). This is different for every culture. Research about translating swearwords in subtitling use slightly different definitions of what a swearword is. Of the articles that will be discussed in this thesis, the papers by De Meo (2014) and Díaz-Pérez (2020) use the definition of swearwords from Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 53), which states that swearwords can be identified because of three distinctive features. First, they address a taboo subject; second, they should not be interpreted literally and third, they are used to express strong emotions or attitudes. Díaz-Pérez (2020: 395) adds that, according to Mateo and Yus (2000), people use expletives for two reasons: to relieve emotional stress and to address an interlocutor. There is also a third one, with a phatic function, which tries to strengthen social bonds. Guillot (2023) focuses on the subtitles in different European languages. As mentioned, swearing is culture-specific and different languages also result in different cultures, so it is more difficult to put one strict definition on swearing. However, swearing is characterised along the same general lines across the dataset in this paper and it means the

"use of (taboo) language with the potential to cause offence as inappropriate, objectionable or unacceptable in any given context, in the expression or release of emotions, with a range of possible interactional and identity functions, psychological or social" (Guillot, 2023: 42). The study of Lu (2023) uses the definition of Ljung (2011), which states that swearing refers to "the non-literal use of taboo words primarily for expressive purposes. Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021) use the definition of taboo from Wardhaugh (2000: 234), who defines taboo as "the prohibition or avoidance of a behaviour in one culture because it is perceived as harmful to its members by causing fear, humiliation or shame". Swearwords are thus used to cause offense. However, how offensive a swearword is exactly is influenced by contextual variables, such as the relationship between the speaker and listener, the social-physical setting, and the linguistic and cultural experience (Allan and Burridge, 2006; Fernández, 2009; Filmer, 2012; Jay and Janschewitz, 2008; in Briechle & Eppler, 2019: 391).

Swearwords are used in film because swearing is part of everyday human communication, according to Briechle and Eppler (2019: 393). Therefore, swearwords are used in scripts to make the language seem more natural. In addition, it is used to express emotions (Pinker 2007; Briechle & Eppler, 2019: 392) and also to add emphasis to speech (Ljung, 2011: 4), to intensify emotional communication (Jay, 2009: 155) to shock and display power (Allan & Burridge, 2006), and to mark a character's identity (Briechle & Eppler, 2019). Fernández Dobao (2006) and Pardo (2015) state that swearing has three communicative functions in feature films: expression of emotions, characterisation and creating humour (Lu, 2023: 14).

Minna Hjort (2009) calls the task of translating swearwords a "balancing act": translators have to interpret the original style and message, then have to assume how the target audience is going to react to this and find the translation that will create a similar reaction for the target audience of the subtitles. On top of that, they must also follow the guidelines that are provided by their employers, take the limited amount of space into account and, perhaps unintentionally, add their own preferences to the mix (Hjort, 2009). In her paper *Swearwords in Subtitles: A Balancing Act* (2009), she discusses the answers given by both translators and viewers from Finland to a questionnaire about subtitles, and in particular, swearwords in subtitles. The large majority of translators reported that the instructions they receive about the translation of swearwords for subtitles is that they should tone down or remove the swearwords in the subtitles compared to the originals, which is also the most commonly mentioned principle in the open-ended question. When they do translate the swearwords, they try to choose the right swearword for the context and character, while also being sensitive to the intended audience (Hjort, 2009). Another thing they found important is that the chosen translation sounds natural in the language it is being translated to, so it should sound like actual Finnish swearing. The majority of the subtitlers also agreed with the statement that swearwords are "secondary content", which means that they can easily be left out when there is too little space (Hjort, 2009). So, translators reduce the number of swearwords in their

subtitles because of the guidelines provided, because they feel like swearwords are not essential information or because they feel like the message of the swearwords already comes across because of other elements such as facial expression or tone of voice. According to Hjort (2009), subtitlers might also feel that "if they use swearwords and the viewers also recognise the originals, they are in a way adding emphasis to the swearing". However, the Finnish viewers who answered the questionnaire seemed to not be bothered by swearwords in subtitles. The majority felt that there were not too many swearwords in Finnish subtitles and that subtitles should be equal in strength. Most of the viewers seemed happy with the current subtitles, and if they did want a change, this change meant that they actually wanted to see stronger and more swearwords.

Thus, as mentioned, De Meo (2014) uses the definition of swearing of Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 53) and adds that swearing often gets censored. This censoring is often a result of internal forces rather than external forces, which makes it difficult to research. However, this still makes censoring swearwords a repressive power according to Billiani (2007; in De Meo, 2014: 237). Censoring is often used to transform the message to comply to the requirements from the target culture, but because of that, it does manipulate and control "the establishment of cross-cultural communication" (De Meo, 2014: 237). According to this research, subtitling appears to suffer more from censoring than dubbing. Reason for this is because the written word may result in the swearing being perceived more strongly, and the fact that subtitling maintains the original dialogue and creates a feedback effect. This means that certain highly recognisable words can be both read in the subtitles and heard in the original dialogue. The overall data of this study shows more omission of swearing in subtitling than in dubbing (De Meo, 2014: 238). However, strong Italian expletives tend to occur more frequently in subtitles, especially if they mark social and emotional intentions. According to De Meo (2014: 246), this challenges the convention that swearwords are considered as more severe when written down than when spoken and therefore are more often censored.

The main objective of Díaz-Pérez's (2020) paper was to analyse the translation of the two most common swearwords, *fuck* and *shit* (Jay, 2009: 156) into Galician. Instead of focusing on one or two films, it used the *Veiga Corpus*, which is an English-Galician corpus of film subtitles. Díaz Pérez (2020: 404-407) identifies the following translation solutions used to translate the ST swearwords: pragmatic correspondence, softening, de-swearing and omission. Respectively, they mean the use of an equivalent swearword in the TT, the use of a TL swearword with a milder or softer tone, the meaning of ST being conveyed without actually using a swearword, and simply removing the swearword. The paper concludes that there is "a sanitising tendency regarding the translation of swearwords *fuck* and *shit* in this corpus" (Díaz-Pérez, 2020: 415). This can be observed by the fact that omission is the most frequently used strategy for translating the swearwords. Moreover, almost half of the taboo words were either removed or otherwise neutralised, and around 10% of the swearwords had a milder TL swearword.

Multiple reasons are given to explain these results, such as the space and time limitations of subtitling and the fact that swearwords have no denotational meaning, so they are very easy to remove. Another reason is the fact that swearing is culture-specific, so it is sometimes the case that there is no direct counterpart of the source swearword in the target language. And as mentioned before, changing from oral to written language is difficult and it is often thought that swearing is perceived more strongly when written down than when spoken.

While the previously mentioned paper focused on one language pair and multiple films, Marie Noëlle Guillot (2023) does the exact opposite in her research. She focuses on the subtitles in different European languages for Lonergan's 2016 film *Manchester by the sea*. She acknowledged that what is found in Díaz-Pérez's study, the tendency to sanitise, is seen as standard in AVT and deemed near universal according to Zamora and Pavesi (2021: 4). Reasons for this are the lack of corresponding expressions, multifunctionality of some source swearwords, external restrictions and self-censorship, the limited display space and time and swearwords being perceived as stronger when written down. This same result was found in Guillot's (2023) own study. It specifically shows that since swearing has "deep-seated cultural underpinning", it becomes difficult to find an effective word-for-word literal translation for certain swearwords.

In the study done by Lu (2023), the focus is not on a European language, but on the Chinese subtitling of six English-language action crime films, all of which are rated R due to the strong language and violence in the films. The swearwords were identified following Ljung's (2011) definition and then, a comparative analysis was conducted between the original dialogue and the Chinese subtitles to identify the translation techniques used. Here, the translation techniques by Han and Wang (2014) were used to identify how the swearing was translated from English to Chinese. These techniques are semantic shift, omission, de-swearing and literal translation. Respectively, they involve changing the semantic category, omitting the swearword, the replacement of the swearword with a non-swearword and translating the swearword from English to Chinese in the same semantic category. After analysing, Lu (2023: 23) identified a fifth translation technique, namely the functional shift which refers to a change in the function of the swearwords. Just like in the previous papers, here it was also found that there is a strong tendency to tone down swearwords. About 70% of the original English swearwords were either omitted or de-sweared in the Chinese subtitles. For Chinese, de-swearing was the strategy used most often, closely followed by omission. It therefore seems that an Asian language therefore does have a slightly different preference for toning down the swearing in subtitles instead of simply omitting it. Another important finding from this paper is that the toning-down of swearwords does not mean that there is a complete loss of the original meaning because "most communicative meanings of swearing can be inferred from the complementary relation between the subtitles and the elements in the spoken and mise-

en-scène modes" (Lu, 2023: 14). This means that while the swearing is often toned down, the meaning can often still be taken from the context in which it is said, so for example the visual elements.

As seen in the previously discussed papers, a reason why swearwords are most often toned down or completely omitted from subtitling is because swearwords are perceived as stronger in writing than in spoken language. Hjort (2009) also explicitly asked the translators whether they felt that swearwords were stronger when written than when spoken. A total of 93% of the participants agreed, and 67% felt that they should use milder swearwords than in the original dialogue because of the change in mode. Briechle and Eppler (2019) decided to test whether swearwords are actually perceived stronger by the audience when written than when spoken by doing an empirical reception study on the comparative strength of swearwords in two audiovisual translation modes. They therefore tested the hypothesis that swearwords are perceived as stronger in writing, in other words subtitles, than in spoken language, in this case, dubbing. They use the previously mentioned definitions by Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 50) and Ljung (2011) to define swearing, so it is a word or expression that is offensive, to at least some people in certain situations. And to be offensive, it needs to target something that is prohibited or restricted by certain customs, so it should be taboo. In this paper, the translations are from scripted audiovisual products, so swearing is propositional, as it was in the previously mentioned research. The results found in the study show that swearwords are not perceived as stronger in written mode (subtitling) than in the spoken mode (dubbing). The context of the swearwords is much more important in how strongly the swearword is perceived. This means that the swearing habits and the gender of the participants and the genre of the film do have an effect on how strongly a swearword is perceived, but the mode it is in, so written or spoken, has no effect in this study. What is interesting is then that half of the papers mentioned above have been published after this paper was released, but that omission and toning down the swearing were still found as the most common translation strategies for translating swearwords. Possible reasons for this can be that the researched subtitles were created before this paper by Briechle and Eppler (2019) was released, that the guidelines are still sticking to the old habits were swearing was toned down and omitted, or that the subtitlers go for an easy solution of omitting swearwords when they have to condense the subtitles. Another reason might be that research is not always quickly applied in the industry. The industry often prefers the well-established norms, even when they have not been tested or even proven wrong.

The final and most important research that will be discussed is the one by Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021) called *Subtitling strategies of swear words and taboo expressions in the movie "Training Day"*. While this was published before some of the previously discussed papers, it uses the translation strategies that will also be used in this thesis so is therefore the best for comparison of the results. This research focuses on the film *Training Day* and how the swearwords and taboo expressions are translated into Arabic. In this study, the translation strategies from Pedersen (2011) for subtitle culture-bound terms were used,

because as mentioned before, taboo expressions and swearwords tend to be cultural terms. In short, Pedersen (2011: 76) distinguishes six strategies: retention, specification, direct translation, generalization, substitution and omission. What exactly these strategies entail will be discussed further on in the Methods section of this paper. For now, the names of the strategies give enough information. Because the audience is Arabic in this study, there are more constraints because more things are considered taboo. This is why Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021) expected the translation strategy omission to be used a lot. Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021: 2) did also add two other strategies, which they describe as TT-oriented. These strategies are rendering informal language into formal language and rendering the ST items euphemistically. It was found that omission and euphemistic translation are the most common strategies used by the subtitler when translating *Training Day* from English to Arabic. Omission was mainly used because of the cultural constraints of the Arabic world because certain words are perceived as pejorative and unacceptable. Other reasons are ones mentioned above, so for example, the fact that it is easy for the subtitler to omit swearwords when the subtitle is over the maximum number of characters, but also the fact that some English swearwords and taboo words do not collocate in Arabic. Euphemistic translation is, according to Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021: 9), an expected result because the Arab society is conservative and therefore, some swearwords and taboo terms would be considered extremely offensive. To avoid this, they were translated euphemistically, but a risk of this strategy is that it might result in a mismatch between the actors' expressions and the subtitle.

All in all, the research discussed here shows that similar results have been found when looking at the translation strategies used for translating swearwords in subtitles in different languages. While all papers have slightly different definitions of swearing and taboo words, and also use different strategies and solutions to look at the translations, they do all seem to find a similar result. That is that swearwords are most often omitted, or otherwise toned down, when translated from the audio to the subtitles. Reasons for this are the space and time limitations of subtitling, and swearwords having no denotational meaning and therefore being easy to remove. When there is no direct counterpart of the source swearword in the target language, it is also omitted. Another reason for omitting is because it is otherwise perceived as too strong, either because there will be emphasis on the swearword because it can also be recognised in the audio and, perhaps the most often mentioned in the discussed research, swearwords are perceived stronger when written down than when spoken. Although, Briechel and Eppler (2019) have already shown that this assumption is not the case among viewers.

This thesis adds to the line of research on swearwords in subtitling. It looks at the strategies employed when translating English audio into Dutch subtitles.

3. Methods

In this section, I will first discuss the film *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) and why this was chosen as a case study. Then it will be explained how the swearwords will be identified and categorised. Finally, the translation strategies of Pedersen (2011) will be explained, which will be used to identify how the swearwords of *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) were translated.

3.1 *Deadpool*

Deadpool (Miller, 2016) is a movie about an antihero named Deadpool, played by Ryan Reynolds, and is based on the adult-themed Marvel comics with the same name. It tells the origin story of how Wade Wilson became Deadpool. The movie is filled with flashbacks and Deadpool breaking the fourth wall, which means he talks to the audience directly and knows he is in a movie. Therefore, the story is not told chronologically. To prevent confusion, here it will be discussed in chronological order.

The movie starts with Wade Wilson, who is dishonourably discharged from Special Forces. He now works as a freelance mercenary, who (according to himself) kills people worse than him to protect others. One night after an assignment, he meets the prostitute, Vanessa. The two go on a date and become romantically involved, with Wade even proposing to Vanessa. Unfortunately, as Wade describes it, "life is an endless series of train-wrecks with only brief, commercial-like breaks of happiness" (Miller, 2016). His romance to Vanessa was that ultimate commercial break of happiness, but his life turns back around when Wade gets diagnosed with terminal cancer. While Vanessa does not want to give up, Wade almost has when he is approached by a recruiter. This recruiter explains that there are experimental procedures he can follow, which will not only cure his cancer but will most likely also give him superpowers. Against Vanessa's wishes, Wade leaves her and decides to follow the procedures in hopes of getting his cancer cured. He is injected with a serum and, to get his mutated cell to work, tortured by Ajax, whose real name turns out to be Francis, as Wade will call him for the rest of the film. While the torture does end up curing Wade's cancer and give him self-healing abilities, Wade ends up disfigured. Too embarrassed to show himself to Vanessa this way, Wade decides to find Ajax so he can fix him. Because Ajax believes Wade is dead, he decides to do this incognito, and this is where he becomes Deadpool. He hunts all the members of the facility so they can tell him where Ajax is. Once he finds him, he kills all of his benchmen and has Ajax in his grasp. However, Colossus and Negasonic Teenage Warhead from the X-men team stop him from attacking Ajax and try to get him on the right path. They want him to stop killing people and to use his powers for good. During this conversation, Ajax escapes, finds Vanessa, and kidnaps her. With the help of Colossus and Negasonic Teenage Warhead, Deadpool is able to save Vanessa and fights Ajax, who reveals that there has never been a cure to fix Wade's

disfigurement. Despite Colossus trying to stop him, Wade ends up killing Ajax. He does, however, promise to try and be more like a hero moving forward. While Vanessa is angry that Wade left, when she sees his face and hears his explanation, she forgives him.

The character Deadpool was already played by Ryan Reynolds in the movie *X-Men Origins: Wolverine* (Hood, 2009). However, this portrayal was heavily criticised. In 2011, director Tim Miller was hired to work on the character with Reynolds (Wikipedia contributors, 2024). However, Twentieth Century Fox and Marvel were worried that the audience would not respond well to a character "pushing the boundaries of acceptable behaviours for comic book heroes" (Triana, 2018: 1016). However, test footage Miller created with Reynolds got a positive reaction and led to the greenlight in 2014 (Wikipedia contributors, 2024). The film was a success, according to both audiences and critics, who enjoyed the intensity of the violence and the humour (Triana, 2018: 1016).

The movie *Deadpool* is, as mentioned, based on a comic book. It is a comic book from the 1990s, and it goes with the theme of those times: extreme. According to Romano (2016: 33), while the film is extreme, it does also feel extremely earnest because everyone involved in the project wants to do right by the characters. They have embraced the franchise and its characters for what they are, which is "incredibly violent, sex-obsessed, self-aware, comic book antiheroes" (Romano, 2016: 33). An antihero can be defined as a character that "often acts outside accepted values, norms, roles, and behaviours as a hapless everyman, a charismatic rebel, or a roguish outlaw who challenges the status quo in their often morally ambivalent quest" (Treat et al. 37; in Triana, 2018: 1018), which is what the story of Deadpool really shows. He does not consider himself a superhero. He wants revenge and nothing else. He does not follow the general superhero story that Marvel has put out plenty of times, he breaks this known formula quite literally by breaking the fourth wall. Deadpool is actively portraying himself as the antihero by not joining Colossus and Negasonic Teenage Warhead when they ask him to join them and be a hero. He just keeps following the path he has already chosen, which is the selfish path of trying to heal his disfigurement so he can get his girlfriend back. The whole point of Deadpool as both a character and as a movie is therefore that it is not the typical hero or superhero film. It is much more extreme. That is why swearwords are so important in this film. While most superhero movies do not have any swearing, *Deadpool* does, which shows the contrast. This contrast can also be seen in the film itself. Colossus and Negasonic Teenage Warhead are the typical superheroes, those with superpowers who try to do well. Deadpool, or Wade Wilson, and the world he is in is the opposite of that. They are all antiheroes. You can see this simply by the way they speak. Colossus and Negasonic Teenage Warhead do not swear, Deadpool and the characters he tends to hang out with do. Swearwords therefore help to characterise Deadpool as a character and antihero and help to characterise *Deadpool* as not your typical superhero film. Heroes should not use swearwords. Antiheroes do.

To be able to research the translation of *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016), both the original English dialogue and the Dutch subtitles were needed. These were both obtained by watching the original movie on Disney+. For the original English dialogue, the movie was watched and transcribed. The English subtitles were used to help speed up this process. For the Dutch subtitles, the movie was watched again with Dutch subtitles, and these were matched to the English dialogue, so it was easy to see how each sentence was translated. Timestamps were not added to the dialogue, because it is irrelevant to the research question.

3.2 Swearwords

Also referred to as 'taboo words', the term 'swearword' has many different definitions, as was seen in the Literature review when discussing the research done on swearwords in subtitling. The definition that will be used in this thesis is the one by Guillot (2023: 42), which states that swearing is the "use of (taboo) language with the potential to cause offence as inappropriate, objectionable or unacceptable in any given context, in the expression or release of emotions, with a range of possible interactional and identity functions, psychological or social".

The swearwords will thus be identified using Guillot's (2023) definition. I will use an exhaustive method to find the swearwords. This means that I will go through the whole film and find all the swearwords in the English audio. These swearwords will then be categorised according to the five different ways people swear identified by Pinker (2007: 350). These five different ways are:

1. Descriptively,
2. Idiomatically,
3. Abusively,
4. Emphatically,
5. Cathartically.

Descriptive is describing an action with a swearword, so for example "Let's fuck". There was also another, milder option to describe the action, but the swearword is chosen. **Idiomatic** swearing is a more casual way of swearing. It does not refer to anything, it is just using the word in a natural way to express that the setting is informal, so for example, "That's fucked up". **Abusive** swearing is used to insult someone, such as "Fuck you, motherfucker!". **Emphatically** is to emphasise something, so "That's fucking amazing". Finally, **cathartic** swearing is the swearing people do to express strong or sudden emotions, so when they are angry or drop something. This most of the time results in a short, singular swearword such as "Fuck!" (Maulidiatsani, 2015: 72).

The analysis will be done by looking at the transcription of the English audio of the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016). Every swearword will be categorised according to Pinker's (2007) types of swearwords, to then see what translation strategies (Pedersen, 2011) are used to translate each swearword to see what

translation strategy is used most and if the type of swearword influences the strategy used. Important to mention is that I will only focus on swearwords, other forms of taboo language will not be taken into account in this thesis.

3.3 Translation strategies

Once the swearwords have been identified and categorised, I will look at the way they were translated into the Dutch subtitles. To do this, I will use the translation strategies proposed by Pedersen (2011), who has constructed a taxonomy for looking at the translation of Extralinguistic Cultural References, ECRs for short, which swearwords can be a type of. This taxonomy was also used by Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021), as discussed in the Literature review. To create his taxonomy, Pedersen (2011) decided to research other taxonomies to find a pattern. He concluded that if the taxonomy is to be successful, it needs a baseline of categories from which there can then be further generalisations, such as source- or target-oriented, and specifications. He says that these baseline levels are the most important, as this is where the most basic options lie. He identifies six baseline categories: retention, specification, direct translation, generalization, substitution and omission. The first three of these baseline categories are considered source-oriented, the last three target-oriented, although omission does not fit this orientation perfectly. Pedersen (2011) also recognises the strategy Using an Official Equivalent, but this is not one of the baseline categories and is not relevant for the translation of swearwords, so will therefore not be discussed.

Retention is the most source-oriented strategy, as it means to put the SL element into the target text. There are two subcategories which are complete retention and TL-adjusted retention. **Complete retention** means that the ECR is simply copies and put into the target, this can be done unmarked or marked, so for example in italics. **TL-adjusted retention** is copying the ECR with slight adjustments, so it meets the conventions of the TL (Pedersen, 2011: 77). An example of retention is leaving *pastel del nata* when translating from Portuguese to another language.

Specification is the same as retention, but with added information that is not present in the original source, to explain the ECR. This can be done in two ways. The first is **completion**, which "describes cases where the added material is latent in the Source Text (ST) ECR, as part of the expression side of the ECR" (Pedersen, 2011: 79). This could mean writing down the full name of someone or fully writing out abbreviations. The second is **addition**, which involves adding information to the ECR. This is often done by adding adjectives, so it is easy for the audience to understand how they should feel about the ECR. It is also used for nouns. For example, when the source text refers to Biden, it will be translated to President Biden, to make it clear for the audience that Biden is the president.

Direct translation is quite straightforward, it is a direct translation of the source text. It is often done for the translation of companies or gadgets, which names are constructed of common nouns. Direct translation is divided into two subcategories: calque and shifted direct translation. The difference between them is that **calque** leaves the direct translation as it gets translated, while the **shifted direct translation** makes changes to help the audience understand the translation better. An example of calque given by Pedersen (2011: 84) is "captain of police" being translated with "poilti-kaptain" in the Danish subtitle instead of the localised "kommissær".

Generalization is the strategy of replacing the ECR that refers to something specific by something that is more general. This can be done by using a **superordinate term**, so instead of referring to the specific ECR referring to its hyponym, or by using a **paraphrase**, where the source ECR is removed, but the connotations are kept by writing the sentence differently.

The strategy **substitution** involves removing the ST ECR and replacing it with something else. It can be replaced with either a different ECR from the source or target culture, which is **cultural substitution**, or it is replaced by something completely different that fits the situation, which is known as **situational substitution**. The first subcategory keeps the link between the original ECR and the translation, the second subcategory does not. Cultural Substitution can be done in two ways. First, the ECR can be replaced by a **transcultural ECR**. This transcultural ECR can either be a different ECR from the source culture or an ECR from a third culture. This helps to keep the credibility of the subtitles, because the source characters are still using Extralinguistic Cultural References from their own, or at least a foreign culture. Second is the ECR being replaced by an **ECR from the target culture**. This is a very domesticating strategy because it removes the foreign element and replaces it with a familiar one for the target audience.

The final strategy is **omission**, and according to Pedersen (2011: 96), it means to replace the source ECR with nothing. As discussed in the Literature review, this strategy is often used for the translation of swearwords. While omission is a valid strategy and a viable option in certain circumstances, it may also be used by the translator to save themselves the trouble of looking something up they do not know (Leppihalme, 1994: 93; in Pedersen, 2011: 96).

To summarise, the following strategies and subcategories are identified by Pedersen (2011):
1. Retention
    a. Complete
        i. Marked
        ii. Unmarked
    b. TL-adjusted

2. Specification

    a. Addition

    b. Completion

3. Direct translation

    a. Calque

    b. Shifted

4. Generalization

    a. Superordinate term

    b. Paraphrase

5. Substitution

    a. Cultural substitution

        i. Transcultural ECR

        ii. Target culture ECR

    b. Situational substitution

6. Omission

In short, in this thesis the swearwords will be identified by using the definition of Guillot (2023). Then, these swearwords will be put in the categories defined by Pinker (2007). Once these categories have been decided, I will look at which translation strategies, as identified by Pedersen (2011), were used to translate the English swearwords to the Dutch subtitles. The results of this research can be found in the next section.

4. Results and analysis

In total, there were 8376 words found in the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) divided over 1642 lines. Of these 8376 words, 135 were swearwords, which counts for 1.6%. These swearwords were found in 133 lines, which means that there were two lines that contained two swearwords. All different types of swearwords defined by Pinker (2007) were found. There were 9 found in the category descriptively, 38 in idiomatically, 36 in the category abusively, 29 in emphatically and 23 swearwords were categorised as cathartically.

Of the translation strategies, specification was the only one never used. Omission was most often used, a total of 45 times, followed by direct translation with 32 times. Then came generalization with 26 translations, followed by retention with 24 and substitution, which was used 8 times.

In the following sections, the translation strategies will be discussed within the category of the swearword. To see all the sentences that contain a swearword, and the total amount of swearwords and use of translation strategies, see the Appendix.

4.1 Descriptively

According to Maulidiatsani (2015: 72), descriptive swearing is describing an action with a swearword. This means that there is also a milder option available, but the swearword was used. In *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016), there were 9 swearwords which can be considered descriptive. A good example is the following:

(1)   [Deadpool]   Tell Beast to stop **shitting** on my lawn.

"Shitting", in Example (1), refers to pooping. There is thus a milder option, but the swearword "shit" was chosen to refer to the action. This makes it descriptive.

Another example is the following one:

(2)   [Deadpool]   I'm just a bad guy who gets paid to **fuck up** worse guys.

While there was first some doubt about whether it was descriptive, because "fuck" in this case does not refer to the action of having sexual intercourse with someone, it is part of the verb "to fuck up". This can also be said in a milder way, for example, "to mess up". Since there is a milder way to say it, this is again descriptive.

A descriptive swearword was translated using one of two strategies by the subtitler. These strategies were direct translation and generalization. For direct translation, both subcategories were used to translate the original dialogue. Calque was used a total of four times, thus only one of the translations was a shifted translation. Generalization was used in four occasions, all of which fall under the subcategory paraphrase.

An example of calque, the subcategory of direct translation, is the following:

(3a)   [Deadpool]   Then whose kitty litter did I just **shit** in?
(3b)   In wie z'n kattenbak heb ik dan zitten **kakken**?

"Shit", in this case, has been directly translated to "kakken", a rude way to say pooping in Dutch. It is therefore directly translated and gives the same effect to both the English as the Dutch viewers.

In some cases, a direct translation was not possible because of the construction of the Dutch sentence. Look at the following example:

(4a)　[Deadpool]　Like two hobos **fucking** in a shoe filled with piss.

(4b)　　　Als twee **neukende** zwervers in een schoen met pis.

"Fuck" can be directly translated with the Dutch verb "neuken". However, if it was a calque direct translation, it would be among the lines of "Als twee zwervers die **neuken** in een schoen met pis". To shorten the sentence and have it sound natural, the verb was used as an adjective in Dutch. Thus, the ECR, in this case swearword "fuck", was shifted to fit the Dutch subtitle context better.

An example of the strategy generalization, subcategory paraphrase, is what Weasel said to describe Wade Wilson's face:

(5a)　[Weasel]　Because you look like Freddy Krueger **face-fucked** a topographical map of Utah.

(5b)　　　Je bent net Freddy Krueger met de kaart van Utah op z'n smoel.

The swearword "fucked" is removed from the sentence. However, because the subtitler has decided to translate "face" with "smoel", a rude word for "gezicht", there is still a negative connotation. Therefore, while the ECR itself is removed, the sentence has been paraphrased to keep the negative connotation and therefore it can be considered a generalization, a paraphrase to be exact.

4.2 Idiomatically

A swearword is used idiomatically when it is used in a casual way (Maulidiatsani, 2015: 72). It is used, however, to notify the listener of the informal setting. This is the case in the very first conversation we see in *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016). Deadpool is riding in a cab with the driver, Dopinder, when they start to talk. They talk a bit about Dopinder's personal life, and after Dopinder asks Deadpool why he is wearing the red suit. Deadpool explains that he is after someone to take revenge because of something that has been done to him. Dopinder asks what exactly that someone did to him, to which Deadpool answers:

(6)　　[Deadpool]　This shit…

And he lifts up his mask to show Dopinder his deformed face. This is a perfect example of an idiomatic swearword. "Shit" is not necessary in this sentence. If Deadpool had simply said "This…", Dopinder and the viewers would have understood what he meant. However, by using the word "shit", in this case, the movie tries to tell the audience what type of movie they are going to be watching. A movie that does not shy away from swearing and violence. It sets the tone.

In total, there were 39 swearwords which were used idiomatically. Apart from specification, all strategies were used.

> (7a)   [Deadpool]   Don't worry baby, I'mma get you out of that **shit**-box.
> (7b)   Geen zorgen, ik haal je wel uit die **shit**-doos.

Example (7) is one of the seven cases of retention. To be more specific, it is a complete, unmarked retention. The swearword is just taken over into the translation of the original dialogue, without any marking to show that it is a foreign word. All other words are translated, but "shit" is kept. Thus, it is a complete retention. Of the seven cases of retention, two of them were TL-adjusted, such as the next example:

> (8a)   [Deadpool]   But if I ever hit "**fuck it**", I'll look you up.
> (8b)   Maar als 't me geen **fuck** meer kan schelen, bel ik u.

The swearword itself, "fuck", was kept in the translation. However, while in the original sentence it was used in combination with the word "it", this word is gone in the translation. They changed the way "fuck" was used to make the sentence seem natural in Dutch, while also keeping the original ECR.

There were nine cases where the strategy direct translation was used to translate the swearword, all of which were the subcategory calque. An example is the following one:

> (9a)   [Deadpool]   What the **shit**-biscuit!
> (9b)   Krijg de **schijt**koek.

The term "shit" is directly translated to "schijt", in combination with the word "biscuit", which directly translates to "koek". No changes were made to the ECR once translated, so it is a direct, calque translation.

A strategy of generalization is to use the superordinate term when translating. An example of this in *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) is when Deadpool hits an enemy in the crotch and comments on it:

(10a)	[Deadpool]	**Cock** shot.
(10b)		In de **ballen**.

In Dutch, the word "cock" is not translated with for example "piemel", but with "ballen" meaning "balls". Since a more general term is used to describe where is hit, this is a case of generalization by use of a superordinate term. In total there are two of these cases. The other generalization substrategy, paraphrase, is used eleven times. For example, in the following case:

(11a)	[Man]	Who, took his **ass** out!
(11b)		Die ligt gestrekt.

The ECR "ass" was removed, but by translating the sentence with "Die ligt gestrekt", which roughly means "He's lying on the floor" in the sense that he got beaten up by someone, it still holds the same connotations as the other sentence, meaning that the guy got beaten in a fight.

There were only two cases of substitution, one is cultural substitution with an ECR from the target culture, and the other is situational substitution. Cultural substitution is used in the following translation:

(12a)	[Vanessa]	Your life is officially way more **fucked up** than mine.
(12b)		Jouw leven is veel meer **kut** dan dat van mij.

This is a cultural substitution of the target culture because of the use of the swearword "kut", and especially the connotations it brings. While saying something is "fucked up" is seen as rude, it is allowed in certain contexts. The Dutch word "kut" can be translated with "cunt" in English, which is seen as extremely rude and can never be used. However, in Dutch, "kut" is a word used quite often and can be used to denote a situation that is messed up. Because of the connotations the word has in English, but does not have in Dutch, I think this is a case of cultural substitution with an ECR of the target culture.

There is also a substitution with a situation ECR, as can be seen in the next example:

(13a)	[Deadpool]	Think of us as really **fucked up** tooth fairies, except we knock out the teeth and take the cash.
(13b)		Zie ons maar als gestoorde tandenfeeën, alleen slaan wij de tanden eruit en pakken de poen.

"Fucked up" can be kept in the Dutch translation or be translated. In this case it was translated, but "gestoord" is not the most logical translation. It could either be "verneukte", which is a direct translation of "fucked up", or another option is more of saying that they are evil tooth fairies, so "slecht". "Gestoorde" is more in the direction of crazy, which does not feel like a translation, but more of a substitution that fits the context.

The last strategy used is omission. This is used a total of seven times, and the next case is a good example of it:

(14a)   [Deadpool]   **Fuck** it. I got this.
(14b)   Dit lukt me wel.

"I got this" can be translated with "Dit lukt me wel". The "fuck it"-part of the sentence has just simply not been translated. The reason for this is perhaps the constraints in time of the subtitles, but the point is that the swearword was omitted in the translation.

4.3 Abusively

There are 36 swearwords which can be considered abusive. To translate them, five different strategies were used. The one used most often is direct translation, which is used a total of 15 times, for example in the following translation:

(15a)   [Text on screen]   Some **douchebag**'s film.
(15b)   Een **klojo** film.

"Klojo" is a translation of the word "douchebag", according to Van Dale, an online dictionary. However, if it was a direct translation, it would be "Een klojo's film", saying that the film is from the "klojo", like in the original the film is from a douchebag. Therefore, this translation is shifted because the translation has been changed, but it is done incorrectly, because the Dutch makes no sense in this translation. The shifted direct translation was used one more time to translate an abusive swearword.

The calque direction translation was used more often, 13 times to be exact. One of the occasions it was used is the following:

(16a)   [Deadpool]   Trust me, that wheezing **bag of dick-tips** has it coming.
(16b)   Geloof me, die **zak met eikels** heeft het verdiend.

"Bag of dick-tips" is an interesting way to insult someone. In Dutch, a "dick-tip" is translated with "eikel", because that is the official term used for the tip of the dick. Therefore, the subtitler was able to simply translate this ECR directly, without having to make any changes to it.

There were four cases of retention of the ECR, all of which were complete, unmarked retentions. This is quite easy to do for these swearwords, because a lot of the swearwords that are used to insult someone are also used in Dutch. An obvious example of the use of this strategy is when Deadpool is fighting some enemies on the bridge with only 12 bullets. The guy he is shooting at jumps away to avoid the bullet, making Deadpool miss and therefore waste a bullet. Deadpool makes his feeling towards this man very clear, by saying:

(17a) [Deadpool] **Motherfucker**!
(17b) **Motherfucker**.

The strategy generalization is used five times, and only one of those can be considered a paraphrase. The following example is said by a guy from the bar Deadpool hangs out at a lot. Deadpool has given a guy named Buck a drink called a "Blow Job" and told the waitress to tell him that is from Boothe. Because of this, a fight breaks out and Boothe says the following sentence to insult Buck:

(18a) [Boothe] Come here, you **fat fuck**!
(18b) Kom hier, bolle.

The ECR, "fuck" is removed from the sentence. However, by using "bolle", in this context an insult for a fat person, it still keeps the negative connotation of the original swearword. The other substrategy of generalization, using a superordinate term, has also been used. One of the four sentences is the following one:

(19a) [Deadpool] Now, if I were a 200-pound **sack of assholes** named Francis, where would I hide?
(19b) Als ik een **lul** van 90 kilo was en Francis heette, waar zou ik me verstoppen?

The swearword in the original sentences is quite specific, with saying that Francis is a "sack of assholes". In the translation a more general term is used, "lul", perhaps because of the constraints in space and time of subtitling.

The strategy of substitution is used three times to translate abusive swearing, all of which are cultural substitution by using an ECR of the target culture. An example is what Deadpool tells Weasel when he finds out that Weasel bet against him in the dead pool:

(20a)   [Deadpool]   **Motherfucker**, you're the world's worst friend.
(20b)   Wat een **kut**vriend ben jij.

As said before, "kut" is in English seen as a very offensive swearword, while in the Netherlands it is used much more casually. Because the original swearword was replaced by "kut", it is therefore cultural substitution because Dutch is one of the very few cultures in which this word can be used without causing too much offense.

The final strategy for abusive swearwords was omission, which was used eight times to translate. An example of this strategy:

(21a)   [Deadpool]   I'll send your shiny, happy **ass** a friend request.
(21b)   Stuur ik je wel een vriendenverzoek.

Deadpool uses "your shiny, happy ass" to refer to Colossus, who is trying to convince Deadpool to use his powers for good. Deadpool obviously does not agree and tells Colossus that when the day where he does want to be good comes, that he'll send his "shiny, happy ass" a friend request. In Dutch, this insult is completely removed, mostly likely because of time and spatial constraints.

4.4 Emphatically

When a swearword is used emphatically, it is used to emphasise something. This happens 29 times in *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) and is translated using five of the six translation strategies identified by Pedersen (2011). The strategy most often used to deal with emphatic swearwords is omission. It is used a total of 18 times. One of these occasions is the following:

(22a)   [Merchant]   The **fuck** are you?
(22b)   Wie ben jij?

In the movie, we see Wade Wilson doing his job before he becomes Deadpool. This means he goes to intimidate someone. He does this by ordering pizza to a merchant's house, in which he is hiding. When Wade reveals himself, the merchant asks him who he is by saying "The fuck are you?". To emphasise this sentence, he uses the swearword "fuck". This swearword is not translated to Dutch, where the

sentence is simply "Wie ben jij?", so "Who are you?". The sentence is thus not emphasised in the Dutch context. A swearword used to emphasise is most likely the easiest to omit, and that is why it is used the most often for this type of swearword. It is easy to remove a word that is just meant to emphasise something, because the connotations and meaning of the sentence stays similar, just not emphasised, when the swearword is removed.

However, there are some cases where the original swearword was simply retained in the translation of the original dialogue. This was done a total of four times, three of which were complete retentions. This happens when Deadpool is looking for Ajax. Once he has found him, he starts talking to him, but because of the mask and because he is under the impression that Wade Wilson is dead, Ajax does not recognise him. Deadpool lifts his mask to show his face, to which Ajax replies:

(23a) [Ajax]   Wade **fucking** Wilson.
(23b)   Wade **fucking** Wilson.

I have categorised this swearword as emphatically because of the emotions behind it. Ajax is surprised and angry that Wade is alive, and to emphasise this, he adds the swearword. It is not, for example, cathartically because this type of swearing is more often used as a reflex. Ajax did not swear instinctively, he added it on purpose to emphasise his sentence. In Dutch, the swearword is simply kept without changing anything because the situation and sentence allow it. There is also one case of retention where the ECR is adjusted to the TL, which is the following sentence:

(24a) [Deadpool]   Where the **fuck** is Francis?
(24b)   Waar is **fucking** Francis?

The swearword itself, "fuck", is kept in the Dutch sentence. However, it is a little more natural in Dutch to use "fucking" instead of "the fuck" or "de fuck", so the subtitler decided to adjust the ECR to make it fit the Dutch context a little more, so it is easier to read for the Dutch viewers. It is thus a case of TL-adjusted retention.

The ECR is also directly translated twice. In both cases, the translations get shifted. An example is the following:

(25a) [Ajax]   **Fucking** hell.
(25b)   Godsamme.

Translating "fucking hell" is most directly done with the word "godverdomme". However, in this case, it has been shifted to "godsamme". This, to me, is an interesting choice. The swearing is Ajax's reaction to seeing Wade Wilson's deformed face for the very first time, so he wants to let Wade now how ugly his face has become. Shifting the translation to "godsamme", which is less rude that "godverdomme", almost takes away this reaction. My guess is that the shift has been done to fit with the temporal constraints, which is a shame because it takes the intensity of Ajax's reaction away.

Generalization is used four times to translate the dialogue into Dutch. It has only once been done by using a superordinate term. It is probably done because of the temporal constraints of the subtitles:

(26a)	[Deadpool]	Oh, I'm gonna rip his **motherfucking**…
(26b)		Ik ruk z'n **fucking**…

Deadpool is very angry when saying this and is therefore saying it quite quickly. To be able to still fit the swearing in the Dutch subtitles, the subtitler has decided to replace "motherfucking" with "fucking", a more general term of the swearword. The other substrategy paraphrase has been used three times to translate the swearwords. An example of it is:

(27a)	[Deadpool]	Either that or slap the **bitch** outta you!
(27b)		En anders laat ik jou alle hoeken zien.

This sentence is part of a conversation between Deadpool and Colossus. Colossus is trying to convince Deadpool to stop and become a superhero. Deadpool does obviously not agree and tells Colossus he is going to continue doing what he is doing, which is find Ajax and kill anyone who stands in his way, or otherwise he will "slap the bitch outta" him. In Dutch, the swearword "bitch" is removed. However, by translating the sentence as "En anders laat ik jou alle hoeken zien", which means literally means he will show them all the corners of a room, meaning he will beat him up, the original connotations of the sentence are kept.

Finally, there is the strategy of substitution. Both substrategies have been used once for emphatically used swearwords, so substitution has been used twice in total. The cultural substitution is done with an ECR of the target culture, which is similar to the way it has been used before:

(28a)	[Deadpool]	I will shoot your **fucking** cat!
(28b)		Ik schiet je **kut**kat dood.

Wade says this to the merchant when he asks for his wallet back, which he has previously given to Wade because he thought he was getting robbed. Again, this is in my opinion cultural substitution with an ECR from the target culture because of the connotations of the word "kut". Translations of this term would not be accepted in any context in other languages, but in Dutch, it is used as casually as "fucking", in this case.

There is also situational substitution:

(29a)	[Deadpool]	[Finish **fucking** her] the **fuck** up!
(29b)		[Maak haar af] **godverdomme**!

The focus here is on the final part of the sentence, so "the fuck up!" in English. The original ECR "fuck" is removed, and it is completely replaced by "godverdomme". I see this as a complete substitution because even though "godverdomme" is also a swearword, the swearwords are from completely different categories and talk about different subjects. Therefore, this is a substitution with an ECR that happens to fit the context, where in Dutch they add a different swearword than the original to the end of the sentence to emphasise what needs to be done.

4.5 Cathartically

Cathartic swearing is often a case of accidental swearing (Maulidiatsani, 2015: 72). While in a movie, this cannot be the case because a script is written beforehand, normally this type of swearing is used when someone stubs their toe or drops something and it scares them, or when they are extremely angry about something. In movies, it is therefore used to add to the 'prefabricated orality', which makes the dialogue sound more natural (Baños-Piñero, R., & Chaume, F., 2009). There are four strategies used to translate this type of swearword.

The strategy retention has been used nine times, mainly as a complete retention. An example is found in a dialogue that really tries to show how funny the film is. In the middle of a very extreme fighting scene, where Deadpool is fighting four guys in a moving car and violently shooting them and trying to kill them in various ways, the frame kind of stops and Deadpool says:

(30a)	[Deadpool]	**Shit**. Did I leave the stove on?
(30b)		**Shit**. Heb ik 't gas aan laten staan?

Having this in the middle of such extreme violence shows that the movie does not take itself too seriously and that, while it is very extreme and violent, it is also a film full of humour. Since the swearword "shit"

is also very often used in Dutch, especially in this context, retention is a good strategy for this ECR, and it does not need any changes for the audience to understand it. It can be kept, without any markings. There is only one case of retention that is not complete, which is found in the following translation:

(31a)   [Deadpool]   **Fuck** me!
(31b)   **Fuck**…

This is a very interesting case because while the swearword is used cathartically by Wade, Weasel interprets it as descriptively. Wade has to tell Vanessa, who he has not seen in years because he is too embarrassed to show his deformed face to her, everything that has happened because she is in danger. When walking towards the club Vanessa works at, Weasel asks Wade what he is going to say to her. To share his frustration, anger and also fear with the situation, he says "fuck me". Weasel interprets this, perhaps as a joke, descriptively and says that he should not start with that. The subtitler has chosen to only keep the "fuck" and not the "me". This is why I consider it TL-adjusted. The removal of the word "me" slightly changes the meaning, and perhaps makes it slightly more difficult for the Dutch audience to understand what is going on. In the English sentence, it Is very easily understood why Weasel interprets the sentence differently. However, this is not as obvious in Dutch, especially because "fuck" in Dutch is quite often used on its own as a cathartic swearword, and perhaps less often as a descriptive swearword, especially if there is no person mentioned in the sentence.

One of the cathartic swearwords has been translated directly by the subtitler. When Dopinder has dropped Deadpool, Colossus and Negasonic Teenage Warhead off at the place where they are going to fight Ajax, Negasonic Teenage Warhead asks Deadpool where his bag full of ammo is. Deadpool realises that he left it in Dopinder's taxi and tries calling him. When he gets the voicemail, he yells:

(32a)   [Deadpool]   God **damn** it!
(32b)   **Godverdomme**.

The direct translation does not need to be shifted to fit the Dutch context, and thus the substrategy calque can be used by the subtitler.

There is also one case of generalization by use of paraphrase to translate a swearword. Negasonic Teenage Warhead, throughout the whole movie, has been making fun of Deadpool and being mean to him. At the end, she gives him a compliment, to which Deadpool replies in shock:

(33a)   [Deadpool]   What in the **ass**?
(33b)   Krijg nou wat.

While the ECR, the swearword "ass", has been removed, the sentence has been paraphrased in such a way that the same connotations are kept. While there is no more swearword, the total shock of Deadpool can still be found in the translated sentence.

The strategy of omission has been used most often to translate cathartic swearing. Almost half, 12 to be exact, of the strategies used were omission. In fact, it happens five times in a row, where the following sentence is repeated five times by Deadpool and the subtitler has provided no subtitles for any of the sentence:

(34a)   Deadpool]   **Fuck**!
(34b)

Deadpool says "fuck" because of his anger towards Ajax, who has kidnapped Vanessa before he could save her. In his anger, he just starts swearing and almost does not stop. The subtitler has decided to not translate or subtitle any of the "fucks" said, while other swearing around it, such as "motherfucker", "fuckface" and "cock juggling" does get subtitled and translated. Most likely, the subtitler felt that the audience would already recognise the swearing from the audio and did not want to make it more extreme by adding it in the subtitles five times. The other terms do get translated, most likely because they are more specific and not often used in Dutch, so they require a translation so the audience will understand them.

In short, all types of swearwords were found in *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016). The subtitler has used all the strategies, except for specification, to translate the swearing. The strategy used most often, as hypothesised and in line with the previous research, was omission. A total of 45 out of the 135 swearwords were not subtitled, which is a third of all swearwords. It is the most used strategy for swearwords used emphatically and cathartically, which at first glance also seem the easiest to omit because the rest of the sentence, images and audio help the audience understand the meaning of the sentence. Direct translation is the most used, 33 in total, of which 26 of the cases was done with calque and only 7 translations were shifted. Retention and generalization were used almost the same number of times, with 24 and 26 respectively. For retention, only 4 were TL-adjusted, all others were complete, unmarked retentions. Generalization was most often done by using the substrategy paraphrase, which was used to translate 19 sentences. Substitution was used the least number of times of the used strategies, with only 7 cases, of which 5 were cultural substitution, all with a target culture ECR. This is not that surprising, considering the ECRs in this case were swearwords, so the other solutions are often easier because every language contains swearwords.

5. Discussion

The results of the analysis of *Deadpool* (miller, 2016) were that there were 135 swearwords in total. All the different types defined by Pinker (2007) were found, 9 in the category 'descriptively', 38 'idiomatically', 36 'abusively' 29 'emphatically' and 23 'cathartically'.

The research question was: "Which translation strategies by Pedersen (2011) are used to translate swearwords from English to Dutch subtitles in the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016)?" The answer to this question is that all, but one, translation strategies are used. Omission was used most often, 45 times in total. This was to be expected, considering the previous research done in this field and the fact that a swearword is generally speaking quite easily removed if there is not enough space on the screen to add the full dialogue to the subtitle. Direct translation was used 32 times and generalization was used 26 times, which was quite surprising considering that a lot of English swearwords are used in Dutch. However, a lot of swearwords apparently have allowed for easy translation and otherwise the sentence allowed for a paraphrase that kept the connotations of the original dialogue. Retention was used 24 times, which is still quite often and is possible because of the English swearwords being used in Dutch. The strategy substitution was used only 8 times to translate swearwords, which is logical if the other strategies are easier to use. Most often, there is at least a translation that comes close to the original swearword and thus a substitution is not necessary. Specification was the only strategy never used, which is to be expected for swearwords. There is often not a more specific term for a swearword or the specification is longer, for example "motherfucking" instead of "fucking", and thus not a good strategy for translating swearwords in subtitles.

If we look at the translation strategies used for the different types of swearwords, the results found are to be expected based on the reasons given in earlier research for omitting swearwords. Swearwords of the type 'descriptively' are either directly translated, with calque as the substrategy, or are generalised by using a paraphrase. Both strategies were used 4 times. A descriptively used swearword describes an action by using a swearword and can thus not be omitted. The action must still be described in the translation, so these strategies allow for that. Swearwords of the 'idiomatically' category are most often translated by use of paraphrase, a total of 11 times. It ensures that the informal, or perhaps rude, connotations of the original sentence with the swearing can also be found in the subtitle, without the actual swearword itself. Abusive swearing has most often been directly translated, 15 times, of which 13 were by using the subcategory calque. Abusive swearing in English is thus easily translated to a Dutch equivalent. Swearing of both the type emphatically and cathartically are most often omitted. Emphatically used swearing is used to emphasise an emotion and is thus easily omitted because that will still leave the meaning of the sentence, just not the emphasis. Cathartic swearing is done to express

strong emotions. These come across quite strong in the audio and on screen, so it can be expected that they are omitted to not draw any more attention to them.

The hypothesis of this study was that the strategy omission would be used most often to translate the swearwords, in line with previous research. The results when analysing the translation of the swearwords in Deadpool have confirmed this hypothesis. Earlier reasoning for omitting swearwords was that they are perceived more strongly in written than in spoken language, and are easy to remove, so it is a fast solution. While the reasoning behind the strategies was not researched, both reasons seem logical in this context. Omission or changing the swearword for a shorter one was often done when the subtitle was long or when the characters spoke fast, so there was little time for the subtitle. A lot of cathartic swearing was also omitted, which could be done because the Dutch viewers already understand the audio. If these swearwords were then translated or kept in the subtitles, it would emphasise those swearwords and make them be perceived even stronger. I hypothesised the second most used strategy to be retention, because of the 'contract of illusion' (Pederson, 2011: 22), which states that the viewer and subtitler agree that the subtitles are the dialogue itself. The Dutch viewers can recognise a lot of the swearwords, so if they are often omitted, this will be noticeable. On top of that, a lot of swearwords used in Dutch originate from English, and therefore translating them might confuse the viewer rather than help them. Retention could also help with how strong the swearwords are perceived, because Dewaele (2004) showed that swearwords in a second language (so for the Dutch audience, in English) are perceived as having less emotional force than a swearword in the native language. This part of the hypothesis, however, did not come true. In fact, direct translation was used 8 times more often than retention and also generalization was used more often, although this was only 2 times more. This is thus quite a surprising result.

One possible limitation of this research can be that some translation choices are ambiguous and cannot be easily categorised into a single translation strategy. Some cases can belong to multiple categories, but a decision had to be made based on the personal opinion of the author of this thesis. Therefore, the results found in this thesis might differ from a replication of this study. While omission is in most cases quite obvious, it can be the case that a sentence has been compensated enough with the same connotations for it to be generalization through paraphrase might be difficult to say, as in the following sentence.

(53a) [Vanessa]   No one is boom-boxing **shit**.
(53b)   Er komt geen boombox.

I have considered this a generalization, with the substrategy paraphrase, because the result of the sentence is the same, which is Vanessa telling Wade that he will not be boom-boxing music to her in his next life because she does not want him to die to cancer. However, the swearword "shit" is nowhere to be found in the Dutch sentence, so it could also be considered omission.

The same goes for the categorisation of the swearwords itself. It is sometimes unclear whether a swearword is used idiomatically, so just to show that the context is informal. Or when it is emphatically, abusively or cathartically used, as in the following sentence:

(54a) [Ajax]   Wade **fucking** Wilson.
(54b)   Wade **fucking** Wilson.

To me, this is in the category emphatically because Ajax emphasises his surprise that it is actually Wade Wilson who is attacking him, because he believed him to be dead. However, this could also be seen as an insult to Wade or even be seen as a swearword being used cathartically, with Ajax being so surprised that he adds that swearword as a reflex. So as with all categorisations, there is a bit of a personal opinion as to what swearword or strategy belongs to what category.

Then there is also the point that perhaps Pedersen's (2011) translation strategies might not be sufficient to use for the categorisation of the translation strategies of swearwords. Even though they have been used before in the paper of Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021), when using this framework, I did run into a couple of issues, especially with direct translation. Because swearwords are culture-specific, every culture uses different swearwords. It is therefore difficult to say what exactly is a direct translation of the swearword, since there are multiple options possible because there is often not an exact direct translation that fits the context of the translation. However, other strategies used to categorise in other studies as discussed in the Literature review are also not perfect. They were often talking about 'toning down' the swearword, thus making it less offensive. The problem with this is that there is a lack of recent reception studies on the offensiveness of swearwords. Therefore, there is no real evidence to show that a swearword has really been toned down.

For future research, while the personal opinions when categorising can never be removed, what is important is that the same strategies and categories will start to be used. As can be seen in my Literature review, there is so much research on, in this case, the translation of swearwords in subtitling, but they all use different categories and strategies. Therefore, it becomes difficult to effectively compare the results and to build on earlier research.

To continue on this specific research, there is still much to be researched. First of all, I focused purely on swearwords, but there is still a lot of other taboo language in *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016). It would also be interesting to have an interview with the Dutch subtitler, to see why certain strategies have been used. Furthermore, another possible research question is whether a similar tendency for omissions and retentions can be found in the translations of swearwords in Deadpool in other languages. This would

require a similar analysis of the subtitles in other languages to see if they have similar result or if there are differences. And there is also a second *Deadpool*-film, and a third one coming out in July of 2024, so it would be interesting to see if there is a similar use of swearwords and how those have been translated. Finally, obtaining a clear insight on the effect of translated swearwords on the viewers requires user-studies to see how the audience responds to different translation strategies for the swearwords in this movie, because swearing is so important for the characterisation of the movie and the character Deadpool.

6. Conclusion

In this thesis, the translation strategies used to translate the English swearwords to the Dutch subtitles were researched, to find out which was used most often. To do this, the translation strategies identified by Pedersen (2011) were used, who has created the strategies to look at Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECRs), which can also refer to swearwords. A swearword is in this thesis defined by the definition of Guillot (2023: 42), which states that swearing is the "use of (taboo) language with the potential to cause offence as inappropriate, objectionable or unacceptable in any given context, in the expression or release of emotions, with a range of possible interactional and identity functions, psychological or social." To gain more insights into whether the type of swearword has an effect on what strategy is most often used, the swearwords were categorised according to the types of swearwords from Pinker (2006).

In all previous research discussed, omission was the strategy used most often to translate the swearwords. Díaz-Pérez (2020) analysed the translation of the two most common swearwords, "fuck" and "shit", into Galician in the *Veiga Corpus*, which is an English-Galician corpus of film subtitles. Almost half of the taboo words found in this corpus were either removed or otherwise neutralised. Guillot focuses on one film, *Manchest by the sea* by Lonergan (2016), being translated to subtitles in different European languages. Here, the same result was found. The study done by Lu (2023) looked at the Chinese subtitling of six English-language action crime films, and it was again found that there is a strong tendency to tone down swearwords. About 70% of the original English swearwords were either omitted or de-sweared in the Chinese subtitles, with the de-swearing strategy being used most often, closely followed by omission. It thus seems that an Asian language has a slight preference for de-swearing, while the European language prefer omitting the swearing. The final research discussed was the one by Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021), where they look at the Arabic subtitles of the movie *Training Day*. They found that omission was the strategy used most often, mainly because of the cultural constraints of the Arabic world.

Reasons given for swearwords being omitted by almost all of the research were the limitations in space and time for subtitles, and the fact that swearwords most often have no denotational meaning and are therefore easy to remove. Furthermore, swearing is culture specific and thus it becomes difficult to find a direct counterpart. And finally, the most often mentioned, is that swearing is perceived more strongly when it is written down in comparison to spoken. This assumption was also found by De Meo (2014), who found that subtitling often suffers more from censoring than dubbing. However, it is important to mention that it is only an assumption that swearwords written down are perceived more strongly than swearwords spoken aloud, with Briechle and Eppler (2019) even proving with their research that this is actually not the case. However, it seems like the subtitling industry prefers the well-established norms of omitting the swearword rather than listening to research that proves them wrong.

Considering the results found in previous research, it was expected that strategy most often used to translate the swearwords to the Dutch subtitles would be omission. The second most used strategy was expected to be retention, mainly because English swearing is often used in Dutch and wearing in a second language, so English for a Dutch audience, is perceived as having less emotional force.

All strategies identified by Pedersen (2011) were found, except for specification. The strategy used most often was, as expected, omission. Direct translation and generalization were used more often than retention, respectively 32 and 26 times in comparison to retention being used 24 times. The strategy substitution was only used 8 times.

As said in previous research, swearwords are often omitted because they have no denotational meaning and are therefore easy to remove. When looking at the strategies for the different type of swearwords, this can be seen. Swearing considered 'emphatically' and 'cathartically', respectively used to emphasise an emotion and to express strong emotions, were most often omitted. This is thus to be expected, considering that only emphasise an emotion or express an emotion, and thus are easily removed while still keeping the original meaning. In cases where the swearword is more important for the actual meaning of the sentence, so swearwords used 'descriptively', 'idiomatically' and 'abusively', strategies such as paraphrase and direct translation were more often used to translate them.

In conclusion, the subtitles of the movie *Deadpool* (Miller, 2016) follow the general pattern of most often omitting the swearwords. The actual reasoning behind this was not researched in this thesis, but considering the results, reasons mentioned before such as written swearwords being perceived more strongly than spoken and swearwords being easy to removed when they have no denotational meaning, seem to also apply here.

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Appendix

Nr.	Character	English	Type of swearword	Dutch subtitle	Translation strategy
1.	Text on screen	Some **douchebag**'s film.	Abusively	Een **klojo** film.	Direct translation: Shifted
2.	Text on screen	Produced by **asshats.**	Abusively	Geproduceerd door **sukkels.**	Substitution: Cultural, Target culture
3.	Deadpool	Like two hobos **fucking** in a shoe filled with piss.	Descriptively	Als twee **neukende** zwervers in een schoen met pis.	Direct translation: Calque
4.	Deadpool	This **shit**…	Idiomatically	Dit…	Omission
5.	Warlord	**Fucking** mutant.	Emphatically	**Vuile** mutant.	Direct translation: Shifted
6.	Deadpool	Oh, **shit**! I forgot my ammo bag.	Cathartically	Mijn munitie vergeten.	Omission
7.	Deadpool	**Fuck** it. I got this.	Idiomatically	Dit lukt me wel.	Omission.
8.	Deadpool	**Cock** shot.	Idiomatically	In de ballen.	Generalization: Superordinate term
9.	Deadpool	**Shit**. Did I leave the stove on?	Cathartically	**Shit**. Heb ik 't gas aan laten staan?	Retention: Complete, unmarked
10.	Deadpool	**Motherfucker**!	Abusively	**Motherfucker**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked

11.	Deadpool	**Shit!**	Cathartically	**Shit**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
12.	Deadpool	**Fuck.**	Cathartically	**Fuck**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
13.	Deadpool	**Shit-fuck!**	Cathartically	**Shit-fuck**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
14.	Deadpool	What the **shit-biscuit!**	Idiomatically	Krijg de **schijtkoek**.	Direct translation: Calque
15.	Merchant	Yeah, the Mr. Merchant who didn't order the **fucking** pie!	Emphatically	Ja, en die heeft geen pizza besteld.	Omission
16.	Merchant	**The fuck** are you?	Emphatically	Wie ben jij?	Omission
17.	Merchant	**The fuck** you doing in my crib…	Emphatically	Wat doe je in mijn hut…	Omission
18.	Deadpool	I will shoot your **fucking** cat!	Emphatically	Ik schiet je **kut**kat dood.	Substitution: Cultural, Target culture
19.	Deadpool	Then whose kitty litter did I just **shit** in?	Descriptively	In wie z'n kattenbak heb ik dan zitten **kakken**?	Direct Translation: Calque
20.	Friend of Meghan	Hey, think you could **fuck** up my step-dad?	Descriptively	Kun je mijn stiefvader **aftuigen**?	Generalization: Paraphrase
21.	Man on street	Oh, **fuck** you, Wade.	Abusively	**Fuck** you, Wade.	Retention: Complete, unmarked

22.	Deadpool	I'm just a bad guy who gets paid to **fuck** up worse guys.	Descriptively	Ik ben een bad guy die ergere bad guys **verrot** slaat.	Generalization: Paraphrase
23.	Deadpool	Think of us as really **fucked** up tooth fairies, except we knock out the teeth and take the cash.	Idiomatically	Zie ons maar als **gestoorde** tandenfeeën, alleen slaan wij de tanden eruit en pakken de poen.	Substitution: Situational substitution
24.	Deadpool	I don't take the **shits**. I just disturb them.	Idiomatically	Ik pik gewoon helemaal niks.	Generalization: Paraphrase
25.	Weasel	**Fuck** you.	Abusively		Omission
26.	Boothe	Come here, you fat **fuck**!	Abusively	Kom hier, bolle.	Generalization: Paraphrase
27.	Buck	Stay **the fuck** down.	Emphatically	Blijf liggen.	Omission
28.	Man	Whoa, took his **ass** out!	Idiomatically	Die ligt gestrekt.	Generalization: Paraphrase
29.	Deadpool	**Motherfucker**, you're the world's worst friend.	Abusively	Wat een **kut**vriend ben jij.	Substitution: Cultural substitution, target culture
30.	Vanessa	Baby, about 48 minutes of whatever **the fuck** you want.	Idiomatically	48 minuten om alles met me te doen.	Omission
31.	Vanessa	Just ride a **bitch**'s back, like Yoda on Luke.	Idiomatically	Rijden maar, net als Yoda op Luke.	Omission
32.	Deadpool	Now, if I were a 200-pound **sack of assholes** named Francis, where would I hide?	Abusively	Als ik een **lul** van 90 kilo was en Francis heette, waar zou ik me verstoppen?	Generalization: Superordinate term
33.	Deadpool	Ladies and gentlemen, what	Emphatically	Dames en heren, u bent getuige van	Generalization: Paraphrase

		you're witnessing is sweet **dick-kicking** revenge.		zoete, keiharde wraak.	
34.	Ajax	Wade **fucking** Wilson.	Emphatically	Wade **fucking** Wilson.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
35.	Deadpool	I think we can all agree that **shit** just went sideways in the most colossal way.	Idiomatically	Het liep dus allemaal verkeerd, op de meest kolossale manier.	Omission
36.	Deadpool	We both know that cancer is a **shit-show**.	Idiomatically	We weten allebei dat kanker een **shit-show** is.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
37.	Deadpool	Like, a Yakov-Smirnoff-opening-for-the-Spin-Doctors-at-the-Iowa-State-Fair **shit-show**.	Idiomatically	Als Yakov Smirnoff in the voorprogramma van de Spin Doctors op een braderie. Een **shit-show**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
38.	Vanessa	No one is boom-boxing **shit**.	Idiomatically	Er komt geen boombox.	Generalization: Paraphrase
39.	Vanessa	Your life is officially way more **fucked** up than mine.	Idiomatically	Jouw leven is veel meer **kut** dan dat van mij.	Substitution: Cultural substitution, target culture
40.	Deadpool	But if I ever hit "**fuck** it", I'll look you up.	Idiomatically	Maar als 't me geen **fuck** meer kan schelen, bel ik u.	Retention: TL-adjusted
41.	Deadpool	**Shit**. We're within 500 yards of a school, so you may wanna, you know…	Cathartically	**Shit**. 500 meter van hier is een school, dus…	Retention: Complete, unmarked

42.	Deadpool	Pro: They pull down a gaggle of **ass**.	Idiomatically	Plus: superhelden krijgen alle lekkere wijven.	Generalization: Paraphrase
43.	Deadpool	Con: They're all **lame-ass** teacher's pets.	Emphatically	Min: Het zijn altijd saaie lievelingetjes van de juf.	Omission
44.	Deadpool	Look, Colossus, I don't have time for the goody two-shoes **bullshit** right now!	Idiomatically	Luister, Colossus, ik heb geen tijd voor dat moraalridder-gelul.	Direct translation: Calque
45.	Deadpool	What the **shit**?	Cathartically	Wat de **shit**?	Retention: Complete, unmarked
46.	Deadpool	X-men left you behind on what? **Shit** detail?	Idiomatically	De X-men hebben je nodig voor de **kut**klusjes?	Generalization: Paraphrase
47.	Deadpool	You big chrome **cock-gobbler**!	Abusively	Grote chromen **pikkenzuiger**.	Direct translation: Calque
48.	Deadpool	You're really gonna **fuck** this up for me?	Idiomatically	Ga je dit echt voor me **verklooien**?	Direct translation: Calque
49.	Deadpool	Trust me, that wheezing **bag of dick-tips** has it coming.	Abusively	Geloof me, die **zak met eikels** heeft het verdiend.	Direct translation: Calque
50.	Deadpool	The day I decide to become a crime-fighting, **shit**-swizzler…	Abusively	Als ik ooit zo'n crime-fighter-**kloot** word…	Substitution: Cultural substitution, target culture
51.	Deadpool	…who rooms with a bunch of other little whiners at the Neverland mansion of some creepy, ol, bald Heaven's Gate-	Abusively	…die woont bij andere zeikers op Neverland in zo'n enge Hemelpoort-zoekende commune…	Omission

		looking **motherfucker**…			
52.	Deadpool	I'll send your shiny, happy **ass** a friend request.	Abusively	Stuur ik je wel een vriendenverzoek.	Omission
53.	Deadpool	Either that or slap the **bitch** outta you!	Emphatically	En anders laat ik jou alle hoeken zien.	Generalization: Paraphrase
54.	Negasonic Teenage Warhead	Hey, **douche-pool**!	Abusively	Hé, malpool.	Direct translation: Shifted
55.	Deadpool	**Cock** shot!	Idiomatically	In de ballen	Generalization: Superordinate term
56.	Deadpool	You ever heard of the one-legged man in the **ass-kicking** contest?	Idiomatically	Ken je die man met één been die wil schoppen?	Omission
57.	Deadpool	And when life ends up breathtakingly **fucked**, you can generally trace it back to one big, bad decision.	Idiomatically	Als het leven adembenemend **klote** eindigt, is dat meestal te herleiden naar één foute beslissing.	Direct translation: Calque
58.	Deadpool	The one that sent you down the road to **Shitsburgh**.	Idiomatically	Waardoor je belandde op de weg naar **Schijtstad**.	Direct translation: Calque
59.	The Recruiter	You finally hit "**fuck** it".	Idiomatically	Het interesseert u geen **fuck** meer.	Retention: TL-adjusted
60.	Angel Dust	Shut **the fuck** up.	Emphatically	Hou je bek.	Omission
61.	Deadpool	Like a **fuck-it** list.	Idiomatically	Een **fuck-it**-list.	Retention: Complete, unmarked

62.	Deadpool	Hey, don't take any **shit** from him, Cunningham.	Idiomatically	Niks van hem pikken, Cunningham.	Generalization: Paraphrase
63.	Ajax	Why don't you do us all a favor and shut **the fuck** up?	Emphatically	Doe iedereen een lol en hou je bek.	Omission
64.	Deadpool	Oh, and I thought you guys were **dicks** before.	Abusively	Ik vond jullie eerder al **eikels**.	Substitution: Cultural substitution, target culture
65.	Deadpool	What **the fuck** is wrong with you?	Emphatically	Wat mankeert jou?	Omission
66.	Ajax	**Fucking** hell.	Emphatically	**Godsamme**.	Direct translation: Shifted
67.	Deadpool	You sadistic **fuck**!	Abusively	Sadistische **klootzak**.	Direct translation: Calque
68.	Angel Dust	Oh, you smell like **shit**.	Idiomatically	Wat een **stront**lucht.	Generalization: Paraphrase
69.	Angel Dust	**Motherfucker**.	Abusively		Omission
70.	Man	God, he's so **fucking** gnarly.	Emphatically	God, die is lelijk.	Omission
71.	Deadpool	Ah, **bullshit**!	Idiomatically	**Gelul**…	Direct translation: Calque
72.	Deadpool	I belong in a **fucking** circus.	Emphatically	Ik hoor in een circus thuis.	Omission
73.	Weasel	Like it was hate-**fucking**.	Descriptively	Een haat-wip.	Direct translation: Shifted

74.	Deadpool	And the only guy who can fix this fugly mug is the British **shitstick** who ran the mutant factory.	Abusively	En de enige die deze lelijke harses kan repareren is die Britse **schijtlijster** van die mutantenfabriek.	Direct translation: Calque
75.	Weasel	Because you look like Freddy Krueger face-**fucked** a topographical map of Utah.	Descriptively	Je bent net Freddy Krueger met de kaart van Utah op z'n smoel.	Generalization: Paraphrase
76.	Deadpool	I'm gonna work through his crew until somebody gives up Francis, force him to fix this, then put a bullet in his skull and **fuck** the brain hole.	Descriptively	Ik ga zijn hele crew af tot iemand Francis verlinkt. Ik dwing hem dit te herstellen, jaag een kogel door z'n kop en **neuk** 'm in het gat.	Direct translation: Calque
77.	Weasel	But the **douchebag** does think you're dead, right?	Abusively	Die **eikel** denkt dat je dood bent, hè?	Direct translation: Calque
78.	Weasel	Oh, **shit**.	Cathartically		Omission
79.	Weasel	That sounds like a **fucking** franchise.	Emphatically	Dat klinkt als een filmserie.	Omission
80.	Deadpool	This **shit**'s gonna have nuts in it.	Idiomatically	Dit is als een drol met nootjes erin.	Direct translation: Calque
81.	Blind Al	Or wear red. Dumb**ass**.	Abusively	Sukkel.	Direct translation: Calque
82.	Deadpool	Where **the fuck** is Francis?	Emphatically	Waar is **fucking** Francis?	Retention: TL-adjusted

83.	Deadpool	Tell me where your **fucking** boss is or you're gonna die!	Emphatically	Vertel me waar je baas is of je gaat eraan.	Omission
84.	Blind Al	Why such a **douche** this morning?	Abusively	Waarom ben je zo'n **lul**?	Generalization: Superordinate term
85.	Deadpool	Let's recap. The **cock** thistle that turned me into this freak slipped through my arms today… Arm.	Abusively	Even kort: de **lul** die me in deze freak veranderde, glipte me door mijn armen… Arm.	Direct translation: Calque
86.	Deadpool	Catching him was my only chance to be hot again, get my super sexy ex back and prevent this **shit** from happening to someone else.	Idiomatically	Hij was mijn enige kans weer knap te worden, mijn ex terug te krijgen en anderen hiervoor te behoeden.	Omission
87.	Ajax	Found out who our friend in the red suit is. **Fucking** Wade Wilson.	Emphatically	Ik weet wie onze rode vriend is. **Fucking** Wade Wilson.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
88.	Ajax	I almost miss the **fucker**.	Abusively	Ik mis die **eikel** bijna.	Direct translation: Calque
89.	Deadpool	I raided my stash of wisdom tooth Percocet and I am orbiting **fucking** Saturn right now.	Emphatically	Ik had nog een voorraad pijnstillers en ik zit nu in een baan om Saturnus.	Omission

90.	Weasel	Wade, we have a **fucking** problem	Emphatically	Wade, we hebben een probleem.	Omission
91.	Deadpool	**Fuck me**!	Cathartically	**Fuck**…	Retention: TL-adjusted
92.	Deadpool	Better find her fast before numb**nuts** does.	Abusively	We moeten haar vinden voor die **kloot** 't doet.	Direct translation: Calque
93.	Deadpool	Ah, you weak **motherfucker**!	Abusively	Slappe **motherfucker**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
94.	Deadpool	**Fuck**.	Cathartically		Omission
95.	Deadpool	**Fuck**!	Cathartically		Omission
96.	Deadpool	**Motherfucker**!	Abusively	**Motherfucker**.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
97.	Deadpool	**Cock** juggling…	Abusively	**Pikken**trekker…	Direct translation: Calque
98.	Deadpool	**Fuck** face!	Abusively	**Neuk**kop.	Direct translation: Calque
99.	Deadpool	**Fuck**!	Cathartically		Omission
100.	Deadpool	**Fuck**!	Cathartically		Omission
101.	Deadpool	**Fuck**!	Cathartically		Omission
102.	Deadpool	**Fuck**!	Cathartically		Omission
103.	Deadpool	**Fuck**!	Cathartically		Omission
104.	Deadpool	Oh, I'm gonna rip his **motherfucking**…	Emphatically	Ik ruk z'n **fucking**…	Generalization: Superordiante term
105.	Weasel	That's the **shit** emoji.	Idiomatically	Een **shit**-emoji.	Retention: Complete, unmarked

106.	Weasel	You know, it's the **turd** with the smiling face and the eyes?	Idiomatically	Die **drol** met die glimlach en die oogjes?	Direct translation: Calque
107.	Deadpoool	Get it through your head or get out of **fuck** town.	Idiomatically	Stamp 't nou eens in je **kop**.	Generalization: Paraphrase
108.	Blind Al	**Shit**. That's all the pieces in the house.	Cathartically	**Shit**. Dat zijn alle wapens.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
109.	Blind Al	**Fuck** you.	Abusively		Omission
110.	Weasel	You wanna get **fucked** up?	Idiomatically	Nemen we wat?	Generalization: Paraphrase
▉	▉	▉	▉	▉	▉
111.	Vanessa	Thanks, **dickless**.	Abusively	Bedankt, **balloze**.	Generalization: Superordinate term
112.	Vanessa	I've been trying to tell you **assholes**, you've got the wrong girl.	Abusively	Ik probeer steeds te zeggen dat jullie de verkeerde hebben.	Omission
▉	▉	▉	▉	▉	▉
113.	Negasonic Teenage Warhead	**Fuck**, you're old.	Cathartically	Jij bent echt oud.	Omission
▉	▉	▉	▉	▉	▉
114.	Deadpool	Time to make the chimi-**fuckin'**-changas.	Emphatically	We gaan chimichangas maken.	Omission
115.	Deadpool	Not often a dude ruins your face, skull-stomps your sanity, grabs your future baby mama and personally seed	Idiomatically	Hoe vaak ruïneert een gast je gezicht, sloopt je verstand, pakt je aanstaande vrouwtje en zorgt voor vier van je vijf	Direct translation: Calque

		to four of your five **shittiest** moments.		**kloterigste** momenten?	
116.	Deadpool	God **damn** it!	Cathartically	**Godverdomme**.	Direct translation: Calque
117.	Deadpool	Oh, I'mma **fuckin'** spell it out for ya.	Emphatically	Ik zal 't voor je spellen.	Omission
118.	Deadpool	Finish **fucking** her…	Descriptively	Maak haar af, …	Generalization: Paraphrase
119.	Deadpool	…**the fuck** up!	Emphatically	…**godverdomme**!	Substitution: Situational substitution
120.	Deadpool	Suck a **cock**!	Idiomatically	Ga pijpen!	Generalization: Paraphrase
121.	Deadpool	You only work for that **shit-spackled** muppet fart.	Abusively	Jullie werken alleen maar voor die muppet-scheet.	Omission
122.	Deadpool	**Motherfucking…**	Cathartically		Omission
123.	Deadpool	**Motherfucker** should have worn his brown pants.	Abusively	Hij had zijn bruine broek aan moeten trekken.	Omission
124.	Deadpool	Don't worry, baby. I'mma get you out of that **shit**-box.	Idiomatically	Geen zorgen, ik haal je wel uit die **shit**-doos.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
125.	Vanessa	But you did, **asshole**!	Abusively	Maar jij wel, **lul**.	Direct translation: Calque
126.	Vanessa	**Asshole**!	Abusively	**Klootzak**	Direct translation: Calque
127.	Vanessa	**Shit**, shit, shit!	Cathartically		Omission

128.	Ajax	You stupid **fucking** idiot	Emphatically	Stomme **fucking** idioot.	Retention: Complete, unmarked
129.	Deadpool	Who **fucking** cares?	Emphatically	Wie kan 't wat schelen?	Omission
130.	Deadpool	Sure, I may be stuck looking like pepperoni flatbread, but at least **fuck**face won't heal from that.	Abusively	Misschien blijf ik eruitzien als een broodje peperoni, maar deze **lul** wordt zeker niet beter.	Generalization: Superordinate term
131.	Deadpool	Oh, **shit**.	Cathartically	**Shit**…	Retention: Complete, unmarked
132.	Deadpool	What **the fuck** am I gonna tell her?	Emphatically	Wat moet ik haar nou vertellen?	Omission
133.	Deadpool	Tell Beast to stop **shitting** on my lawn.	Descriptively	Zeg tegen Beast dat ie niet op 't gazon **schijt**.	Direct translation: Calque
134.	Deadpool	What in **the ass**?	Cathartically	Krijg nou wat.	Generalization: Paraphrase
135.	Deadpool	Oh, and don't leave your garbage all lying around. It's a total **dick** move.	Idiomatically	En laat je rommel niet liggen, dat doen alleen eikels.	Generalization: Paraphrase

Type of swearword	Number of times found
Descriptively	9
Idiomatically	38
Abusively	36
Emphatically	29
Cathartically	23
Total	135

Translation strategy	Number of times found
1. Retention	24
a. Complete	20
i. Marked	0
ii. Unmarked	20
b. TL-adjusted	4
2. Specification	0
a. Addition	0
b. Completion	0
3. Direct translation	32
a. Calque	26
b. Shifted	6
4. Generalization	26
a. Superordinate term	7
b. Paraphrase	19
5. Substitution	8
a. Cultural substitution	6
i. Transcultural ECR	0
ii. Target culture ECR	6
b. Situational substitution	2
6. Omission	45

Translation strategy	Number of times found for type of swearword 'Descriptively'
1. Retention	0
a. Complete	0
i. Marked	0
ii. Unmarked	0
b. TL-adjusted	0
2. Specification	0
a. Addition	0
b. Completion	0
3. Direct translation	5
a. Calque	4
b. Shifted	1
4. Generalization	4
a. Superordinate term	0
b. Paraphrase	4
5. Substitution	0
a. Cultural substitution	0
i. Transcultural ECR	0
ii. Target culture ECR	0
b. Situational substitution	0
6. Omission	0

Translation strategy	Number of times found for type of swearword 'Idiomatically'
1. Retention	7
a. Complete	5
i. Marked	0
ii. Unmarked	5
b. TL-adjusted	2
2. Specification	0
a. Addition	0
b. Completion	0
3. Direct translation	9
a. Calque	9

b. Shifted	0
4. Generalization	13
a. Superordinate term	2
b. Paraphrase	11
5. Substitution	2
a. Cultural substitution	1
i. Transcultural ECR	0
ii. Target culture ECR	1
b. Situational substitution	1
6. Omission	7

Translation strategy	Number of times found for type of swearword 'Abusively'
1. Retention	4
a. Complete	4
i. Marked	0
ii. Unmarked	4
b. TL-adjusted	0
2. Specification	0
a. Addition	0
b. Completion	0
3. Direct translation	15
a. Calque	13
b. Shifted	2
4. Generalization	5
a. Superordinate term	4
b. Paraphrase	1
5. Substitution	4
a. Cultural substitution	4
i. Transcultural ECR	0
ii. Target culture ECR	4
b. Situational substitution	0
6. Omission	8

Translation strategy	Number of times found for type of swearword 'Emphatically'
1. Retention	4
a. Complete	3
i. Marked	0
ii. Unmarked	3
b. TL-adjusted	1
2. Specification	0
a. Addition	0
b. Completion	0
3. Direct translation	2
a. Calque	0
b. Shifted	2
4. Generalization	3
a. Superordinate term	1
b. Paraphrase	2
5. Substitution	2
a. Cultural substitution	1
i. Transcultural ECR	0
ii. Target culture ECR	1
b. Situational substitution	1
6. Omission	18

Translation strategy	Number of times found for type of swearword 'Cathartically'
1. Retention	9
a. Complete	8
i. Marked	0
ii. Unmarked	8
b. TL-adjusted	1
2. Specification	0
a. Addition	0
b. Completion	0
3. Direct translation	1
a. Calque	1

b. Shifted	0	
4. Generalization	1	
a. Superordinate term	0	
b. Paraphrase	1	
5. Substitution	0	
a. Cultural substitution	0	
i. Transcultural ECR	0	
ii. Target culture ECR	0	
b. Situational substitution	0	
6. Omission	12	