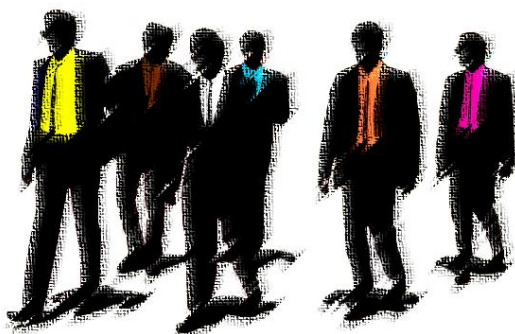


**WELL, FUCK!** | A Comparative Case Study in DVD  
Subtitling: The Linguistic Transfer of Taboo Language  
in *Reservoir Dogs* from English into Dutch



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## | ABSTRACT

Quentin Tarantino's film *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) contains many instances of overt taboo language. This includes words, subjects or concepts that are obscene, offensive or inappropriate in a given cultural context and are not to be spoken or expressed in front of the public eye, to prevent loss of face or cause offence. The aim of this contrastive study is to shed light on the linguistic transfer of taboo language of *Reservoir Dogs*. The crucial contrasts between the original English dialogue and the Dutch subtitles translation will be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively by examining various linguistic functions, forms and strategies in translation. Taboo language in audiovisual translation is a vastly understudied area that is often overlooked by academia, despite the fact that swearing and the use of taboo language is natural to a culture's discourse. In essence, the key motif is to examine what impact the Dutch culture, language and the medium-related constraints in subtitling have on the cross-cultural transfer of taboo language. The overall expectation is that omission of taboo words will be a very common occurrence due to medium-related constraints and the fact that a sizeable amount of swearwords may not be regarded as indispensable elements in subtitles. In fact, the vast reduction is not prompted by medium-related constraints and the translation becomes a toned down version, which lacks, which is stripped of connotation at times. The efforts of the translator to compensate for the observed reduction of taboo words prove to be insufficient. However, the presented results support the claim that taboos are culture-specific, since the source and target culture apparently do swear nonconformably.

**Keywords** | audiovisual translation, constraints, screen translation, subtitling, linguistic transfer, Quentin Tarantino, swearing, taboo language, *Reservoir Dogs*, Dutch, DVD, cultural adaptation

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**ii. | ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS** *placed in alphabetical order*

<b>AVT</b>		Audiovisual translation
<b>BBFC</b>		British Board of Film Classification
<b>NL</b>		The Netherlands / Dutch
<b>RD</b>		<i>Reservoir Dogs</i>
<b>SC</b>		Source culture
<b>SDH</b>		The deaf and the hard of hearing
<b>SL</b>		Source language
<b>ST</b>		Source text
<b>TC</b>		Target culture
<b>TL</b>		Target language
<b>TS</b>		Translation studies
<b>TT</b>		Target text

## 1. | INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research aim and overview

In the following section, *Reservoir Dogs* shall be introduced and its pivotal role will be explained in the conduct of this study. Through comparative analysis of the linguistic transfer of swearwords in subtitles, using the original English film version and its Dutch subtitling, compelling differences in translation are to be found. The typical technical restraints that subtitlers are confronted with, such as the spatial and temporal ones, cannot solely be accounted for the differences in transference. In fact, cultural values, the subtitler's adopted translation strategy and the semiotic switch from spoken to written mode are some critical factors that are at play in the audiovisual translation of the film. Ultimately, the is to find out what translation strategy was used and what implications the translator's decisions may have had on the denotation or connotation of the taboo utterances. This is done so by comparing the taboo words. The original spoken text will be compared to the Dutch subtitles of *Reservoir Dogs*, the differences will be quantified and in the end the applied translation strategy becomes apparent.

Similar to any type of discourse, swearing is part of any culture's discourse, thus no linguistic research is complete without the inclusion of this form of discourse. The plethora of taboo words in this classic cult film and the readily present Dutch subtitles are the driving factors for opting for *Reservoir Dogs* (henceforth *RD*) in the analysis. Considering the fact that *RD* is targeted in this study, the inclusion of supportive background information that is inextricably linked to the research is in order. The two overarching themes, in chapters 2 and 3 respectively, include the introduction and theoretical approach of swearing and the practice of audiovisual translation. Various aspects of swearing, such as its form and function, the psychology of it, its historical perspective and the use of swearwords in the United States and the Netherlands will be addressed. Furthermore, it is relevant to look at the workings of AVT and its technical restraints, as the medium of translation plays a deciding factor in the way the

TT takes shape. Finally, given the provided theoretical background information; the explication of descriptive AVT norms and translation strategies, founded by acknowledged theoreticians in the field of linguistics and audiovisual translation, will bring up the central research question:

*What effects do the Dutch culture and language have on the audiovisual translation of taboo words and what are the consequences of subtitling constraints?*

### **1.1.1 | Hypotheses**

The suppositions that can be made at this point in time, prior to conducting the study:

- The severity of words should not undergo drastic changes in translation, but great equivalent translations may be too lengthy and for economic reasons, denotation will overrule connotation when drastic measures need to be taken. This mode of translation does not allow for extreme free translation, but a transparent text that stays faithful to the meaning of the source text, using functionally equivalent alternatives is a likely occurrence; the main thoughts from the ST might be conveyed, whether that is achieved by paraphrasing, implication, or otherwise.
- The combination of used medium and translatability of certain taboo words is highly likely to cause a sizeable reduction of taboo words through omission. This should be reflected in the *type of correspondence* analysis, showing that omission is an extremely common procedure, if not the most common correspondence.
- Taboos are determined by a culture's specific history, norms and values. Since taboos are culture-dependent, an analysis of the *semantic classifications* of the taboo words in *RD* might support the claim that each culture swears differently, evoking different connotations. Specifically, semantic analysis should reveal that the Dutch mention illnesses when swearing and that the English have a liking for sex-related swearwords.



- As for *functional* use and *pragmatic* classification; the expectation is that expletives and auxiliaries will dominate and approximate each other. The word “fuck” is extremely versatile in use and can be used as a(n) (in)transitive verb, action verb, passive verb, adjective, adverb, interjection, conjunction, noun and so on. Hence, *fuck* might be used very frequently in informal speech, mostly as an expletive or auxiliary.
- The subtitler is expected to adopt the *foreignization* strategy; a text that conforms to the source culture. This strategy retains ST information and preserves the ST’s meaning, but breaks the conventions of the TL. Considering the (close) power-relation between English and Dutch, the culture-sensitive setting of the film and the fact that *RD* is a cult classic, I expect retainment of culture-specific items in the TT, partly due to the negative reception that the film might receive if the subtitler were to alter much, thus not doing Tarantino’s film and reputation injustice.

### 1.1.2 | Relevance

The inclusion of swearwords in academic studies is a relatively new phenomenon and it has been considered a legitimate field of study for a decade or two (Soler Pardo (2) 122). Karjalainen points out that swearing and offensive language remains a largely uncovered area of study: “Relatively little has been said and written about the use of swearwords in academia so far.” (qtd. in Lie 11) Moreover, McEnery and Xiao state that “[s]wearing is a part of everyday language use. To date it has been studied infrequently, though some work on swearing [...] has addressed the topic” (264) and according to Hughes, people are reluctant to discuss a topic such as swearing publicly (Hughes, preface). Some of the more recent publications<sup>1</sup> that address swearing, bad language or taboo words include the works of Allan & Burridge, Montagu, Jay

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<sup>1</sup> These major publications came out between 1990 and 2006. Although the first accounts of studies on swearing were recorded in the 1960s, it was not until the 1990s a much greater part of linguistic or non-linguistic context were studied. The emergence of these major publications dealt with new matters and also delved into the pragmatic, psychological or socio-linguistic side of audiovisual translation and taboo words. The older publications in relation to this topic are not necessarily relevant in regard to the scope of this thesis.

and Hughes.

Keith Allan & Kate Burridge (2) are the authors of *Forbidden Words, Taboo and the Censoring of Language* (2006). They delve into particular types of language taboos, aspects of tabooing behaviour and provide insightful information on the role of taboo words in everyday life, but they also elaborate on the historical perspective on taboo words and how they have become offensive or inappropriate in given contexts and cultures. Andersson and Trudgill (1990:61) list four pragmatic categories of swearing: *expletive*, *abusive*, *humorous* and *auxiliary*. They point out the functions that swearing has within social talk and furthermore take a look at the negative attitudes toward swearing, sloppy language and try to provide an explanation for the hostile behaviour towards linguistic discrimination.

Ashley Montagu proposed a cross-classification that distinguishes different categories of mostly semantic and pragmatic nature in his linguistic typology of swearing: “He distinguishes between *swearing*, *cursing*, *profanity* *blasphemy*, *obscenity*, *vulgarism* and *euphemistic swearing*, [...] all of which can be *abusive*, *adjurative*, *asseverative*, *ejaculatory*, *exclamatory*, *execratory*, *expletive*, *hortatory*, *interjectional* or *objurgatory*.” (qtd. in Lie 24) Montagu has examined a wide array of aspects in the genre: He sheds light on the evolution and manifestations of swearing in various cultures, but also explains the psychological and philosophical side to swearing. Timothy Jay (1) has carried out extensive research on psycholinguistic topics of American profanity in *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study Of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards and on the Streets* (1992). Jay states that dirty words serve several communicative functions and he has suggested a pragmatic typology, one that is fairly akin to Montagu’s, which describes the different usage intentions of bad words. Jay has carried out several field and laboratory studies on offensive speech. For example, the oral frequency of elementary school students’ speech were recorded and analysed (Jay (1) 116).

Mona Baker (1992:6) has pondered upon translation studies and the interpretation, application and the ethics of TS. She singles out potential sources of difficulties that translations may give rise to and proposes translation strategies to deal with (non-)equivalence in translation on different levels. Baker later concluded that translational behaviour has a series of universal tendencies: *explication*, *simplification*, *normalization*<sup>2</sup> and *levelling out*<sup>3</sup> (Ghassempur 57). Many previous studies have covered translation strategies and Vinay & Darbelnet were one of the first authors to formulate these. Levý (2000) then came up with a similar taxonomy of translation strategies, only adding some common techniques such as *generalization*. However, the application of these translation strategies can be problematic for subtitles, as most of these studies have not been adapted to suit this specific form of translation. Venuti's *domestication* and *foreignization* translation strategies can, however, possibly be used to determine the degree in which a translation conforms to the target culture, by using the *Venutian scale*. Venuti provides a modern take on strategies in translation in his book *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) and he formulates the dichotomy between *domestication* and *foreignization*, by looking at the language cultural values that come into play. He strongly advocates the *foreignization* strategy for ethnic reasons, stating that any source language cultural norms should be preserved in the target text, since *domestication* leads to loss of cultural values. Thus, the target language should convey the original meaning of the author and foreign elements should be made apparent in translation.

A number of scholars have covered the topic of audiovisual translation and time and space constraints. Similarly, the communicative functions and the present forms (cross-classifications) of taboo language are also highlighted subtopics in studies that address bad language. However, these topics have been studied secluded from one another. Thus, the

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<sup>2</sup> *Normalization* entails a tendency to conform to TL patterns.

<sup>3</sup> Target texts that have been *levelled out* "are more similar to each other in terms of lexical density, type-token and mean sentence length than STs" (Ghassempur 57-58).

audiovisual translation of taboo words in subtitles across cultures yet remains an understudied field. Hence, this thesis will hopefully shed light on a linguistic topic, namely that of informal spoken language, that many people feel hesitant to write about (and therefore the presence of taboo language in everyday society does not reflect the amount of academic studies on this topic) and provide new insights from a different perspective; one that is not purely linguistic in nature. The linguistic transfer of swearing across different languages and culture via an audiovisual medium is therefore a specific combination of two relatively understudied areas - taboo language and audiovisual translation. They deserve attention and should not be a tabooed topic for public display or discussion. The aforementioned previous studies, but also similar studies seem preoccupied to a far extent with the typology, cross-classification, social history, etymology of tabooed language. Some field and lab studies have explored the offensiveness rating of given swearwords and the frequency of taboo utterances in different social contexts, notwithstanding studies seem to be targeting the linguistic-typological, functional and thematic aspects of swearing. Consequently, research on the cross-cultural transmission of taboo language in subtitles remains a vastly unexplored and a rather overlooked area of study.

## **1.2 | Quentin Tarantino and his filmmaking style**

Quentin Jerome Tarantino is a film actor, television actor, director, producer and screenwriter who was born in Knoxville, Tennessee on March 27, 1963. He is the only child of Connie McHugh, a nurse, and Tony Tarantino, an actor and amateur musician. At age four, he moved to Torrance, California and he later attended Fleming Junior High in Los Angeles after dropping out of school from Narbonne High School in Harbor City to pursue an acting career by taking acting classes at the James Best Theater Company in Toluca Lake. However, he learned more about the filmmaking craft as a video clerk than as a film school student. He resided in Los Angeles for nearly twenty years in a neighbourhood, where people from diverse backgrounds lived, and he had access to different cinema genres and popular culture.

Tarantino was a big fan of the sub-genre *Spaghetti-western*, also known as *italo-western* or *eurowestern*, which consists of low-budget films, usually produced by European (usually Spanish or Italian) companies. The sub-genre emerged in the 1960s and 70s and gained significant popularity over the years. The pejorative name is derived from the low quality productions; films of this sub-genre were generally considered cheap and fast, many directors were Italian and films were shot in Italian studios. *Spaghetti-westerns* are characterised by very little dialogue, are violent in nature, do not display a clear dichotomy in good or bad and the film actors tend to have a Mediterranean and tough look. Although many films were considered unoriginal, some films have grown out to be true cult films.

In an interview with NPR in 2013, Quentin Tarantino revealed that his (grand)mother and her boyfriends would take him to see *blaxploitation* films at the cinema, regardless of the age certificate. The blaxploitation film genre emerged in the United States in the 1970s and is considered a subgenre of *exploitation* films. According to Belton the genre “inexpensively made exploitation films pitched primarily to middle-and lower-class urban blacks” (qtd. in Soler Pardo (1) 44). Blaxploitation films are mainly set in poor neighbourhoods, star black people and are written for a black audience. Ethnic slurs against caucasian characters and other derogatory names are common and the traditional roles of black and white people are reversed: blacks are portrayed as good citizens and white people are depicted as villains. Soundtracks featuring funk and soul music are commonly used in these films. Exemplary films are *Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), *Shaft* (1971) and *Blacula* (1972).

Tarantino watched many John Wayne films<sup>4</sup> and his love for films developed at an early age. He was often exposed to different types of verbal and physical abuse on screen and became accustomed to watching violent content. His growing love for *exploitation* B-films oftentimes involved gangsters, policemen, out-of-law criminals, pimps, femmes fatales (Soler Pardo (1)

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<sup>4</sup> John Wayne (1907 – 1979) was a famous American actor who starred in many (B-)Westerns and war films.

44) and content related to crime and drugs. These films were characterised by bad language, such as swearing and cursing. Quentin Tarantino replicated this compelling element: this excessive use of bad or tabooed language and bits of pieces of the films he liked into his own works, complemented with his own imaginative power:

*I just grew up watching a lot of movies. I'm attracted to this genre [samurai movies, Yakuza movies, spaghetti Westerns] and that genre, this type of story, and that type of story. As I watch movies I make some version of it in my head that isn't quite what I'm seeing - taking the things I like and mixing them with stuff I've never seen before. (qtd. in Soler Pardo (1) 46)*

His obsession for low budget, spaghetti-western, exploitation and Blaxploitation films exerted a strong influence on his own filmmaking, which was full of dark humour with elements of crime. The gory style (e.g. ear amputation scene and extremely bloody encounters), black suits and ties, caper film theme, the villainous caucasian men and all the explicit talk in *Reservoir Dogs* are just some of the more obvious typical features that Tarantino is fond of.

### **1.2.1 | Reservoir Dogs**

The American crime film *Reservoir Dogs* was Quentin Tarantino's debut film, first to be released in 1992 on an estimated budget of \$1,200,000. It ultimately became an independent cult phenomenon, was nominated 9 times for various categories and won 12 awards ("*Reservoir Dogs* (1992): Awards"). The film is based on the film *Straw Dogs* (1971) by Sam Peckinpah and *Au revoir les enfants* (1987) by Louis Malle. "The film director found it incredibly difficult to pronounce *au revoir*, so he decided to pronounce it *reservoir*; the second part of the film, *dogs*, came as a homage to the film by Peckinpah" (Soler Pardo (1) 49). This low-budget gangster film is considered a classic and is generally known for its physical as well as verbal violence. It incorporates violent crime, pop culture references, profuse profanity and a non-

linear storyline; some of the most typical Tarantino film themes.

*Reservoir Dogs* contains 252 instances of the *fuck* in some form or the other in a running time of 96 minutes, which amounts to the vast number of 2.62 uses of *fuck* per minute. The f-rated film still ranks high in the top 25 films that feature the most frequent use of the f-word on 3 January 2014<sup>5</sup>; almost 12 years after its first release. According to Soler Pardo (2), “*Reservoir Dogs* contains the highest number of sex-related insults of all films directed by Tarantino” (125). The presence of insults or swearwords nor the genre were novel by the time the film was released in the cinemas in the 1990s. However, the excessive use of taboo language was: film characters constantly spout racist and sexist remarks by, for example, referring to black men as *niggers*, *coons*, *jungle bunnies*, and to women as *bitches*. “I think it’s all that black semen that’s been pumped up your ass so far, now it’s backed into your fucking brain and it’s coming out of your mouth” is an illustration of a mix between a homophobic and racist remark and it shows how obscene and strong the language in *RD* can be. The over-the-top violent scenes are paralleled by an evenly coarse language and none of the characters hold back on swearwords related to sexual acts, incest-relations and mental or physical disability. It made Tarantino a pioneer in the history of mainstream cinema and the past master of profanity.

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<sup>5</sup> Turn to appendix A for the top 25 list of films featuring the most frequent use of the f-word. There is a discrepancy in relation to what has been said earlier about the instances of the utterance “fuck” and the uses of the profanity per minute: the stated f-word count in the regarding table is 269 and the uses/minute is 2.71. Source: McConnell, Donna. The DVD I use contains less instances of *fuck* and has a slightly shorter running time compared to McConnell’s chart. The only logical explanation for this would be that there are multiple versions of *RD*; some of which contain more scene cuts.

### 1.2.1.1 | Plot summary

*Reservoir Dogs* jumps back and forth between pre- and post-robbery events and occasionally pauses to highlight certain events. Crime boss Joe Cabot hires six professional criminals who are each given code names<sup>6</sup> from the onset to carry out an armed jewellery shop robbery. During the armed heist the thieves are surprised by the sudden turn up of the police, panic spreads across the group members and one member is killed in the shootout that follows, along with a couple of policemen and civilians. In an attempt to hijack a getaway car, Mr. Orange faces confrontation from a woman who then shoots him in the stomach, leaving him seriously injured. The remaining men all assemble at a warehouse, the premeditated meeting point, and speculate that there must be a police informant amongst them due to the rapid response of the police to the alarm. Mr. White informs Mr. Pink that Mr. Brown was killed during the robbery. An argument then ensues between Mr. Pink and Mr. White. From their discussion about whether they should take Mr. Orange – who at this point is in critical shape – to a hospital for treatment it becomes clear that Mr. White has revealed his real name to Mr. Orange during the heist operation. In dismay of being exposed, Mr. Orange urges Mr. Pink to abandon the plan to seeking Mr. Orange professional medical care to safeguard the operation.

The dispute is interrupted abruptly when Mr. Blonde then steps out of the shadows. He shows his colleagues the police officer whom he has kept hostage in the boot of his car with great pride. Police officer Marvin Nash is taken into the warehouse, tied to a chair and beaten by several group members to extort a confession from him. Marvin tells them he is ignorant as to a possible setup and is unable to provide the men with information about any possible informant. Mr. Blonde then confesses that he enjoys torturing people anyhow and ends up severing Marvin's ear with a sharp razor. The torture continues when Mr. Blonde douses the

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<sup>6</sup> See appendix B for a quick introduction of the main characters.



police officer with petrol and lightheartedly sings along to a song he hears on the radio with the rather ironic name *Stuck in the Middle With You*. At the very moment Mr. Blonde is about to set Marvin on fire, Mr. Blonde is shot several times from the back and dies on the spot. It becomes clear that Mr. Orange has regained consciousness and that he was the one who shot Mr. Blonde with the gun that he had been carrying with him the entire time. At this point in the film Marvin and Mr. Orange are alone in the warehouse and Mr. Orange, who is still lying on the floor and is in very bad condition, then reveals to Marvin that he is a police detective named Freddy Newandyke. Marvin tells him that the two of them have in fact met before on the job in the distant past and that he has not revealed Mr. Orange's true identity, despite all the beating and torture he has overcome.

The film comes to a close when Freddy reassures Marvin that a massive police force is close by, but is waiting for Joe to move in before they can take any further measures. In a flashforward to the present, the remainder of the heist group returns to the warehouse and find out about Mr. Blonde's death. Mr. Orange tries to save his cover and provide an explanation for the death of Mr. Blonde by making up a story. He tells the men that Mr. Blonde plotted to kill Marvin, himself and eventually the rest of the group members so he could keep the diamonds from the heist for himself.<sup>7</sup> The story enrages Eddie and he tells Mr. Orange that Mr. Blonde was a very close and loyal friend who would never partake in such events. Eddie then kills Marvin by shooting him multiple times. Next, Joe arrives, makes sense of the whole ongoing situation and ultimately accuses Mr. Orange of being a police informant. Mr. White rejects the accusation and defends Mr. Orange, whom he has taken care of and grown attached to during the botched heist operation. Whilst police sirens outside are screaming, Mr. Orange reveals to Mr. White that he in fact is a police detective whilst Mr. White is holding him in his

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<sup>7</sup> Throughout the film it does not become clear whether Mr. Blonde is actually in possession of the diamonds, although he claims that he does. It is shown how Mr. Blonde tells the group members that he has the diamonds safely in his possession and he does not disclose any further information.

arms. The police force storm the warehouse and order Mr. White to drop his gun. Mr. White's face is shown in close-up. He refuses to follow the police's orders and the sounds of gunshots then implies that Mr. Orange has been shot in the head; the police has opened fire on Mr. White, just before the screen turns dark.

### **1.2.1.2 | Critical reception of Reservoir Dogs**

*Reservoir Dogs* was first shown at the Sundance Film Festival in 1992. The film garnered critical acclaim and Tarantino then transformed from a cult figure to a major celebrity in Hollywood. *RD* received mixed reviews: film critic Jami Bernard stated that people were not ready for it, as he compared the effect of the film to the 1895 film *L'Arrivée d'un Train en Gare de la Ciotat*. Audiences would putatively observe a moving train approaching the camera, which caused people to scramble in panic. Vincent Canby of *The New York Times*, however, commended the film for its cast and usage of non-linear storytelling. All in all, people had mixed feelings about his innovative way of mixing and matching directing techniques, film genres and the excessive use of taboo language. Quentin Tarantino, on the other hand, applauded extreme violence in his films and found it the most enjoyable form of entertainment ("Quentin", par. 1). Not only does Tarantino portray bloody encounters, but he also glamorises sadism which people back in the day considered too gruesome for their own taste. The aforementioned ear-cutting scene has caused controversy for its graphic, ultraviolent, gory and sadistic nature and there have been reportings of people walking out of the film due to the explicit nature of the scenes.

The amassment of shocking elements was not well-received by some Americans. A film with taboo language of epic proportions such as *Reservoir Dogs* was bound to receive a lot of critique, especially in the 1990s when films contained relatively little foul language. One can imagine that the shock value of *RD* was much higher than it most likely is to people nowadays. People – as it were – have become *desensitised* to given – now former – taboo words. Extreme

(verbal) violence is an integral part in many of his films. Tarantino responds to criticism about the violence portrayed on the cinema screen as opposed to violence in real life:

*Yeah, well I don't feel the need to justify myself. Violence is a form of cinematic entertainment. Asking me about violence is like going up to Vincent Minnelli and asking him to justify his musical sequences. It's just one of those cinematic things you can do, and it's one of the funniest things. I love it. It's fun.* (Soler Pardo (2) 125)

Despite the risks that Tarantino took by experimenting with new film techniques, it is clear that he produced the film with the envisionment of the targeted audience and their reactions in mind. In an interview with *Channel 4 News* the director said that the violence in his film real-life violence has no link to real-life violence and he refused to discuss the impact his violent scenes may have had on his viewers. Tarantino angrily responded to the presenter, saying: “I’m not your slave and you’re not my master. You can’t make me dance to your tune. I’m not a monkey... I’m here to sell my movie. This is a commercial for the movie – make no mistake.” (“Cinema Violence”, par. 4) Tarantino makes clear that viewers are perfectly capable of differentiating violence on the cinema screen and in real life and that they do realise that it is a fictitious work that they are watching. He believes that suchlike scenes trigger responses from people and that violent situations are what people in fact want to see: “If a guy gets shot in the stomach and he’s bleeding like a stuck pig then that’s what I want to see – not a man with a stomach ache and a little red dot on his belly.” (ibid. par. 13) Tarantino often faces criticism for the racist comments<sup>8</sup> in the dialogue, violence in his films and the negative impacts caused by

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<sup>8</sup> Writing racism is not to be confused with racist writings. The characters in RD make plentiful racist comments against black people, but the recurring racist dialogue in many of Tarantino’s films has sparked a great debate amongst people, who thought Tarantino used his film as a vehicle to promote his own racist thinkings, through his characters’ dialogues. Furthermore, his depiction of blacks made people question his motives and he was

his violent films. However, he does not believe directors should be concerned with the effect violence in films may have on society, since that would limit the work of an artist and in 1992 he said: “As an artist, violence is part of my talent” (ibid. par. 10).

### 1.3 | Censorship

*Reservoir Dogs* was given an age certificate rating of 18 and up in cinemas. People felt that *Reservoir Dogs* contained too many acts of violence, criminal behaviour and extensive strong language, that some form of censorship based on the nature of the film was in order. The *Parents Guide for Reservoir Dogs* on *IMDb* rated both the “Sex & nudity” and “Alcohol/ Drugs/Smoking” content of the film a 4 out of 10. The film contains a very graphic and vulgar explanation of the interpretation of a Madonna song called *Like A Virgin*. This is one out of many examples of the plethora of crude sexual dialogue in *RD*. Some characters in the film smoke, drink and make jokes about marijuana usage. It is important to note that the ratings from *IMDb* only take the scenes into account, however not the language. Therefore, “Sexy & nudity” ranks a 4 out of 10, scene-wise and focuses on the addressal of the topic. A 4 out of 10 does not seem too extreme at all, but if language was to be included in the rating, the category would undoubtedly score a 10 out of 10, as very coarse sexual references are made throughout the film. It is important to understand what the ratings are based on and to prevent any possible confusion. “Frightening/Intense scenes” are rated 8 out of 10. The scene in which Mr. Orange is in the warehouse and bleeds profusely leaves very little room for imagination: the scene depicts an unconscious, helpless man who is destined to die as he lays drenched in the pool of blood that is coming from the gunshot wound.<sup>9</sup> However, “There is a lot of violence in the film, concentrated in small bursts. Characters die unpredictably, but their deaths are usually sudden and are not meant to be upsetting” (“*Reservoir Dogs* (1992)”). However, the “Violence & Gore”

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accused of being racially insensitive, nonetheless. In any case, Tarantino says he is not racist, but aims to show that racism is real and that it is prevalent in today’s society.

<sup>9</sup> Refer to appendix C for (screen captures) examples of extreme violence in the film.

and “Profanity” categories are given the highest rating possible: a 10 out of 10.

The extreme violent and profane nature of the film sparked much debate about the acceptability within the British Board of Film Classification (henceforth BBFC). Despite all the sadistic and extreme scenes, the general consensus was that much of the violent acts were restrained in terms of what was shown on screen, according to the BBFC. For instance, the camera moves away from the action the moment the policeman’s ear is cut off. However, the victim’s cries of pain can be heard. Regardless, the BBFC felt that there were mitigating factors, one of them being the “lack of process in the violence”. In the *BBFC Guidelines* that specific factor was given significant weight back in 1992 (“*Reservoir Dogs*”). Consequently, the film was passed at 18 without any cuts or alterations and became a box office hit in the UK cinemas – as a result of the “harm test” to the 1984 Video Recordings Act, which was passed by Parliament (Jarv, par. 3). The video was resubmitted for video classification in the UK and furore over cinema violence broke out in tabloids. The BBFC had to reassess the violent content of the film, but did not give *Reservoir Dogs* a certificate in 1995 after a 18 months delay and ban. At that time Tarantino’s *Pulp Fiction* was released and acclaimed so much critical attention, that attention was drawn away from the controversy over the uncut scenes in *RD*. (ibid. par. 24-25) Despite the long ban, the heist film collected more money in the box offices in the UK than in the USA after the film was given a certificate to be commercialised in video. The ban has proven Tarantino a favour; it gave him much publicity. To the ban Tarantino responds: “I like that, it’s done better in cinemas in Britain than anywhere else in the world, so the ban has been kinda cool in one way” (Soler Pardo (1) 49).

All in all, the fact that the BBFC felt the need to censor violent and obscene scene and coarse language, signifies that the language in *Reservoir Dogs* is extremely offensive. A case-study about the linguistic transfer in a controversial film like *RD* should therefore provide ample material to work with.

## 2. | SWEARING

The aversion to taboo behaviour or words is not a modern day phenomenon. In fact, towards the end of the eighteenth century Captain James Cook<sup>10</sup> introduced the – originally – Tongan word *taboo* into the English language. However, taboos have long existed before the word *taboo* was even documented. One of his travel logs it becomes clear that women were never allowed to eat in the company of men, but ought to do that by themselves. At the time, *taboo* signified the prohibition of certain things that were forbidden to be done, seen or touched (Allan and Burridge (2) 4-11) and food taboos like this one, but taboos related to uncleanness or fatality still exist in most societies (ibid.) In the past, women were often ostracised for not adhering to social customs. The fear of metaphysical power prohibited the expression of practice of given topics and thus tabooed topics ought to be avoided.

A taboo applies to behaviour, but more specifically, a “taboo refers to a prescription of behaviour for a specifiable community of one or more persons, at a specifiable time, in specifiable contexts” (ibid. 11). Although there is ample intriguing material in existence about the social history of taboos, this thesis, however, is particularly concerned with taboo expressions and language behaviour. From an early age children learn to refrain from using dirty words and are taught that certain words are inappropriate in use or tabooed. It is argued that taboo words belong to impoverished language and should be avoided in any case. Swearing or the use of expletives are treated as inappropriate, rude, offensive and insulting. The use of taboo words can carry different functions; it can support the release of anger, frustration or expressions of annoyance or surprise. According to Timothy Jay, the word *taboo* can have different denotata:

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<sup>10</sup> “On his first voyage of 1768-71, Captain James Cook was sent to Tahiti to observe the transit of the planet Venus across the Sun.” (Allan & Burridge 3).

- Taboo or tabu (adj): Set apart as charged with a dangerous supernatural power and forbidden to profane use or contact.
- Taboo or tabu (n): A prohibition for the protection of a cultural group against supernatural reprisal.
- Taboo or tabu (vt): To exclude from profane use of contact as sacrosanct esp. by marking with a ritualistic symbol. (Jay 4)

According to Allan and Burridge (2), “taboo arises out of social constraints on the individual’s behaviour where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury” (1) and thus people tend to avoid tabooed behaviour by censoring their language, by using unmarked language or euphemistic language, which does not carry a negative denotation. One does this in order to protect oneself and to become socially appropriate in the presence of others. The function of a taboo is to preserve social order and operate, suppress or inhibit certain behaviour, thoughts, or in this case, speech in different cultures (4). Every society has culture-bound taboos and some form of restraint with regard to swearing; in many instances direct references to death are considered unmentionable.

## 2.1 | A historical perspective

The first uses of taboo words or swearwords date back to the early prehistoric period. The firm, primitive beliefs in word-magic were expressed through charms, curses, spells and word formulas as people believed in communication with supernatural forces and the magical power granted from these spells. For instance, the magic spell *hocus pocus* is presumably a derivation of the Roman Catholic consecration formula “Hoc est enim corpus meum<sup>11</sup>”. People believed they were able to exert influence on nature, people and spirits. Many cultures contain magical formulas and spells, respectively and various religions have prayers and litanies of names. Language has not only been considered a medium able to cure sickness, but also to keep the devil at a distance, to wish for happiness and prosperity and to afflict evil on the enemy. Thus, swearwords, cussing and cursing were initially a magical tool controlled by the ones who contained magical power, such as priests, wizards and magicians. The faith in a higher (and supernatural) power, the efficacy of magical formulas was steadfast amongst the Romans: one who heard a rooster crow was supposed to take an oath immediately or not eat for the rest of the day. One who spoke about fire during a repast had to sprinkle water over the table to keep any possible fire hazard at bay. Evidence from the Anglo-Saxon period prove that language was taken very seriously by society. There were (legal) constraints on swearing and anyone who breached codes of conduct were likely to face punishment: “If anyone in another’s house calls a man a perjurer, or shamefully accosts him with insulting words, he is to pay a shilling to him who owns the house, and six shillings to him to whom he spoke that word, and to pay twelve shillings to the king. (Laws of Hlothhere and Eadric, kings of Kent (673-85?), no 11)” (Hughes 43).

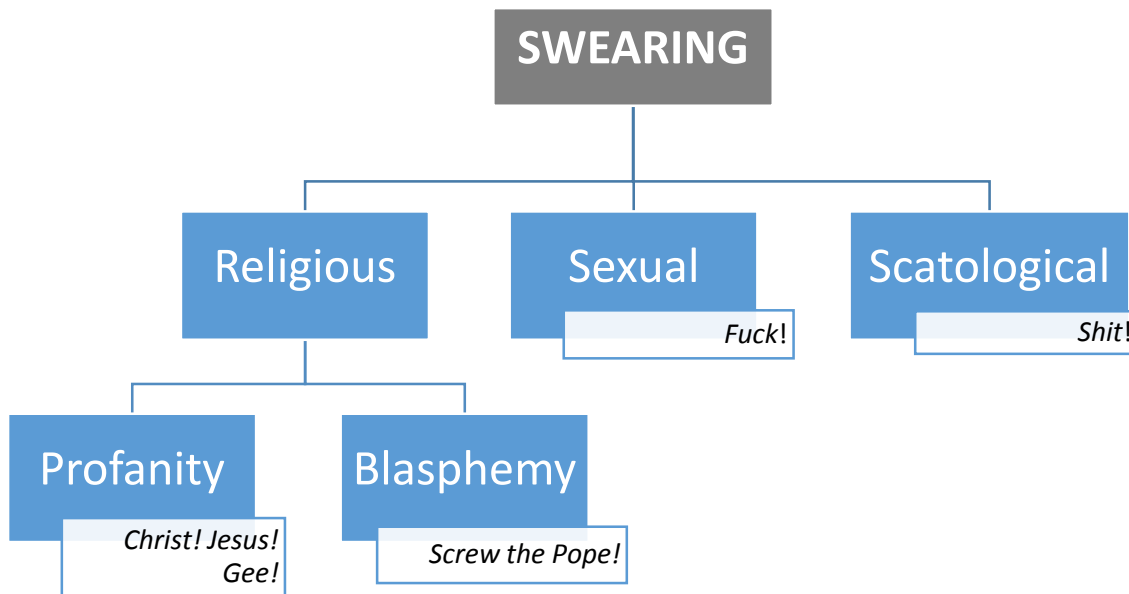
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<sup>11</sup> The English translation reads “(For) this is my body”, the words spoken by Jesus at the Last Supper (Source: Vries, Mark de). The Dutch translation reads “want dit is Mijn lichaam”.

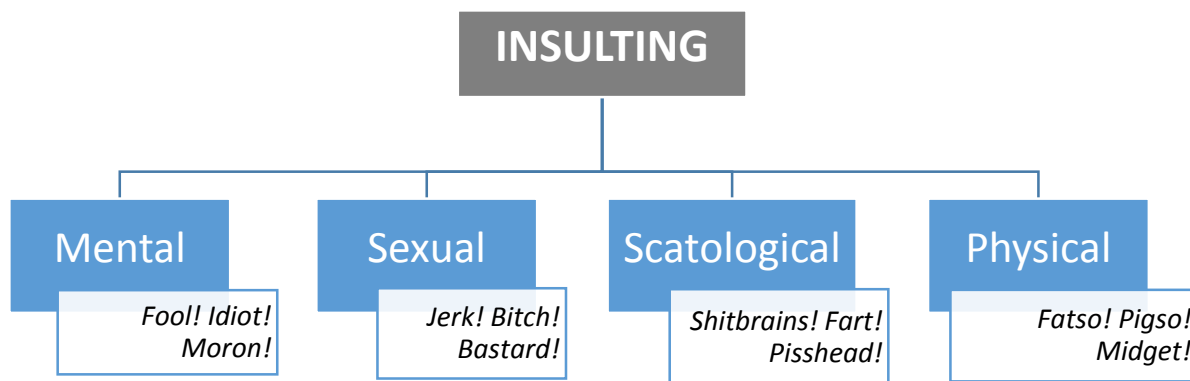


## 2.2 | Form and function: classifications

A common misunderstanding is that *swearing*, *insulting* and *cursing* denote one and the same matter. In general, inhibitions about a given word are considered taboo due to its *offendedness*, which according to Jay is “a reaction to a word by a person who hears or reads the word, [...] a property of humans in response to words that vary in negative content. Dirty words can be measured as stimulus items for offensiveness. Peoples’ reactions to the words can indicate how offended they are to a given word” (161). *Swearing*, *profanity*, *obscenity* and *cursing* are all considered “offensive language”. Although they are all offensive in some way, linguists tend to provide more specific definitions to these words, unlike dictionaries, for example. *Swearing* is simply described as “when someone uses rude or offensive language” in the online version of the *Cambridge English Dictionary* (Lie 18). Andersson & Trudgill (1990) suggest that three criteria make up *swearing*: “the expression refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatized in the culture; the expression should not be interpreted literally; the expression can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes” (ibid. 18-19). Azzaro takes the definition of *swearing* further by subdividing dirty words into different categories with a taxonomical classification; he splits all offensive language up into the main category of *swearing* and *insults*, as can be seen in *figure 1* and *figure 2*. A selection of examples of the given subcategories have also been incorporated in the figure below.



**Figure 1:** Azzaro’s classification of swearing (bad language).



**Figure 2:** Azzaro’s classification of insulting (bad language).

There are a couple of pivotal differences that set *swearing* and *insulting* apart: unlike *insults*, swearing is essentially an unconscious reflex action, not addressed at anything or anybody in particular, non-reciprocal and neurologically motivated. All in all, swearing is driven by feelings of anger or frustration and it is devoid of addressee. *Swearing* and *insults* contain taboo utterances and are generally used in a connotative sense. However, *swearing* is more subject to lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints as swearing qualifies as formulaic language. Furthermore, swearing is considered emotive language; feelings and attitudes of the

speaker are elicited and reflected (Ljung 4). Similarly to swearing, insults form part of propositional language rather than creative language; ready-made utterances or whole phrases made up of several words are more likely to be used than novel utterances. *Insults* are verbal and direct attacks, intended to hurt the listener, do not necessarily have to be religious or taboo in nature and usually denote the physical, mental or psychological qualities of the target: *bitch, slut, pig, liar, fag*. *Insults* are not so much restricted and allow for very creative and innovative constructions in comparison to *swearing*.

Religious taboos distinguish two kinds: *profanity* and *blasphemy*. These swearing expressions both employ terminology related to God, holy affairs and religion in general. People often mistakenly assume *profanity* and *blasphemy* denote the same thing. However, there is an important difference in the intent of speech form: a word, phrase or expression is considered profane when religious terminology is employed in an indifferent manner and when it displays ignorance to a particular religious order. Moreover, profanities take on the form of epithets<sup>12</sup> (Jay (1) 3). A blasphemous expression<sup>13</sup>, on the other hand, is a conscious and direct attack on religious figures or authority by showing irreverence towards God, whereas a profane one<sup>14</sup> does not seek out to insult the church. Furthermore, it is not secular to religion, whereas *profanity* is.

In my opinion, Azzaro has made a mistake by allocating *blasphemy* under “swearing” and that “insulting” is a more appropriate category for blasphemous expressions since they are not devoid of addressee, but aim to hurt somebody or something in particular. Tabooed

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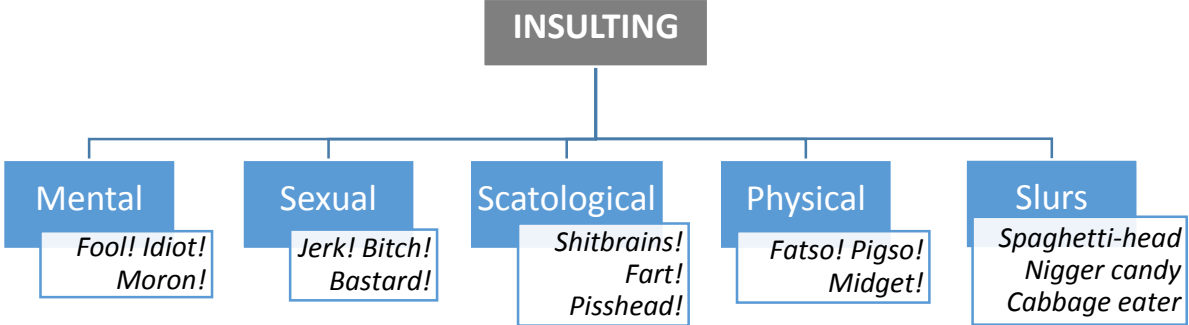
<sup>12</sup> “Epithets [or expletives] are brief but forceful bursts of emotional language. They are powerful in presentation (loudness or duration) and in offensiveness than other types of cursing, for example, joking. The epithet is uttered from frustration, as when you hit your hand with a hammer” (Jay (1) 7). Epithets or expletives are emotive, reactive and exclamatory expressions, devoid of any particular addressee. It is “a characterizing word or phrase accompanying or occurring in place of the name of a person or thing: a disparaging or abusive word or phrase” (ibid.).

<sup>13</sup> Example: Screw religion!

<sup>14</sup> Example: Jesus Christ, will you look at that?

expressions<sup>15</sup> further include sexual and scatological themes. Both swearing and insults can be sexual or scatological in meaning and insults can further address the (negative) mental or physical traits of a person or a specific group of people. In all fairness, the taxonomy seems to cover most of the tabooed expressions, but it is incomplete and would benefit from some additions or specifications. For economical reasons, I will mention only one: I believe that (ethnic-racial) slurs<sup>16</sup> need to be added to “insults”, as tabooed expressions referring to social or ethnic background are prevalent, but a slur such as *nigger* cannot be arranged in any of the presented categories.

Allan and Burrige (2) point out that racial and ethnic slurs are often based upon food and drinks and these expressions are stereotypically associated with each group: *jew butter* refers to goose grease, that *nigger candy* (later renamed to *chocolate baby*) is a liquorice lolly and that *the pope’s/parson’s nose* denotes “the fatty tail of a cooked chicken and is reputed to have originated as a slur on Catholics during the reign of James II (1685-8)” (189).



**Figure 3:** Adapted version of Azzaro’s “Insulting” classification, by Mai.

<sup>15</sup> All swearwords and insults are treated as taboo in this thesis. The power of swearwords and insults depend on the taboo status as well as the social context in which they are used. Thus, there are many out there that argue that swearwords and insults are not taboo per definition, but rather *potentially* taboo. Since swearing in fact is an aspect of taboo language and it generally restricts people from saying them in certain contexts, all swearing and insults will be treated as taboo. Considering the fact that I adopt this point of view, this means that I use the words “insults”, “swearing” and “taboo words” interchangeably. In essence, this refers to a language’s lexicon that is offensive and emotional in nature.

<sup>16</sup> Slurs indicate the stereotyping or prejudice of the speaker, which can be ethnic, racial or social in nature. Examples can be “pollack”, “nigger”, “chink”.

On a final note, it is important to point out that expressions can be used in more than one way<sup>17</sup>. Taboo words are very sensitive to setting. *Shit* could be used as scatology, an insult or an epithet and *Jesus Christ* could be either an epithet or profanity. Taboo words have a purpose and are not devoid of communicative intent. Thus, a classification of taboo language dividid up into categories of usage offer a taxonomy of different types and the meaning they carry.

According to Allan and Burridge, taboos can be culture-specific; words differ per community and culture, religion and social structure, history, etcetera define what is considered taboo in a given culture. However, taboo concepts can also be homogeneous. For instance, sex is a shared taboo subject in many cultures, as “sexuality is one of the most tabooed aspects of human existence” (Jay (2) 85). These intercultural taboos in Western cultures include subjects that are concerned with:

- Bodies and their effluvia (sweat, snot, faeces, menstrual fluid, etcetera.);
- The organs and acts of sex, micturition and defecation;
- Diseases, death and killing (including hunting and fishing);
- Naming, addressing touching and viewing persons and sacred beings, object and places;
- Food gathering, preparation and consumption.

Lars-Gunnar Andersson presents a very similar list of taboo topics, but adds “the physically or mentally disabled”, “prostitution” and “narcotics or crime” to his own list and separates “sexual organs and sexual relatons” from “human waste of excrement” (Soler Pardo 123-124).

Formal oaths,<sup>18</sup> but also curses or exorcisms have rigid formulas of words. However, swearing can also be extremely malleable and variable and does not need to very precise to be

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<sup>17</sup> Also known as *cross-categorisation*.

<sup>18</sup> A metaphorical curse.

effective. According to Hughes, the degree of solidity and their proximity to the genital or anal area seems to be the two dominant factors in the field of highly charged swearing:

*It is a curious feature in the taxonomy that of the various forms of excretion and eructation, 'shit' should be the most used term (cf. German scheiss), French 'merde', Italian 'stronzo', (English turd). By comparison, 'fart' has diminished force, 'piss' has little currency (beyond the contemptuous piss artist and the unceremonious piss off!) while burp has none whatever. (21)*

The interchangeability of the – mostly – random adjectives does not apply to nouns. *Bloody* may be replaced by *damned*, *fucking* or *stupid*, but nouns do not offer such flexible alternatives. The emotional force and the weight of tradition of a speech community determines the impact of the term. On the other hand, most swearing relies heavily on established formulas. As Hughes has pointed out before, *penis* and *nipple* in “Snooks is a penis of the first order, and his sidekick Smithers is a real little nipple” (22) are not impactful, whereas emotionally charged synonyms of a lower register, such as *prick* and *tit*, are. Similarly, the Anglo-Saxon exclamation *fucking hell!* cannot be replaced with the Norman French or Latin native equivalent of a higher register: *copulating pandemonium!* (ibid.). The swearing behaviour and the reception of particular swearwords in the United States and the Netherlands will be discussed in section 2.3.

McEnery and Xiao address strong, obscene language in their research articles. McEnery (2004), for instance, looks back at the 17<sup>th</sup> century and describes how censorship on swearing was very prominent during the period; censorship on bad language was much more prevalent in the 17<sup>th</sup> century than during the Elizabethan Period (100). McEnery and Xiao also addressed the verbal functions of swearwords<sup>19</sup>. However, the categories they

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<sup>19</sup> 1. General expletive; 2. Personal insult; 3. Cursing expletive; 4. Destinal usage; 5. Literal usage denoting taboo referent; 6. Empathic intensifier; 7. Pronominal form; 8. Idiomatic set phrase; 9. Metalinguistic or unclassifiable due to insufficient context.

present in fact only apply to the swearword “fuck<sup>20</sup>” and are thus specified insofar that application of the verbal functions remains problematic when one wants to categorise other swearwords. Geoffrey Hughes lists several categories<sup>21</sup> that combine pragmatic and grammatical function, but they too only address the word “fuck” alone. Thankfully, Andersson and Trudgill (1990:61) presented a relatively simple classification of insults that is based on the pragmatic function of swearwords, which gives insight into how and why people swear.

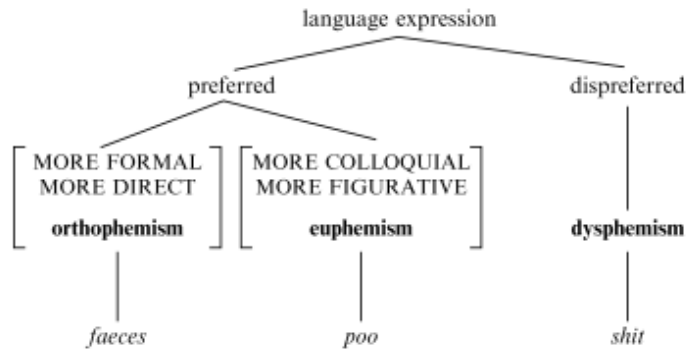
### **2.2.1 | Political correctness**

The way people speak is reflected by their behaviour towards a given taboo. Over time concepts, but also words and their associations become taboos and are deemed politically incorrect. What is considered taboo language has much to do with impoliteness. When given words should not be used in public, people resort to other ways of referring to a taboo subject in a proper way which is also suitable for the environment they find themselves in. Furthermore, context, place, time, the relationship between speakers, the subject matter, the setting and the medium all play a role in what is considered acceptable. Allan and Burridge introduce the concept of political correctness, which includes orthophemism – proper, straight talking –, euphemism – sweet talking – and dysphemism – bad talking–. Orthophemisms are more formal and direct compared to euphemisms, which are more colloquial and figurative. These two are considered politically correct and dysphemisms are dispreferred.

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<sup>20</sup> As of today, “fuck” remains a taboo word, but the shock value of that word has diminished, compared to a couple of centuries ago: the utterance “fuck” is a common occurrence these days, and is part of daily slang for some people, which means that it can be part of someone’s way of speaking. As a result, the word may be socially accepted in some contexts, rather than tabooed and people have become much more desensitised to the word. Furthermore, censorship was applied much more rigorously back in the day, people were superstitious and avoided the mentioning of taboo topics altogether and punished the ones who crossed that line. All in all, the attitude toward using bad words has altered and the reasons for not using them has shifted from a predominantly religious to a rather moral point of view.

<sup>21</sup> 1. Personal: “you” plus a swearword, e.g. “you fuck”; 2. Personal by reference: e.g. “what the fuck?” “who the fuck?”; 3. Destination: e.g. “fuck off”; 4. Cursing: e.g. “fuck you”; 5. General expletive: indicative of annoyance or pain: e.g. “fuck!”; 6. Explicit expletive: indicative of annoyance or pain: e.g. “fuck it!”; 7. Phrasal verb: e.g. “fuck about”; 8. Adjectival extension: e.g. “fucking,” “shitty”.



**Figure 4:** Distinguishing *x*-phemisms.

Figure 4 shows three different ways in which the same word may be expressed. Orthophemisms and euphemisms are preferred language expressions, unlike dysphemisms, which are considered impolite and politically incorrect. Figure 5 shows sets of words with the same denotative meaning that differ considerably in connotation.

<b>Orthophemism</b>	<b>Euphemism</b>	<b>Dysphemism</b>
<i>faeces</i>	<i>poo</i>	<i>shit</i>
<i>toilet</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>shithouse</i>
<i>menstruate</i>	<i>have a period</i>	<i>bleed</i>
<i>my vagina</i>	<i>my bits</i>	<i>my cunt</i>
<i>jesus</i>	<i>Lord</i>	<i>Christ! [blasphemy]</i>

**Figure 5:** Allan & Burridge’s table of contrasting *X*-phemisms.

The latter is “an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just that reason” (Allan and Burridge (1) 221). People who resort to dysphemisms express frustration, disapproval or annoyance with people or things that they wish to degrade. A dysphemism is offensive and can roughly be considered the opposite of a euphemism. It is needless to say that most swearwords are deliberately dysphemic. Orthophemisms refer to neutral expressions and *clean* language. A euphemism is “used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one’s own face or, through giving offense, that of the audience, or of some third party” (ibid.). In euphemistic swearing, strong and corrupted expressions are substituted for milder ones and



disguise taboo words. Expressions or words may be toned down, paraphrased or replaced as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, for instance, to avoid being sacrilegious or to show that one is not contemptuous towards religion. In fact, in the early days the church and secular authorities reacted strongly to blasphemy. People did not wish to harm the social order with profane or blasphemous expressions. On the other hand, people did feel the need to express their anger and frustrations verbally.

In effect, similar-sounding phonemes replaced curses and profane and blasphemous expressions. The common belief was that when sounds were omitted or changed, the curse would, as a result, be invalid. Moreover, magical formulas and rites were required perfect execution; these had to be carried out in the exact prescribed manner, should the intended result be achieved. The same principle applied to taboo cursewords. A simple modification may give taboo words a more innocent tone and provides an – according to some – acceptable alternative: unacceptable or taboo forms of words are, in a certain way, censored by using phonemic disguise, which turns the word into a more innocuous variant, making it lose its offensiveness.

### 2.2.2 | Form: semantic classifications

Allan and Burrige ((2):1), Andersson and McEnery (30) have categorised taboos based on its semantic property. Although some classifications are more exhaustive than the other, the type of taboo categories have been brought down to a couple of major themes for the sake of brevity of this study. The categories used will revolve around acts of sex (*fuck, cocksucker*) and the organs (*cunt*), scatology or bodily fluids such as snot, sweat, faeces, menstrual fluid (*shit*), death, diseases (*kankerlijer* in Dutch), religion (*Jesus*), physical or mental disability or abnormalities (*idiot*), racist slurs (*nigger*), incest-related topics (*motherfucker*), animals (*bitch*), homophobia (*faggot*), narcotics/crime (*pothead*), prostitution (*whore*).

### 2.2.3 | Function: Stig Johansson

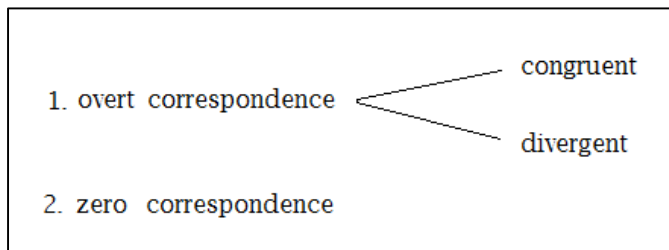
Stig Johansson was the first person to introduce the concept of correspondences. He states that a **congruent correspondence** shares the same syntactic properties and expresses identical or similar denotation. On the other hand, a **divergent correspondence** is characterised by a formal difference between two corresponding items in source and TT; a different realisation type (Lie 15). For instance, a more or less related meaning can be conveyed by using a similar semantic field. When keeping the formulaic language or fixed expressions is not an option in the target language, different strategies are used to counter or compensate for the inability to keep the syntax; paraphrasing is one option and this will typically lead to divergence. Congruent and divergent correspondences are called **overt correspondence** and share a *tertium comparationis*<sup>22</sup>, namely the expression of the source element.

In contrast, a **zero-correspondence** is marked by *omission* or *addition* of the corresponding element in translation. Thus, the meaning and the intensity of the taboo element is either left unexpressed or it may be strengthened, for example by adding an adverb

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<sup>22</sup> Implies that the items in the two languages convey (more or less) the same meaning, and share a “common ground”.

(Johansson 25). The target element will also be categorised as zero-correspondent in case it totally loses its taboo value in translation. The fact that the taboo element in the source text is addressed does not automatically mean that a similar message is conveyed.



**Figure 6:** Modified (simplified) adapted example of Stig Johansson's classification of correspondences.

An example of a congruent correspondence would be:

- (1a) It's all about a girl who digs a guy with a big **dick**.
- (1b) 'Like A Virgin' gaat over en meid die voor een kerel met een grote **pik** valt.
- (2a) You fucking **asshole**!
- (2b) Stomme **kloutzak**.

An example of a divergent correspondence would be:

- (3a) **What the fuck** am I doing here, man?
- (3b) Wat doe ik hier, **verdomme**?
- (4a) You don't know what those **sick** assholes are going to do next.
- (4b) Je weet nooit wat zo'n **gek** gaat doen.

An example of zero-correspondence would be:

- (5a) You **fucking** said that?
- (5b) Is dat zo?
- (6a) I'm going to **fucking** die.
- (6b) (*omission*)

#### 2.2.4 | Function: Andersson and Trudgill

Andersson and Trudgill have classified insults based on their pragmatic use, which is particularly handy in determining why people swear. They distinguish between four categories, namely **humorous**, **auxiliary**, **abusive** and **expletive** swearing, which all have their own function within social speech (Ghassempur 25). A big difference amongst them is that the former two are not meant to be offensive.

*Humorous* swearing is done in a playful or joking manner. “You silly motherfucker!” may be used as a term of endearment, based on the utterance of the (humorous) tone. Furthermore, Kristy Beers Fägersten names two clear examples of humorous swearing: “My hometown, Brooklyn, has fucking Mafia everywhere. You’re bound to get your fucking brains blown out (White male to friends, hometown)” and “Depressed people look at the world through dung colored glasses. Or, for those of you who don’t know French, shit colored glasses (White male instructor to students; class discussion)” (103-104). Humorous swearing looks abusive, rude and insulting at first, but in fact has an opposite function. Social distance between the speaker and the recipient can vary, as people use taboo and humor together to lessen that distance gap.

*Auxiliary* swearing often happens between participants who are at a closer distance to each other and it is often or always marked by non-emphatic, surprised, excited utterances, free of any negative tones, such as stress or annoyance. People do not always consider this a form of swearing, but rather think of it as a way of speaking. This “lazy” and nearly unconscious type of swearing can be habitual and does not reveal much about the emotions of the speaker. It is called lazy because people might use words such as *shit*, *bloody*, *fucking* to replace certain adjectives that require more effort to come up with (and which are less offensive). People may replace “stuff” for “shit” as in “I still need to pack up my shit” and “That fucking man just gave me \$500 out of nowhere” shows that “man” is being modified, yet “fucking” is not used to

express anger towards the man. Auxiliary swearing is thus also devoid of addressee.

*Abusive* swearing, on the other hand, is marked by name-calling, words or phrases that are used in situations when one is angered or frustrated. Epithets such as “You son of a bitch!” show that the phrase is uttered to express hateful feelings towards something or someone, meaning to hurt or offend the other. “I’ll fucking beat you if you dare to touch me again” clearly has an aggressive tone to it. Abusive swearing happens everywhere, between participants of varying social class and distances. For instance, one might curse at strangers in traffic: “Get out of the way, you idiot!” or at friends during arguments: “You’re a cunt for doing that to me.”

The fourth category, *expletive* swearing, is primarily used to express emotions. Quite similarly to auxiliary swearing, expletive swearing is devoid of addressee and does not contribute any meaning, but it does fulfill a syntactic position. However, expletive swearing is also characterised by a sound or oath that expresses an emotional reaction. Emotional outbursts of pain such as “shit!” or “fuck!” or “damn it!” are just some ways in which people let off steam in such a situation.

### 2.3 | Swearing behaviour in the United States versus the Netherlands

Many swearwords and variants exist nowadays. That makes it impossible to determine the exact number of taboo words that are currently in use. One has to be aware of the fact that words which are considered inappropriate today may be generally accepted “tomorrow”. The profane *shit* and *fuck* are examples of this. However, it is evident that the Dutch language has coarsened greatly, particularly when it comes to verbal aggression. According to Jay, the use of taboo words in daily usage is not uncommon and 0.7 percent of all the daily utterances are comprised of swearwords (Mohr 251), but according to McEnery (2006) this number should only be anywhere between 0.3 - 0.5 percent. Although this does not seem like much, people use the personal pronouns in plural form such as “our” or “we” just as often as they do with swearwords (ibid.).

Unsurprisingly, the word “fuck” is the most common taboo word in American films. The multiple lexical derivative forms of the word, such as “fucking” or “fucker” and the fact that it can be “used in curses and exclamations, indicating strong dislike, contempt, or rejection” (Ayto & Simpson 75-76) show how versatile the word “fuck” is. According to Díaz Cintas, “fucking” is probably the most frequent swearword in English too. When used as an intensifier, it can modify almost any grammatical category: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs (218). An expletive such as “shit” is a word that is used to express frustration, disgust, dismay or unhappiness; thus it lends itself to many purposes and is practically universal. Furthermore, “bitch” is a very common insult in English. “When used in the strictly sexual sense, *the bitch* is less defamatory, and described only the female, suggesting the combination of sexual desirability and moral undesirability” (Sagarin 107). However, “bitch” does not always refer to a woman since “as a word of insult *bitch* simply describes a person who, in the eyes of the speaker, is nefarious or has done something contemptible” (ibid.). In the literal sense of the word, a “bastard” is of course “the illegitimate child, the offspring of illicit sexual relations. “In

ordinary slang, *bastard* is entirely unrelated to the status of birth without benefit of a previous marriage ceremony between one's parents. It is simply a dirty name to call someone" (Sagarin 108).

Sexual acts and relations are commonly referred to in taboo words in the United States: *cocksucker*, *motherfucker*, but also *bastard* or *jerk* are mere examples out of many. In the Netherlands, however, taboo references to sexual acts are very scarce and in return swearwords referring to genitals (*lul*, *kutwijf*, *eikel*) are very scarce and uncommon in the US (Oudenhoven & de Raad 228-229). Cursewords that are deemed taboo in the Netherlands do not often involve scatology, unlike in Flanders and Germany (and especially in Bayern). Swearwords referring to illnesses are relatively unpopular in Europe and the US, except for in the Netherlands, as illnesses were regarded as a punishment from God during the Calvinist movement in the Netherlands. Common swearwords from this theme are *krijg de tering*, *krijg de tyfus*, *krijg kanker*. According to van Sterkenburg, references to illnesses are unpopular and further only to be found in Hebrew (Moor, par. 6).

The intensity of a taboo word is evidently determined by intonation and the raising of one's voice, but also by the intensity of sound vibrations. Hissing, fricative and whistling sounds such as *f*, *s* and *ch* and the use of plosive sounds increase the intensity levels of swearwords. Bad words may gain turbo power by using certain phonemes. It shows that the offensiveness of a given word is based on unique socio-historical events and developments. This imminent cultural difference is one out of many factors that may influence the translation strategy of the Dutch subtitle; language and culture are closely intertwined and thus (cultural) context, readership and the TA's expectations ought to be included in the analysis of the linguistic transfer of subtitles.

Moreover, "religious" Dutch swearwords have also made place for the popular English four-letter words *shit*, *damn* and *fuck*. 25- to 50-year-olds even consider these to be standard

vocabulary words nowadays (Moor, par. 4). Due to the influence of television series and the internet, these words are now commonly used by many people. In fact, this *anglicisation* trend has also affected the elder generation, as seventy 70-year-olds use words such as *shit* to express their emotions too (ibid.). As mentioned before, swearing is often done to hurt or insult someone, but to do so, one must know what words are considered taboo in a given culture to maximise the impact. Equivalents of *idiot* and *dumbass* are available in every culture because they are effective. Nobody wants to be considered unintelligent, regardless of where the person is from. Talking about faeces is objectionable in most cultures, thus in many countries combinations of *shit* (or in Dutch: *stront*) form an effective swearword. Words that express in chastity, vulgarity, dirty behaviour and stupidity are often used against women. Swearwords against men address cheating, loutish, mischievous, boorish and morally reprehensible behaviour (Sterkenburg 32).

Words that have become icons for swearing were used in the past for different means, which means that swearwords are now used in a secondary sense: the meaning of swearwords derive from a word that originally had a literal meaning. Thus, swearwords are said to be used in a metaphorical sense. Taboo words are not so much used for their literal or denotative interpretation. They are much likely to be used for their emotional impact and to be interpreted connotatively<sup>23</sup> by listeners. Jay (1) states that “dirty words are used to express connotative meaning, such as the emotional overtones of a word, the feelings, moods, attitudes and power that is comprehended along with the denotative referent” (10). The characters per subtitle do not allow for very lengthy swearwords and very creative translation may be too marked and carry unwanted connotations; the swearwords may become humorous or regionally or socially marked. Eventually, the solutions offered for translating bad language might result in a less creative text that is more neutral in tone and lacks certain connotational value. Díaz Cintas

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<sup>23</sup> Connotations are “the personal or culture-specific associations of a sign” (Díaz Cintas 72) and it is commonly known as a “word’s baggage”. On the other hand, the obvious or primary meaning is called the denotation.



supports this claim and states that there are important cross-cultural disparities to be found between English and Dutch swearing behaviour, but that these differences are lost in film translation. Swearing remains problematic in film translation and the solutions are often too bland or source text-oriented, which ultimately lead to “artificial, nonspontaneous and euphemistic dialogue, plagued with calque constructions” (225). As a result of the AVT constraints, but also the difficulty of translating something that is so culture-bound, the target text might contain a less nuanced translation that is milder and less impactful than the original.

## **2.4 | Swearing norms**

Words in itself are not dirty, but the connotations people assign to it define what is “dirty”, “good” or “bad”. Words are considered dirty and objectionable when they are associated with distasteful matters, such as snot, pus, urine, faeces, vomit, etcetera. However, that value judgment is culturally determined by institutions that have the power to be normative. Furthermore, Christianity has always provided ethical norms for many. Other institutions are the legislative power, education, the parliament, the municipality, which decide what is considered taboo, what is obscene or vulgar, which sexual and discriminating jokes are acceptable and what is politically correct. These institutions set the moral standards for a given culture.

### **2.4.1 | Degree of offensiveness**

Hughes claims that the degree of taboo language correlates exactly with the degree of verbal usage in public exhibition of the referent (11). According to him, the reactions to language correlate with the reactions to referents: “[The] correlation between degree of taboo in verbal usage and the degree of taboo in actual public exhibition of the referent” (ibid.). For instance, *fart* and *piss* may be words that are barely acceptable in public and the public exhibition of these actions are undesirable, but not considered taboo. However, *shit* and *fuck* are totally unacceptable terms in public and the acting out of these words are most definitely taboo in

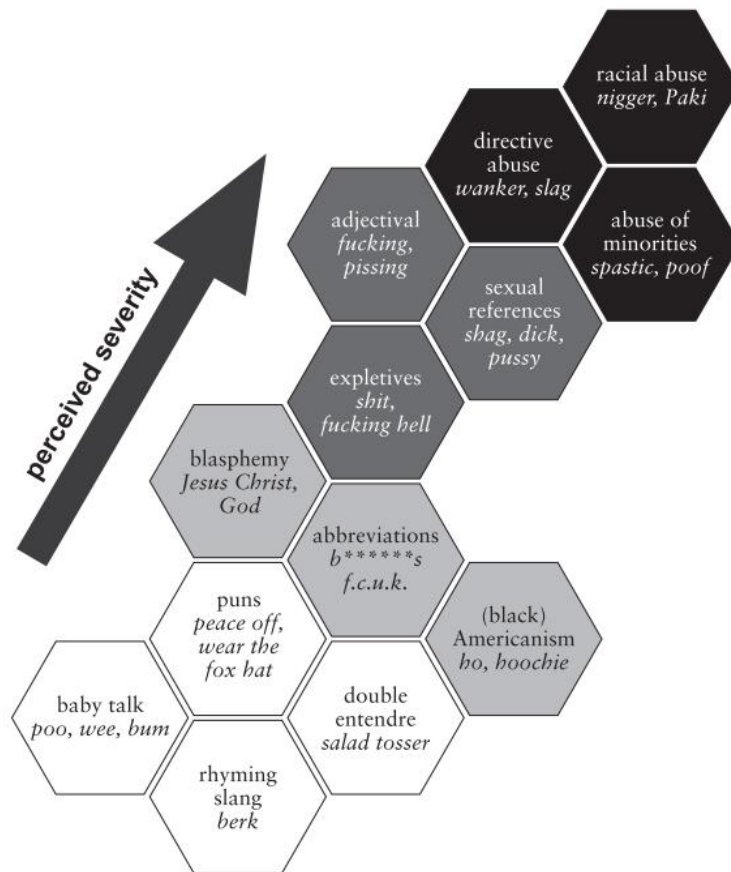
public. Publicly acceptable terms may develop into taboo terms. The American “Big Six”, which Hughes defines as “heavy swearing words” are the four-letter words: *shit*, *piss*, *fart*, *fuck*, *cock* and *cunt* (20). The first appearance of the word *cunt* was in 1230 in the *OEDS*; a London street name *Gropecuntlane*, alongside *Pissing Alley* or *Shitteborwelane* is a sign that *cunt* was a perfectly acceptable term. (ibid.) Thus, the association not only depends on social context, but also in the time in which it is used. It is important to make a distinction between the initial appearance of words as terms of general acceptability and their first use as terms of insult. During the Anglo-Saxon period, *shit* meant feces, *piss* meant to urinate and *fuck* carried the meaning of to penetrate (Jay (1) 14). The denotative use has shifted to a connotative one. This shows that the taboo value of bad language fluctuates over time.

It is problematic to make any generalisations on the degree of offensiveness of swearwords. The level of infliction varies greatly from speaker to speaker and hearer to hearer. Swearwords are heavily influenced by the communicative context more than any other type of language in modern English. Using the word *fuck* may be acceptable amongst close friends, but the same word would be taboo in the presence of young children. According to Jay, some contexts may inhibit dirty words, such as the church, television, stage or dining table, but that others may do the opposite and even encourage the use of dirty words. For instance, a bar room or an athletic field would be examples of places where dirty words would be tolerated to a greater extent (13). The *Massachusetts 1978 Ratings* is an experiment in which 155 students were presented with a list, containing 155 items of words and behaviours. These items had to be rated for frequency of usage and degree of offensiveness to the general public. The figure below shows the results with the mean ratings; 1 meaning not offensive at all and 9 stood for most offensive imaginable.

Witnessing murder	8.36	Witnessing oral sex	6.49
Witnessing rape	7.88	<i>Fuck</i>	6.38
Witnessing acts of child abuse	7.57	Witnessing a homosexual	6.20
Witnessing masturbation	6.98	Witnessing defecation	6.18
<i>Motherfucker</i>	6.93	<i>Blow job</i>	6.10
Witnessing extreme violence	6.90	Witnessing sodomy	6.10
Witnessing anal sex	6.86	<i>Douche bag</i>	5.86
<i>Cunt</i>	6.80	<i>Cock</i>	5.81
<i>Cocksucker</i>	6.53	<i>Pussy</i>	5.77
<i>Cockteaser</i>	6.53	Witnessing intercourse	5.76

**Figure 7:** Jay 162: Twenty most offensive terms by Jay.

Although the ratings may be outdated, the results still show that acts of violence and references to sexual acts, relations or body parts are most offensive and shocking to Americans; all of which elements are explicitly present in Tarantino’s *Reservoir Dogs*. A more up-to-date research was carried out by McEnery, who has composed a grading scheme that showcases a set of ranked English words based on the perceived severity of bad language. These are based on the “findings of Millwood-Hargrave (2000) and the BBFC guidelines to the certifications of films in the UK” (13).



**Figure 8:** Ranking of the perceived severity of bad language. (Millwood-Hargrave 8)

Respondents were asked to voice their opinion on the severity of an individual swearword or term of abuse. They were not given any context and were asked to rank the word based on a system in which 0 stood for “not swearing” and 3 meant “very severe”. On the basis of the words’ ranking, *figure 8* shows the groups of words and its severity. A summary of the findings reveals that the majority of parents strongly disliked “strong language” as they feared that the children’s swearing would be considered a reflection of poor upbringing by the parents. Furthermore, gender and religious background also played an important role in the qualitative study. Greater control was exercised over girls than boys and families with strong religious beliefs condemned strong language more in the homely environment. Women were more easily offended by some of the words and so were the elderly. “Baby talk”, e.g. words such as *poo* was not considered to be offensive, because people believed that children were unable to

understand the double entendres, puns or rhyming slang anyhow, which explains the greater acceptance as shown in the figure.

The next “group” of expressions included profanities; religiously motivated words used as an expletive expression or words that belonged to a particular group or culture and contained abbreviations. The lower acceptance of this group of words stems from the fact that parents felt obliged to explain the meaning of the words.

The next group comprises many expletives and adjectival words using sexual references or ones that refer to genitalia. These words are considered more severe due to the emotional force and hence impact behind particular utterances.

At the very top of the scale it shows that racial slurs and personal and direct abusive terms are considered absolutely unacceptable in today’s society. The word *nigger* faced a different reaction when the same study was conducted in 1998: “respondents thought it was a ‘very severe’ word in 2000 (34%) compared with 1998 (26%)” (Millwood-Hargrave 15). It is a typical word that was once perfectly acceptable, but has become a tabooed word. Although it is not an easy task to measure the severity ratings of given words due to all the factors that influence the perception on it, the aforementioned studies reveal that some words lose their offensiveness, while others become much more offensive and so the reaction to strong language is rather dynamic and changing. Despite the fact that the *Massachusetts 1978 Ratings’* and Millwood-Hargrave’s study were conducted 22 years apart, a rough comparison between the two shows that sexual references, expletives or insults rank extremely high on the “offensiveness scale” and that referring to genitalia is still tabooed by society. The *Bond Tegen Vloeken*, a Dutch organisation that advocates the use of respectful language that is completely devoid of cursing, reveals in one of their advisory reports that the most offensive swear- and cursewords (5) in the Netherlands are:

1. Kanker
2. Godverdomme
3. Hoer
4. Neger
5. Tering

*Neger* and *hoer* are considered racial and directive abuse and these words belong to the strongest language in Millwood-Hargrave's ranking. The past few decades ethnic, social and to some extent religious minorities have oftentimes been topic for discussion. Thus, the use of derogatory terms towards these minority groups are no longer generally accepted due to the changed social conventions, increased awareness, empathy, role or status of different minorities within society. Interestingly, *kanker* and *tering* show that the Dutch refer to illnesses in swearing, which is not to be found in the ranking. *Godverdomme* is the second most offensive swearword, but blasphemous language is ranked rather low on the scale of offensiveness. Ultimately, this means that blasphemies are more offensive in the Netherlands than in the U.S.

The film *Reservoir Dogs* is generally known for its abusive language, racial slurs and sexual references. Essentially, this means that the language in *RD* would be perceived as the most offensive language possible, if one takes into account the results presented by Jay, Millwood-Hargrave and many others who have also tested the offensiveness or severity rating of taboo words. Despite a clear shift in social conventions throughout the past decades, several "bad language" categories have proven to be quite stable and have not lost its strong taboo value or become accepted by society. The foul language in *RD* sets a perfect example for the types of strong language that are tabooed in all of its senses. The aim of this thesis is not to judge the severity of taboo words or compare it in the SL and TL. Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind the high offensiveness value as perceived by society and to be aware of it as a translator. This way the translator is able to replicate the effects that given offensive words may have in

the TC, to meet the horizon of expectations from the target audience and to ensure as little connotational value is lost during the linguistic transfer. However, this remains a challenging task as given socio-cultural swearing norms and values may result in a toned-down TT. A screenwriter has much more flexibility than a translator does, in terms of freedom: screenwriters make up dialogues, but do not deal with the challenges that inter-semiotic transposition and subtitling constraints bring along. On top of that, the task of interlingual and inter-semiotic subtitlers, as we have here, is to convey the scriptwriter's message as closely as possible in the target culture. Subtitlers ought to have a firm understanding of both SC and TC in order to successfully deliver the original intentions. However, they are restricted when equivalent translations are not be at hand in the target culture, which adds up to the trickiness of the situation. Subtitlers need to bridge a socio-linguistic and socio-cultural gap between two languages and deal with norms and values of the TC, unlike the screenwriter, who is not afflicted by any cultural norms other than his or her own.

All in all, screen translation, such as subtitling, comes with technicalities that may greatly hinder the transfer of strong, abusive language. Taboo language plays a pivotal role in the portrayal of the characters and it is unequivocally one of the most – if not the most – characteristic element for a film such as *RD*. Thus, many multi-disciplinary aspects come into play in the linguistic transfer of taboo language in *RD*. In the next section the workings of AVT and subtitling are explained, alongside the restrictive effects that AVT poses on the translation of strong language.

### 3. | AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

The proliferation of audiovisual products, new forms of entertainment and growth of the media industry have created a great demand for the services of dubbing or subtitling. As a result of the rate at which internationalisation has grown, people from all over the world can enjoy audiovisual products in different languages. With the invention of new forms of entertainment, such as DVD and pay-per-view TV, the services of dubbing or subtitling professionals are needed to meet the great demand (Au vii). According to Yvane (1995):

*An extremely high percentage of audiovisual programmes originate in the USA; 90% in Denmark, 90% in France, 90% in Germany, 94% in Greece, 75% in Ireland, 80% in Italy, 92% in Luxembourg, 90% in the Netherlands, 70% in Portugal, 95% in Spain, and 88% in the United Kingdom. (qtd. in Díaz Cintas & Anderman 2)*

The overarching discipline of AVT includes three types of screen translation: *subtitling*, *revoicing* and *dubbing*<sup>24</sup>. Díaz Cintas' and Remael's describe subtitling as: "... A translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image [...], and the information that is contained on the soundtrack [...]" (qtd. in Midjord 10).

There is a distinction between intralingual and interlingual subtitling. The former is a "vertical" type of translation, whereas the latter is "diagonal". Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing is a form of intralingual translation, in which spoken information in a SL is rendered

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<sup>24</sup> *Revoicing*: Oral overlap of the translation onto the original soundtrack. The original soundtrack's volume is reduced to a minimum level to ensure the target audience can hear the target translation clearly.

*Dubbing*: also known as *lip syncing*, *lip synchronisation* or *post-synchronisation* involves replacing a soundtrack with the actor's dialogue with a reproduction of the original message in the TT. The lip movement and target language sounds are synchronised in such a way that viewers are led to believe that the actors on screen are speaking their language.



in the same language by using a written mode and it is also better known as *captioning*. Interlingual subtitling involves the transfer of a foreign SL into a TL. This mode of language shift is also *diamesic*, which means that the medium of communication used of the SL and TL differ. Subtitling is considered intersemiotic by some due to the shift from speech to writing – verbal audio to verbal visual. However, Gottlieb states that subtitling is intrasemiotic because it “operates within the confines of the film and TV media, and stays within the code of verbal language” (1997) (qtd. in Midjord 10).

AVT is much more than solely the (inter)lingual transfer of verbal elements. In fact, nonverbal elements such as pictures or music add a multi-semiotic dimension to the transference. Additionally, technicalities such as time-coding in subtitling, but also socio-cultural factors need careful attention as well in order to ensure values of the target audience are met appropriately in films or TV programmes. Lastly, temporal and spatial constraints in subtitling may pose serious challenges to subtitlers, forcing translators to sometimes take extreme measures by omitting linguistic elements or changing the text “too much”. This phenomenon has sparked much debate amongst people; due to the great differences in ST and TT people argue that subtitling cannot and should not be considered a form of translation. Subtitling faces a lot of criticism for many reasons. The effects that constraints have on the final product will be further explained in section 3.3.

### 3.1 | A brief history

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is a relatively new and unknown field of study. AVT had a shaky start in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but only experienced a remarkable boom at the close of the 20th century, chiefly thanks to the development of digital revolution. As a result, AVT has grown out to be a professional activity and it is no longer a minor area of academic research and specialisation within Translation Studies (Díaz Cintas 1). The first AVT studies were published in academic papers and translation journals. These have never reached the general public and thus any detailed information on the very early beginnings of AVT and proper bibliographical are lacking. Lak's *Le sous-titrage de films* (1957) is a 62-page-long volume written on subtitling which presents the reader a comprehensive overview of this technique. During the 1960s and 1970s articles on dubbing were published and the journal *Babel* published an issue on (cinema) screen translation.

The works produced during that period adopted a professional perspective, focusing mainly on the role of the audiovisual translator, the different modes of audiovisual translation and audiovisual translation norms. For example, in Marleau's seminal article from 1982 "Le sous-titres... un mal nécessaire" the author offers a classification challenges posed by subtitling, which he has divided up into four categories: technological, psychological, artistic-aesthetic and linguistic. That same year, Titford introduced the concept of constrained translation, claiming that the main problem subtitlers encounter "derive essentially from the constraints imposed on the translator by the medium itself" (qtd. in Díaz Cintas & Anderman 2). In 1987 the very first *Conference of Dubbing and Subtitling* was held in Stockholm. It sparked great interest in AVT and led to an exponential growth of articles and book publications in the field. Pommier, Luyken et al. and Ivarsson are perhaps the most prominent figures in AVT history. Ivarsson translated a Swedish original into English in 1986, discussed the technical aspects of subtitling in great detail and provided an overview of subtitling for the deaf

and hard of hearing (SDH). Pommier provided an introduction to the technicalities of dubbing practices in France, where they worked with the “bande rythmo” at the time. Matters such as the preferences of television audiences, the mechanics and costs of screen or language transfer and the different methods for each type of programme genre are analysed and discussed in Luyken et al’s *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television: Dubbing and Subtitling for the European Audience* (1991), which offers a very factual approach to subtitling.

In 1989 and 1990 Delabastita, who worked from a markedly Descriptive Translation Studies (henceforth DTS) stand, dealt with the (cultural) implications that subtitling or dubbing had on translation. In the 1990s the field of AVT experienced an enormous flood of more systematic research publications from a translational perspective; the field gained appeal in educational, scholarly and professional circles. For example, the topic of AVT garnered much attention during conferences and events that were organised specifically on the topic of AVT. PhD dissertations gained popularity and universities started offering courses on AVT and accessibility to the audiovisual media (SDH). The availability of new digital technology and innovation such as DVD, blu-ray, the internet and mobile technology led to a greater production and consumption of AVT. Nowadays, it is relatively easy to produce subtitles using free subtitling software and subsequently distribute them. The growing popularity of fansubs as, for instance, of anime television series is a clear example of how accessible, mainstream, creative and popular AVT has become.

It is clear that the position of AVT has changed rapidly. It has been studied from a professional point of view with main focus on the technical aspects of AVT, such as time and space constraints, lip syncing, spotting and cueing of subtitles. However, the scope of research in this particular field has widened and studies on AVT no longer solely address technical and linguistic aspects, but a socio-cultural dimension is now part of the text type<sup>25</sup> as well. As with

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<sup>25</sup> According to Díaz Cintas, AVT is generally (and falsely) been understood as a “genre”. However, he says AVT should be considered a “text type” that subsumes many and different genres” (5).

any type of translation, language is closely tied to culture and thus adopting a purely linguistic perspective on language transfer would yield unsatisfactory results. The context, or the semiotic dimension, of the linguistic component has to be taken into account and the translation of taboo language is one out of many semiotic features that subtitlers need to take into account, as this extra dimension adds yet another layer of complexity to audiovisual production.

### **3.2 | AVT and film translation**

When it comes down to AVT, English remains the all-dominant and favoured foreign language all over the world. “Almost all [people] [...] do not often enjoy foreign-language productions, whether dubbed or subtitled” (Díaz Cintas 21). Domestic film productions are turned minor as Anglophone productions are very high in demand and productions that are non-Anglophone tend to be avoided by Anglo-American audiences, regardless of the film genre or quality (Díaz Cintas 22). When dealing with film translation, the transfer of localisms may pose a dilemma for translators, leaving the translator in discord between two general, but very divergent strategies: subtitlers may work towards source-text fidelity or may favour localising the content to meet the target culture’s horizon of expectations. Regardless of whatever translation strategy is adopted, the reception of the film by the target audience will be heavily influenced by it, both in its unique way. Fidelity<sup>26</sup> in translation is something translators strive for: perfectly recreated speech acts and preservation of the original spirit and appeal. According to Whitman, “[w]e should remember that the audience reaction to a funny line is more important than any literal fidelity to the original sense (cited in Díaz Cintas 23). A greater degree of exoticism or *foreignization* may be more necessary or almost inevitable in other types of screen translation, such as in documentaries.

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<sup>26</sup> In regard to translation studies: “The degree to which something is an accurate copy or translation of something else” (“Fidelity.”).

The translation of swearwords needs to recreate the same effect for the target culture and therefore the intensity or choice of swearwords may have to be adjusted accordingly. To illustrate, according to Greenall, the use of swearwords is very common in spoken Irish English. This seemingly strongly rooted phenomenon is reflected in the novel *The Commitments*. The novel entails the story of a group of working class Dubliners, is written in Irish English and contains a plethora of swearwords (48-49). Roddy Doyle himself was not apologetic for using so many swearwords in his novels and mentioned that “trying to shock people by a choice of words doesn’t work anymore” (qtd. in Greenall 49), which signifies that swearing constraints in Ireland are relatively low. Due to the high frequency of the swearwords and the lack of shock value, the presence of swearwords is considered normal in Ireland. Greenall concludes that the Norwegian translation of the novel created an overly strong communicative effect, as the swearing in Norwegian culture was more constrained. A translator’s job entails more than transposing a text into another text in a different language. In fact, a translator also has to act as a mediator in a process of intercultural communication. The subtitler needs to create a target text that to a certain degree has to meet the *skopos* of the target audience.

*The Skopos Theory* was first introduced by the German linguist Hans Vermeer in the late 1970s. He argues that the shape of the TT must be determined by the function that this text is meant to perform in the target context, the addressees being the main factor determining the TT’s purpose. The target culture has its own *horizon of expectations*, a shared mental set of cultural norms, assumptions and expectations about (literary) works. Essentially, the cultural expectations of the Norwegian translation were not met, which is why the swearwords were perceived as more impactful than they should have been.

*Reservoir Dogs* contains many swearwords and the translator may choose to leave some out to create a balanced communicative effect. However, this is hard to prove, as there could be many other reasons for why swearwords are left out: avoidance of repetitiveness or spatial

constraints would be the two other obvious reasons that come to mind. Swearing may be acceptable in one culture, but more constrained or even taboo in another. Thus, the audiovisual translator has the dual task of creating translations that adhere to the socio-cultural norms of the given target culture and conveying the meaning of the original content as much as possible. The sociocultural phenomena swearing may already pose several challenges in the transfer from one text into the other. This becomes even more tedious when the mode of translation constrains the strategies available to the translators, as in the case of AVT.

### **3.3 | AVT Constraints**

Different translation modes place different demands on translators. Limitations related to time and space are the key constraints in subtitling, but technical, textual and linguistic constraints to audiovisual translation pose special demands on subtitlers altogether. *Technical constraints* concern the time, space and presentation of the (sub)titles. Screen space that is available for use for the subtitles, the available exposure time of titles and the format demand brevity of subtitles. The most obvious solution to deal with this problem is to omit redundant elements in speech.

Besides the obvious technical constraints, there are also *textual constraints*, which include balance, processing or cohesion issues. The audience has to be able to focus on both the screen as well as the subtitles, which means that the subtitle cannot be too long nor complicated, as that could draw attention away from the screen, leaving too much emphasis on the subtitles alone. The oral-aura processing therefore must be balanced, keeping in mind the average reading speed of the targeted audience. The complexity as well as the quantity of the information need to be processed whilst respecting the technical constraints. As Díaz Cintas has pointed out:

*Instead of preserving the form of the original text, the aim, as advocated by the skopos theory, is to achieve cultural background. The translator becomes a mediator, who participates in the act of communication in order to make the new audience get the most out of a film or audiovisual programme while trying to preserve the essence of the ST and comply with specific constraints. (74-75)*

The omission of soundtracks and repetitive elements are common occurrences to improve the viewers' comprehension. The example below demonstrates this:

Source text original	Target text translation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ We fucking made it.</li> <li>We have fucking made it.</li> <li>We have fucking made it.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ We hebben het gehaald.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ I'm fucking dying here!</li> <li>I'm fucking dying!</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ik lig hier verdomme te sterven.</li> </ul>

**Figure 9:** *Examples of condensation, omission of repetitive elements.*

Spontaneous speech may be hard to reproduce in written form. These often include slips of the tongue, false starts, ungrammatical utterances, dialects or unfinished sentences. Accordingly, special alternations are required to address this change of mode. Stutter can be omitted and simplified vocabulary may be used to emphasise regional dialects or social class. Dialogues drive the film plot and play a pivotal role in the building of the characters. Contrary to particular claims, the omission of certain verbal elements in subtitles do not necessarily have to result in a skimmed down version of the original, as nonverbal signs play a part in the overall narrative development of the film. Subtitles may be manipulated in such a way that the subtitles are an even more faithful translation than what was heard on the audio track, due to the representation and demonstration of the messages communicated by the dialogue, but also the

repressed thoughts of personas in question. Thus, information that is not already available from the dialogue can be used to supplement the translation.

The *linguistic constraints* in AVT consist of three discourse elements: linguistics elements that contain essential information, that need to be translated, linguistic elements that can be combined with other ones and elements that can be omitted without serious or negative effects for the target audience. Georgakopoulou (2009) distinguishes three orders to determine the whether given elements may be left out in subtitles:

1. The indispensable elements; those which cannot be omitted, since they carry crucial information;
2. The partly dispensable elements; those which can be condensed;
3. The dispensable elements; those which can be omitted and do not contain crucial information, e.g. internationally recognised words such as “yes” or “okay”.

Repetitive elements are often subject to omission, much like names in appellative constructions, false starts or ungrammatical utterances, internationally acknowledged expressions (for example: “yes”, “okay”), utterances that are accompanied with hand gestures, exclamations and interjections (Georgakopoulou 21-29). According to Díaz Cintas, subtitling bad language is something to be approached with great carefulness and tact, as insults in written form are perceived to be more offensive. Furthermore, he points out that the omission of taboo words is a direct result of self-censorship as opposed to ongoing discussions about censorship or lack of space being the main reason for omitting taboo elements (Soler Pardo (1) 190). In any case, translators will always prioritise the rendering of content – dealing with the length and formal constraints – over any stylistic matter. In effect, loss of information is inevitable in subtitling.



Some basic subtitling guidelines include the following (qtd. in Rolph 29):

1. *one or two lines of text, with a maximum count of 38 including spaces per line;*
2. *a speed of between 12 and 16 characters per second is suggested;*
3. *minimum exposure time of 1.5 seconds;*
4. *maximum exposure time of 5-6 seconds;*
5. *most subtitles are placed at the bottom of the screen, aligned in the centre;*
6. *need for synchronisation between subtitle exposure and utterance;*
7. *pause between subtitles;*
8. *text condensation where required.*

The maximum number of characters per subtitle line varies depending on the video format, the language's character set, etcetera. Although there are many websites with conflicting information about the maximum allowed characters per subtitle, subtitles using Latin characters generally contain 35 to 40 characters per line as a rule of thumb<sup>27</sup> for both English and Dutch subtitles. However, Díaz Cintas & Remael state that cinemas and film festivals may use up to a maximum of respectively 40, 41 or even 43 characters per line. Subtitles are read with greater ease on a big cinema screen and viewers watching a cinema film have greater concentration by comparison too (24). Subtitling for the DVD industry follows the same rules for cinema translation, but generally makes use of longer lines that can still be read with relative ease on a television screen. Given the available space, DVD subtitles end up having somewhat fewer subtitles, although the differences in comparison to cinema translation are not remarkable. Television subtitles may vary between 28 and 37 characters as a maximum per line. Hence, there is no telling what the exact boundaries are; especially with the new

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<sup>27</sup> Source: "Professional Subtitling Company in London: Subtitling Services for TV & Film Subtitles for Commercials, Sales Reels and More." The search for specific subtitling guidelines for screen translation, film translation or anything of the like did not yield any clearcut results.

technological advances (ibid.) and the different rules imposed by the media. To illustrate how the broadcast medium has on the number of subtitles, one can say that “[g]enerally speaking, a movie lasting approximately 90 minutes contains some 900 subtitles in the cinema, 750 on video or DVD, and 650 in the television version” (ibid. 25).

The foremost challenge that comes to mind with regard to creating a dense text is to ensure the Dutch translations – in written form – is more compact than the ST. According to Kloos, TT subtitles are often shortened tremendously and end up being two to five times shorter than the original, spoken version (par. 4). English vocabulary and syntax are more compact than its Dutch counterpart, which means that extra demands are placed on any Dutch screen or DVD subtitlers, in this respect. Not only will the sentence length be adjusted to fit the broadcasting medium, but careful considerations also need to be made about whether to include or exclude taboo utterances when space and time are limited. In any case, Díaz Cintas & Remael suggest that, at word level, “tags, modifiers, adjectives and adverbs, phatic words, greetings, interjections, vocatives, courtesy formulas, hesitations and false starts (163-166)” may be omitted to ensure the viewer is able to keep up with multiple people talking at once or fast dialogue and scene switching. They do not suggest how to deal with swearwords or taboo words in subtitles. However, one can assert that the genre of the film and the author’s purpose are the main factors that need to reach the target audience. Moreover, a reduction of text does not necessarily mean that information is lost, as interpersonal signs and other (non)verbal cues and signs may compensate.

Critics and theorists tend to have an aversion against subtitles, as they consider a form of “highly defective translation”<sup>28</sup> (qtd. in Au 39). In essence, they consider subtitles an intruding element that interferes with the visual elements. This strong dislike is especially persistent in English-speaking countries, such as the U.S. Furthermore, Catford asserts that

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<sup>28</sup> Nedergaard-Larsen, Delabastita, Lundeen and Gottlieb support this claim.

translation between different *modus operandi* by definition is impossible and claims that “equivalence” is impossible to achieve between different cross-medium channels, which is the case with subtitling, when phonological information has to be converted into graphological data within the confines of the medium (Fong & Au 40). Subtitles is an overt type of translation and therefore forces the foreign language audience to become aware of the dual experience made up of pictures and graphological elements on screen.

### 3.3.1 | Swearing norms in subtitles

*Reservoir Dogs* was released a long time ago; 23 years to be precise. In the meanwhile, a lot has happened in the film industry and society’s perception on the shock factor of *RD* is undoubtedly less than it was two decades ago. Back in the day, the plethora of taboo words in *RD* was something that caused controversy, because Tarantino produced something original and did something that was at variance with the socio-cultural and ethical codes at the time. Nowadays, English has become fully integrated into the Dutch language and Dutch people, as has been mentioned before, even take over English swearwords. Although there is relatively little distance between English and Dutch culture (as they are both Western culture and therefore, more or less, have similar cultural norms), there is reason to believe that the gap between the two cultures has drawn closer to each other. Since the use of English swearwords amongst Dutch people is commonplace practice now, and many films containing many swearwords have since been produced<sup>29</sup>, people should be hardly shocked by all the profanity in *RD* these days, mostly as a result of desensitisation. Thus, it is important to realise that Dutch subtitles in 1992 and ones from 2015 would yield interesting differences. Obviously, the vocabulary is outdated by now and given insults may now, unintentionally, have a rather humorous connotation to them. More importantly, the number of translated taboo words or

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<sup>29</sup> *Donnie Brasco*, *8 Mile*, *The Big Lebowski*, *Pineapple Express*, *The Wolf of Wall Street*, etc.

swearwords should be higher in a modern version or words should be swapped for other, more offensive ones, so the skopos on the Dutch, receptive audience is met and similar effect is created.

Swearwords seem harsher in written form. When spoken, intonation gives away the function of usage and the impact. In written form this aspect is omitted. It is evident that subtitling countries have stronger subtitling norms. The BBC has produced a subtitling guideline “intended for use in subtitle production for BBC Commissioned AV content” (Midjord 39). The guidelines do not include information about the subtitling of swearwords, but the impact of strong language is nonetheless stressed:

*The effect of strong language depends on the choice of words, the speaker and the context. Different words cause different degrees of offence in different communities as well as in different parts of the world. A person’s age, sex, education, employment, faith, nationality and where they live, may all have an impact on whether or not they might be offended. (ibid.)*

The guidelines further stress the importance of editorial justification of strong language so that the audience’s expectations are met. Examples of very strong language can be words such as *cunt*, *motherfucker* and *fuck*; words that very commonly occur in *Reservoir Dogs*, with the exception of *cunt*. The guidelines are based on research that have been conducted on the perception of the severity of swearwords (Midjord 40). In general, there seems to be a strong aversion against strong language when it is used without a clear purpose. According to Díaz Cintas and Remael “taboo words, swearwords and interjections are often toned down in subtitles or even deleted if space is limited...” (195). Ivarsson and Carroll stress the fact that determining the offensiveness of a swearwords remains challenging and that excessive swearing in dialogue should be toned down (126-127), despite the fact that they do not have the ultimate solution at hand. Mattson states that a swearword is a linguistic feature that belongs to

spoken language and thus may not be of great significance to the storyline. However, swearwords can be trivial for the portrayal of characters. Thus, cultural, linguistic and ideological norms may impact the translation process and the lack of swearwords in subtitles cannot solely be attributed to the technical constraints that subtitlers may encounter.

Some cultures may perceive given taboo words as more severe or given taboo words might have a different association or meaning in the TC. Therefore censorship may be exercised by the subtitler; not so much according to his or her own ethical values on swearing, but to ensure all the swearing does not overwhelm or perhaps even underwhelm the TC in comparison to the SC. In essence, censorship can be considered a form of protection for the audience. Allan & Burrige define censorship as “the suppression or prohibition of speech or writing that is condemned as subversive of the common good” (13). They differentiate three types of censorship:

1. Censorship of incitement: physical violence to other individuals;
2. Censorship of profanity and blasphemy: moral harm;
3. Censorship of pornography: moral harm and perhaps physical danger.

Censorship of incitement and profanity might have been applied to *Reservoir Dogs* to a certain extent, as the level of physical violence as well as the profanity are extremely high. On top of that, censorship is also carried out by the state and self-regulatory measures are taken by the film industry too; sometimes as a self-censoring measure to prevent demonstrations or the boycott of offensive language or scenes in films.

Since 2010, rules concerning bleep censoring of swear- and cursewords on radio and tv in the US have been revised and become stricter and more straightforward. The federal appeals court in New York voiced their opinion, stating that the “outdated” rule – that requires words like *shit* and *fuck* to be censored – is ambiguous. Furthermore, censorship of these words supposedly suppress the freedom of speech. Rules on forbidden words in translation have

existed since the 1970's in the US and the FCC<sup>30</sup> composed a list of words and expressions that had to be censored via bleeping in 1978. Failure to abide by that law was met with a hefty fine ("Moeten"). As opposed to the US, there are no rules concerning cursing and swearing on television in the Netherlands (ibid.). Although no rules regarding the censorship of swearwords are in existence, author, translator and subtitling instructor Bartho Kriek suggests that curses, swearwords and expletives should be included in the subtitles insofar they are functional. Moreover, expletives are often omitted in subtitles, since viewers already have auditive feedback. Translating all expletives from, for instance, *Al Pacino*, would be absurd, unnecessary and disruptive (Kriek 2). Subtitlers generally leave out names, exclamations, expletives, verbal signs of approval or rejection and echo's by rule of thumb, since viewers are able to understand these effortlessly.

All in all, the translation of Dutch swearwords is not dictated by law in any sense. Dutch subtitlers rather abide by the common, unwritten "rules" and depend on their own judgment. Regulatory measures have been taken ever since AVT existed in the U.S. and discussions about how offensive words on American television should be dealt with is still a controversial topic, which signifies that bad language on American television still breathes an air of taboo. Hence, the taboo factor of the bad language in *Reservoir Dogs*, in the United States in 1991, was probably even enforced by the cultural values and views on taboo language at the time. On the contrary, swearing and cursing have never been suppressed in Dutch culture. Thus, this means that a Dutch audience is more likely to have been exposed to bad language more often than Americans. As a result of the frequent exposure, the Dutch might have had the opportunity to become desensitised to taboo words much faster. This pivotal difference in socio-cultural and

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<sup>30</sup> The Federal Communications Commission or FCC regulates interstate and international communications by radio, television, wire, satellite and cable.

political background of the SC and TC needs to be bridged by the subtitler, by making sure the impact of the swearwords are akin to the reception of the swearwords in the source culture.

### 3.4 | Descriptive Translation Studies: translation strategy

#### 3.4.1 | Venuti's domestication versus foreignization

The basic translation strategy concepts, *domestication* and *foreignization*, have been used in the practice of translation and it has been one of the key issues in translation theory. The American translation theorist Lawrence Venuti (1995) considers a *domesticated* translation an adapted version or replacement of the “linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text” (Birdwood-Hedger 3), in which the target-culture reader is faced with an intelligible, fluent and transparent text. The source text is altered in such a way that the strangeness of the foreign text is minimised to the target-culture reader. Venuti thinks it involves “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to [Anglo-American] target-language cultural values” (Yang 78). Venuti disapproves of *domestication* because:

*[It is] enforced by editors, publishers, and reviewers [and that], fluency [domestication] results in translations that are eminently readable and therefore consumable on the book market, assisting in their commodification and insuring the neglect of foreign texts and English-language translation discourses that are more resistant to easy readability.<sup>31</sup>*

Thus, *domestication* favours commercially viable products, fluency, ethical and cultural sensibility over a faithfully foreign translation that emphasises the foreign character of the text.

In a *foreignized* translation, the target audience will face a text in which the TC's literary traditions and cultural codes are broken due to the (deliberate) retention of foreign elements in the TT. Venuti considers this method to be an “ethnodeviant pressure on [target-language culture] values to register the cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad”

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<sup>31</sup> Source: Jefferson, Steven.

(ibid.). He advocates *foreignization* in translation, which is marked by non-fluency and estranging elements, that all place emphasis on the translator's visibility and the foreign identity of the source text. He hopes that foreign idioms will enrich the target culture, by exposing the target audience to unfamiliar elements. Venuti is convinced that the author's intent (semantically) becomes lost as a result of *domestication*. However, the use of assimilated domesticating strategies may be acceptable at times and it does not have to result in a reduced text.

Jefferson believes that there are some exceptional situations in which assimilation of strategies may in fact be desirable and reasonable. For example, he claims that any references to people eating bacon has been altered in the Turkish (TT) language version of *Oliver Twist* for religious reasons. Bacon has been replaced by a different type of food that is not offensive to Muslim culture and values, but at the same time, no pivotal changes to the plot and semantics have been made (4). One may then wonder if it is the translator's task to "protect" the target culture from being offended by the ST, that obviously describes a different cultural setting in which the consumption of bacon is perfectly normal. One may assume that the target readers are aware of this cultural distinction. Moreover, what is deemed irrelevant to the plot remains a subjective manner. Changing a cultural elements in such a way, by using an assimilation strategy in which the translator (or editor) himself chooses what is relevant or irrelevant, may lead to misleading, inaccurate and inconsistent translations. If one is to assume that the Turkish target text readers are aware of the English cultural context of *Oliver Twist*, the image of characters eating Turkish flatbread with spinach and feta, for example, may confuse the target reader overall. More importantly, it changes the connotation of the ST and alters the depiction of the characters, implying that they are eating (Turkish) exotic food, in London. Thus, an assimilative strategy needs to be applied with careful consideration and in moderation, but it is best to choose either a domesticated or foreignised strategy for the sake of clarity, regardless of



any values one may have about the “interference” of translators and editors when it comes to cultural adaptation of texts.

### 3.4.2 | Tomasziewicz’s AVT translation strategy

Tomaszkiewicz offers a brief discussion of strategies in operation in film subtitling in which she points out that certain culture-specific elements cannot be translated. Even though the focus of this thesis does not lie on culture-specific elements, the strategy she proposes is nonetheless suitable for use to describe to which extent one strategy is preferred over another, according to the audiovisual mode of translation (Díaz Cintas 44-45):

1. **Omission**, whereby the cultural reference is omitted altogether;
2. **Literal translation**, where the solution in the target text matches the original as closely as possible;
3. **Borrowing**, where original terms from the source text are used in the target text;
4. **Equivalence**, where translation has a similar meaning and function in the target culture;
5. **Adaptation**, where the translation is adjusted to the target language and culture in an attempt to evoke similar connotations to the original. Strictly speaking this can be considered a form of equivalence;
6. **Replacement** of the cultural term with deictics, particularly when supported by an on-screen gesture or a visual clue. This strategy was not observed in the selected audiovisual texts and will not be discussed here;
7. **Generalisation**, which might also be referred to as neutralisation of the original;
8. **Explication**, which usually involves a paraphrase to explain the cultural term.

## 4. | METHOD

### 4.1 | Material

Quentin Tarantino's film *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) will be used for this study. The DVD at hand has a running time of 99 minutes and includes Dutch subtitles. The presence of the Dutch subtitles, but also the fact that the film contains a plethora of swearing or taboo language provides ample material for analysis. The subtitling and subbing discipline have received substantial funding and therefore a decent amount of readily available material is available and can be used in this thesis. No special database applications or software will be used in this study for data collection. Any taboo language will be transcribed by hand in a simple text document and the film script<sup>32</sup> is kept alongside for verification purposes. Charts, tables or figures may be used to display the distribution of taboo words of the original in correlation to the Dutch subtitled version of *Reservoir Dogs*.

### 4.2 | Type of analysis: quantitative & qualitative

By means of contrastive analysis, all the taboo words in *RD* (spoken form) are compared with the Dutch taboo words in subtitles (written form). The linguistic disparities between English and Dutch swearing culture become apparent as various linguistic elements shed light on what changes, in terms of form and function, occur during transfer. This case-study includes both a quantitative and qualitative approach. First, the relevant data will be rendered on the basis of a couple of groups. Once the complete token and type distribution has been mapped and the data has been transcribed, one will have an overview of all the taboo words in *RD*, the different types of utterances and the number of occurrences per utterance. From then on, the type of correspondence (syntax), the semantic properties (form) and the pragmatic features (function) of ST and TT will be mapped quantitatively. These different linguistic elements altogether capture a broad spectrum of the linguistic blueprint and thus give pivotal and adequate insight

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<sup>32</sup> Source: "Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs*."

into the correlation between ST and TT. According to the accumulated quantitative results, a qualitative overview of the material can be given, which will then include an assessment of the applied translation strategy. The data will be analysed from the following perspectives and in the following order:

### 4.3 | Method

#### *Tokens & types*

The total number of taboo utterances equals the number of *tokens*. *Tokens* are concrete particular instances or occurrences of word *types*, whereas a *type* accounts for an abstract and unique form of a word. For instance, the example sentence below contains **three types** of taboo elements, namely “fuck”, “fucking” and “asshole”, but the sentences contain a total amount of **four tokens**, namely “fuck”, “fuck”, “fucking” and “asshole”.

- (1) Fuck you and fuck your buddy too, you fucking asshole!

The *type-token distinction* was coined by philosopher C.S. Peirce (1839-1914) (Chapman 246) and is still commonly applied in the field of philosophy and linguistics. The type-token distinction reaches farther than words alone and also applies to phonemes, letters, paragraphs or sentences, but in the conduct of this study, only taboo word types and tokens will be analysed. A word list of all the taboo word *types* will be compiled and arranged from highest to lowest frequency of *types*. It is important to note that token and type analysis is the first stepping stone in the analysis of the rest of the material and that it solely serves as to give an overview of the material.

### *Types of correspondences*

To assess the functional and denotative equivalence of the source and target text, *Stig Johansson's* cross-linguistic classification of correspondences will be used to classify the data. The comparison of overt or zero, and syntactically congruent or divergent correspondences will shed light on the approach to translation. The ST and TT will be compared and based on whether the same syntactic properties are shared whilst expressing similar meaning, a different realisation type is used to denote similar meaning or the corresponding element is omitted, all the taboo tokens or occurrences will be categorised as either congruent, divergent or zero-corresponding.

*Hypothesis:* Considering the medium that is used, omission of a considerable number of taboo words is to be expected. In fact, the Dutch language belongs to the type of languages that creates single large “words” to replace smaller words in other languages: compound nouns. The “lengthiness” of the TT language and the AVT technique of information condensation forces the subtitler to leave out the dispensible elements and sometimes partly indispensable elements as well.

### *Form – semantic classifications*

A semantic taxonomy are based on the division of taboo (swear)words by Jay, McEnery, Allan & Burridge and Andersson will be used in determining the semantic property of taboo words. Their categories combined are too elaborate and contain too much overlap. On the other hand, using only one of the scholars' taxonomies would fall short in coverage. Thus, thirteen representative categories have been selected for study. The selection is comprised of the categories:

1. Sex;
2. Body part(s);
3. Excrement/human waste;
4. Religion;
5. Physically/mentally disabled;
6. Incest;
7. Racist;
8. Animal;
9. Homophobic;
10. Narcotics/crime;
11. Prostitution;
12. Death/disease;
13. Cross-categorical.

The cross-categorical category has been added for words that do not relate to any of the categories above, ones that do not strictly fall under any of the other categories stated above or ones that fall into more than just one of the categories mentioned above, as there may be different senses to a word. All the relevant ST data will be organised into one of the thirteen categories. The same method is then applied to the relevant TT data and both ST and TT results will be presented in pie charts.

No distinction will be made between the metaphorical (non-literal) or literal use of the taboo exclamation. Furthermore, some of the taboo items that will be examined will be socially and culturally more acceptable than others and they will be less offensive to some people in some types of situations. However, all offensive items have been included in this research, disregarding of the degree of severity and pragmatical function of the utterance, since perceived severity is subjective and differs from one another and context plays a pivotal role in whether

a word is perceived as appropriate or otherwise.

*Hypothesis:* Considering the fact that taboos are culture-related and depend on politeness norms, analysis of the pragmatic categories might show that the English and Dutch use taboo words by referring to disparate connotational themes. To be more specific, the ST should contain little to no illness-related taboo words as opposed to the TT. Sex-related swearwords might be much more common in English swearing due to the fact that the word “fuck” is extremely versatile in use and therefore accounts for a large number of the taboo utterances in *RD*.

#### *Function – pragmatic classifications*

*Andersson and Trudgill* have presented a theory in which they classify swearwords and insults based on their functions. They distinguish between four types: humorous, auxiliary, abusive and expletive. This classification will be used in the identification of the function of the tabooed ST utterances. As one will find out, utterances containing phrasal verbs, vulgarisms, slang, idioms and coarse language in general will be filtered from the selection and excluded from the analysis. The reason for this is the fact that these types of bad language do not fall into any of the classifications presented by Andersson and Trudgill; they base their theory on *swearing, cursing, oaths* alone. Hence, not all taboo utterances are eligible for analysis. The data that is eligible for analysis, will be categorised into one of the four functions, depending on the context in which the words occur.

*Hypothesis:* I expect that the (high) percentage of expletives (e.g. *what the hell, Christ, fuck!*) approximates the percentage of auxiliary expressions. Considering the fact that “fuck” is most commonly used in English swearing, *fucking* used as an auxiliary intensifier and *fuck!* as an expletive would add up easily, as speech and social context lend itself well to this kind of “empty” language. *Fuck* (noun) can also be used in an abusive sense, but there are many other

abusive insults and curses that are more commonly used to call someone. Hence, abusive language might be pervasive in *RD*, but not as popular as auxiliaries and expletives.

### *Translation strategy*

While Venuti's *domestication* and *foreignization* strategy will be used to give a loosely-defined description of the *fidelity factor* in translation, *Tomaszkiewicz's* more specific categories of translation strategies will be used also in determining which mode of translation is preferred in the Dutch subtitles of *Reservoir Dogs*. However, the former will be used for qualitative purposes, which entails that the taboo utterances are examined more in the general sense, whereas the latter will yield quantitative data that will also be used to determine the translation strategy for each taboo utterance in the film. *Tomaszkiewicz's* distinguishes eight categories, namely *omission, literal translation, borrowing, equivalence, adaptation, replacement, generalisation* and *explication* in his audiovisual translation theory. All of the relevant ST and corresponding TT data will be set side by side to determine which strategies have been applied.

*Hypothesis:* The subtitler is probably more likely to adopt a *foreignizing* strategy. I think interlingual subtitlers taken caution when subtitling classic films such as *RD*. The TT audience may think that the *domestication* strategy, characterised by its continuous flow and deletion of cultural ST values, does the intent and tone of the original film no justice. The bold decision to domesticate *RD* would induce controversy amongst the viewers. Hence, the subtitler might unlikely domesticate the ST.

## 5. | ANALYSIS

### 5.1 | Quantitative analysis

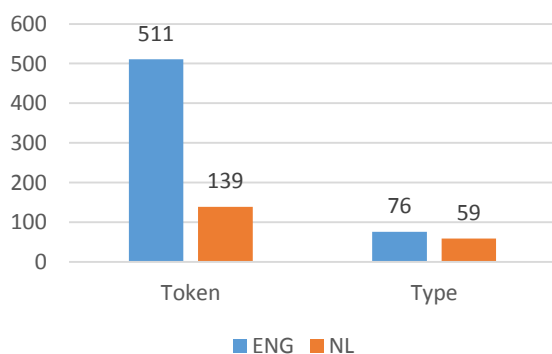
#### 5.1.1 | Analysis: Tokens and types

Figures 10 and 11 show the number of tokens and types to be found in *Reservoir Dogs*. As one can read from the table, the original version contains a total of 511 instances of insults, swearing, cursing and the like, which are all taboo. The Dutch translation displays a drastic reduction of these tokens: only 27,20%<sup>33</sup> of the English taboo utterances that were translated into Dutch remained offensive or taboo in the TL. At this point, it is hard to pinpoint whether the technical constraints of AVT, the amount of self-censorship or perhaps the adaptation of cultural norms and skopos played a decisive role in this change.

Interestingly, the type distribution shows that only 14,87% of the English tokens are unique types, whereas 42,45% of all the Dutch tokens are types. From a relative point of view, this entails that the Dutch translation contains much more variation in swearwords compared to its English counterpart. In contrast to the high TL type percentage, the low percentage of SL types signifies that the same swearwords are used more frequently and more consistently.

	Original	Dutch subtitles
<b>Tokens</b>	511 (100%)	139 (27,20%) compared to ST
<b>Types</b>	76 (14,87%)	59 (42,45%) percentage types from total tokens in TT

**Figure 10:** Taboo words: Taboo token and type distribution.



**Figure 11:** Graph showing the result from figure 10 visually.

<sup>33</sup> All quantitative data are rounded up to two decimal places.



Types	Tokens				
<b>Fucking</b>	170	<b>Piss</b>	3	<b>Cocksucker</b>	1
<b>Fuck</b>	70	<b>Prick</b>	3	<b>Coon</b>	1
<b>Shit</b>	46	<b>Son of a bitch</b>	3	<b>Cooze</b>	1
<b>Ass</b>	18	<b>Fucker</b>	2	<b>Damned</b>	1
<b>Dick</b>	16	<b>Fucks</b>	2	<b>Diarrhea</b>	1
<b>Hell</b>	12	<b>Holy</b>	2	<b>Dogshit</b>	1
<b>Goddamn</b>	11	<b>Jesus</b>	2	<b>Faggot</b>	1
<b>Motherfucker</b>	11	<b>Lowlife</b>	2	<b>Fuckup</b>	1
<b>Jesus Christ</b>	11	<b>Nigger</b>	2	<b>Jack-off</b>	1
<b>Bullshit</b>	9	<b>Psycho</b>	2	<b>Jap</b>	1
<b>Asshole</b>	8	<b>Psychopath</b>	2	<b>Jew</b>	1
<b>Bitch</b>	8	<b>Scumbag</b>	2	<b>Jungle bunny</b>	1
<b>Fucked</b>	7	<b>Stupid</b>	2	<b>Madman</b>	1
<b>God</b>	7	<b>Animal</b>	1	<b>Man-eater-upper</b>	1
<b>Bastard</b>	5	<b>Apeshit</b>	1	<b>Maniac</b>	1
<b>Pissed</b>	5	<b>Asses</b>	1	<b>Motherfuckers</b>	1
<b>Pussy</b>	4	<b>Asshat</b>	1	<b>Potheads</b>	1
<b>Sick</b>	4	<b>Ball-busting</b>	1	<b>Scum-ridden</b>	1
<b>Swear</b>	4	<b>Balls</b>	1	<b>Semen</b>	1
<b>Shut up</b>	4	<b>Bitches</b>	1	<b>Shitty</b>	1
<b>Assholes</b>	3	<b>Black</b>	1	<b>Suck</b>	1
<b>Dicks</b>	3	<b>Bonehead</b>	1	<b>Superfucking</b>	1
<b>Idiot</b>	3	<b>Broads</b>	1	<b>Turd</b>	1
<b>Jack shit</b>	3	<b>Butt cowboy</b>	1	<b>Wetback</b>	1
<b>Niggers</b>	3	<b>Cheap</b>	1	<b>White</b>	1
		<b>Christ</b>	1		

Figure 12: Overview of all SL “types” of taboo language occurrences, sorted by frequency (or “token” belonging to the specific type) and in descending order. (total of 512 tokens)

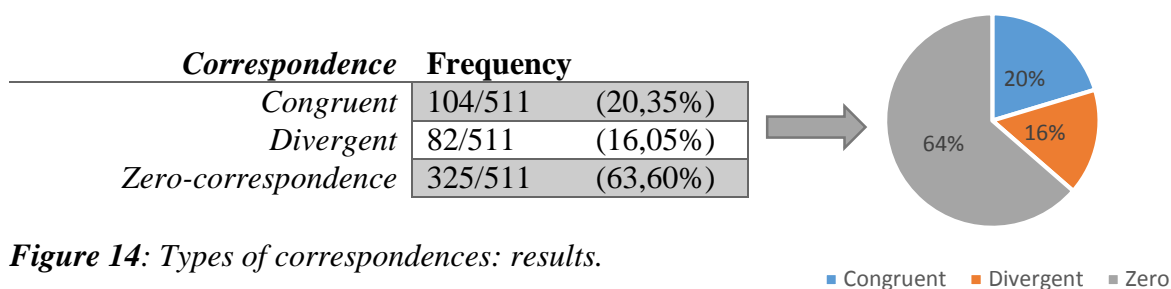
Types	Tokens				
<b>Klootzak</b>	20	<b>Verdomde</b>	2	<b>Naaien</b>	1
<b>Verdomme</b>	15	<b>Kont</b>	2	<b>Sukkel</b>	1
<b>Pik</b>	12	<b>Gelul</b>	2	<b>Kontneuker</b>	1
<b>Klote(-)</b>	5	<b>Vuile</b>	2	<b>Hond</b>	1
<b>Gek</b>	4	<b>Krijg de klere</b>	2	<b>Nikker</b>	1
<b>Pikken</b>	3	<b>Pissen</b>	2	<b>Sperma</b>	1
<b>Shit</b>	3	<b>Hou je kop</b>	2	<b>Klootzakken</b>	1
<b>Stront</b>	3	<b>Wijf</b>	2	<b>Gestoorde</b>	1
<b>Zweer</b>	3	<b>Geneukt</b>	1	<b>Smeerlap</b>	1
<b>Psychopaat</b>	3	<b>Neukt</b>	1	<b>Diarree</b>	1
<b>Nikkers</b>	3	<b>Jap</b>	1	<b>Kreng</b>	1
<b>Neuken</b>	3	<b>Jood</b>	1	<b>Mafkees</b>	1
<b>Zak</b>	3	<b>Pijpen</b>	1	<b>Schijterig</b>	1
<b>Neukmachine</b>	2	<b>Naait</b>	1	<b>Aftrekken</b>	1
<b>Juten</b>	2	<b>Vrek</b>	1	<b>Beest</b>	1
<b>Jesus</b>	2	<b>Genaaid</b>	1	<b>Pleurisbak</b>	1
<b>Val dood</b>	2	<b>Stomme</b>	1	<b>Pisnijdig</b>	1
<b>Lul</b>	2	<b>Idioot</b>	1	<b>Flikker</b>	1
<b>Maniak</b>	2	<b>Doodvallen</b>	1	<b>Pussy</b>	1
		<b>Idioten</b>	1	<b>Godverdomme</b>	1

Figure 13: Overview of all TL “types” of taboo language occurrences, sorted by frequency (or “token” belonging to the specific type) and in descending order. (total of 139 tokens)

*Figures 12 (EN) and 13 (NL)* show the distribution of all taboo words. The extremely offensive words *fucking* (170) and *fuck* (70) are used very frequently and those two words alone make up 46,88% of all the taboo words in the SL. These words are used by all of the main characters, help building character and the coarse language is part of the characters' subculture. Important as those two words are for the shaping of the characters personalities, direct translations of *fucking* or *fuck* are somewhat lost in translation, as they are not so clearly identifiable from *figure 13 (NL)*. The taboo words *klootzak* (20), *verdomme* (20) and *pik* (12) appeared most often in the Dutch subtitles, but do not quite serve as very faithful translations for *fucking* and *fuck*. *Fucking* is predominantly used as an intensifying adverb or adjective and *fuck* is often used as an interjection and interrogative and to a lesser extent as a noun. Both of these words are oftentimes disregarded: they either become neutral in tone from being toned down so much or are completely omitted (especially the case with *fucking*). The subtitles show that the words apparently translate into *gek*, *stomme*, *klo(-)*, *verdomme*, etcetera. However, no single translation is used consistently to signify *fucking* or *fuck*, which shows that the translator does not translate taboo words systematically.

Although the fact remains that words do seem harsher in print and *fuck* and *fucking* belong to the most offensive category of taboo words, one may wonder if the visual cues in *RD* make up for the omission of many of these words, if the tone of these words has been adjusted to the Dutch skopos accurately and if the loose translations of *fuck* and *fucking* will lead to any less credible dialogues.

### 5.1.2 | Analysis: types of correspondences



**Figure 14:** *Types of correspondences: results.*

Analysis of the types of correspondences reveals that 36,40% (20,35% congruent, 16,05% divergent) of the taboo utterances are translated in a way in which the syntactic properties are maintained, express identical or similar denotation and the TT utterance are realised in a different manner. This can be done by paraphrasing or using sayings. Nonetheless, the meaning of the original message should be left unchanged. The remaining 63,60% consists of zero-correspondences, which is mostly marked by omitted elements in the TT: due to some rephrasing, some taboo words became implicit in the translation, were considered “lost” in translation and were placed in the *zero* category. Furthermore, a very large number of words were completely omitted. Notably, this was particularly often the case with the emphatic intensifier, adjective and adverb *fucking* and interrogative forms, such as *what the fuck* and *who the fuck*.

Each type of correspondence can be expressed in multiple ways. The sentences below will illustrate the various in which they can occur:

### Congruent:

- C1. **Shit**, you shoot me in a dream, you better wake up and apologize.
- C2. **Shit**, nog niet in je dromen, jongen. [direct translation]
- C3. **Bullshit**.
- C4. **Gelul**. [direct translation]
- C5. Give me that **fucking** thing.
- C6. Geef hier dat **kloteding**. [similar denotation, both adjective, intensifier]

### Divergent:

- D1. Who the **fuck** is Toby?
- D2. Toby? Wie is dat, **verdomme**? [identical expression, interrogative to interjection]
- D3. She's getting this serious **dick action**.
- D4. Ze wordt dus stevig **geneukt** [...]. [noun to verb, similar expression, description]
- D5. A choice between doing ten years and taking out some **stupid** motherfucker ain't no choice at all.
- D6. De keuze tussen tien jaar zitten en 'n **idiot** mollen... dat is geen keuze.  
[identical expression, adjective to noun]

### Zero-correspondence:

- Z1. I paid for your **goddamn** breakfast.
- Z2. Ik heb je ontbijt betaald. [complete omission]
- Z3. Tell that **bullshit** to the tourists. [omission by saying]
- Z4. Maak dat de toeristen wijs.
- Z5. Eddie, you keep talking like a **bitch** [...]
- Z6. Als je zo doorgaat, krijg je een dreun. [implicit]

C1-C2 is probably the most obvious example of a **congruent** translation: the marked word was taken directly from the source language and used in the target language to express a similar denotation. Sentence C4 demonstrates a denotational and connotation equivalent translation, using the same linguistic property (noun). Both of the marked words in C5-C6 are adjectives and used as an intensifier. They also carry the same meaning and are therefore considered congruent sentences.

D1-D2 are considered **divergent**, despite the fact that *fuck* and *verdomme* are used to express the same matter. The difference lies in linguistic property: *who the fuck* is an interrogative and *verdomme* is an interjection. D4 expresses the same denotation as D3, but the formal difference is the fact that the noun turns into a verb in translation. In D5-D6, the marked words both refer to one's mental (dis)ability, the former words is an adjective, whereas the latter is a noun.

The most straightforward example of a **zero-correspondence** would Z1-Z2: the word *goddamn* has been ignored and not addressed in the translation. Hence, *Ik heb je ontbijt betaald* is basically the translation of *I paid for your breakfast*, which has a rather different tone than *I paid for your goddamn breakfast*. Although the taboo word goes missing in Z3-Z4 too, the translator uses a saying to capture the essence of the ST message here. Although *dat* implicitly refers to *that bullshit* and the sarcastic tone is maintained in the TL, the target solution offered is still considered fairly vague, as *Tell that to the tourists* (without the word *bullshit*) as the matter of fact suffices as the translation of *Maak dat the toeristen wijs* and *bullshit* is therefore an additional element. The personal insult *bitch* goes missing in Z6 and becomes implicit. *Zo* ("like that") refers to "that manner" in which the addressee talks, so *like a bitch* is part of that.

The overt correspondences only amounted to 36,40%. So, about one third of the taboo words' meanings are expressed in some way of another, using direct translations, paraphrasing or sayings to capture the essence of the implied message, but the rest of it is lost. Taking into

account the temporal and spatial constraints and the fact that some intensifiers (in particular *fuck* and *fucking*) may be troublesome to replicate at times, a great reduction of this size was not expected, nonetheless. The translator visibly cut down on repetitive sentences, chose to omit many intensifiers through rewording sentences and translated *insults* most consistently.

### 5.1.3 | Form: semantic classifications

Figure 15 shows the distribution of semantically categorised taboo words. The left column (EN) is placed in descending order and shows the frequency of the taboo utterance and the semantic property it is linked to. The column in the middle (NL) displays the frequency of occurrence and on the right the relative change – which is expressed as a percentage – is shown.

<i>Categories</i>	<b>Original English subtitles</b>	<b>Dutch subtitles</b>	
1. <i>Sex</i>	257 (50,29%)	12 (8,63%)	▼ -41,66%
2. <i>Body part</i>	58 (11,35%)	51 (36,69%)	▲ +25,34%
3. <i>Excrement/human waste</i>	58 (11,35%)	12 (8,63%)	▼ -2,72%
4. <i>Religion</i>	51 (9,98%)	23 (16,55%)	▲ +6,57%
5. <i>Cross-categorised</i>	24 (4,70%)	9 (6,47%)	▼ -1,77%
6. <i>Physically/mentally disabled</i>	19 (3,72%)	15 (10,79%)	▲ +7,07%
7. <i>Incest</i>	17 (3,33%)	0 (0%)	▼ -3,33%
8. <i>Racist</i>	12 (2,35%)	6 (4,32%)	▲ +1,97%
9. <i>Animal</i>	10 (1,96%)	1 (1,44%)	▼ -0,52%
10. <i>Homophobic</i>	3 (0,59%)	2 (1,44%)	▲ +0,85%
11. <i>Narcotics, crime</i>	1 (0,20%)	0 (0%)	▼ -0,20%
12. <i>Prostitution</i>	1 (0,20%)	0 (0%)	▼ -0,20%
13. <i>Death, disease</i>	0 (0%)	7 (5,04%)	▲ +5,04%
<b>Total frequency</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>139</b>	

Figure 15: Semantic classifications. Placed in order of frequency.

The table reveals that about half (50,29%) of all the taboo words in RD are sex-related. Swearwords related to *body parts*, *excrements/human wastes* and *religion* are also popular, but not as disproportionately omnipresent as sex-related ones. By comparison, that same category only ranks 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> in the Dutch translation. Although the relative changes do support the previously mentioned claims made about how Dutch people swear fairly convincingly, one

category deviates from what is anticipated:

Despite the fact that the English do not refer to *death* or *diseases* in their swearing at all and the Dutch do, the Dutch taboo words in this category only take up 5,04%. Considering the fact that Dutch people are one of the few in the world to wish death or diseases upon others, this result does not strongly show that the Dutch swear with illnesses as much as might have been suggested previously.

However, addressing *body parts* (11,35% versus 36,69%) in swearing seem to be common in both SC and TC, but even more so in the Netherlands. *Religion* (16,55%), *excrement/human waste* (8,63%) and *sex* (8,63%) are the follow-ups, but *body parts* still leave all the other categories far behind. According to Oudenhoven & de Raad's observations of swearing behaviour amongst the Dutch, references to sexual acts should be relatively uncommon in the Netherlands and references to genitals (*kut, lul, etcetera*) should be very popular instead. Both these claims are backed up by the results presented in *figure 15*. Remarkably, the relatively large presence of *religion* in the TT show that Calvinism in the Netherlands (16<sup>th</sup> century) has still left its mark in linguistics and illustrates that taboos shape social structures, which are then enforced by religion.

It is worth emphasising that taboos in Western culture die away and new ones emerge. *Reservoir Dogs* was released nearly a quarter century ago and the attitudes toward taboos have shifted since then. As mentioned before, Dutch religious swearwords have made place for popular English four-letter words, such as *shit* or *fuck*. Due to the popularisation of English (swear)words in Dutch culture, religious swearwords might no longer hold a prominent place in present-day swearing. The boundaries between countries are likely to have been faded. A modern-day translation of *RD* might leave out the following words and phrases, which have a certain outdated ring to them: *klootzak, maniak, krijg de klere, val dood*. Instead, these words can be translated as *hufter/eikel, idioot, krijg kanker* or *kanker op*, respectively, to adhere to the

modern-day swearing norms. These words demonstrate the use of the same semantic categories, but modern-day translations, using a different vocabulary that now also includes more foreign words, such as *freak*, may cause a shift in the semantic pattern of taboo word usage. New subtitles for *RD* might therefore demonstrate a more balanced distribution of semantic classifications between the ST and TT, with a decline in religious swearwords in Dutch and an increased use of words related to illnesses and sex.

In summary, the top 3 for ST and TT looks like this:

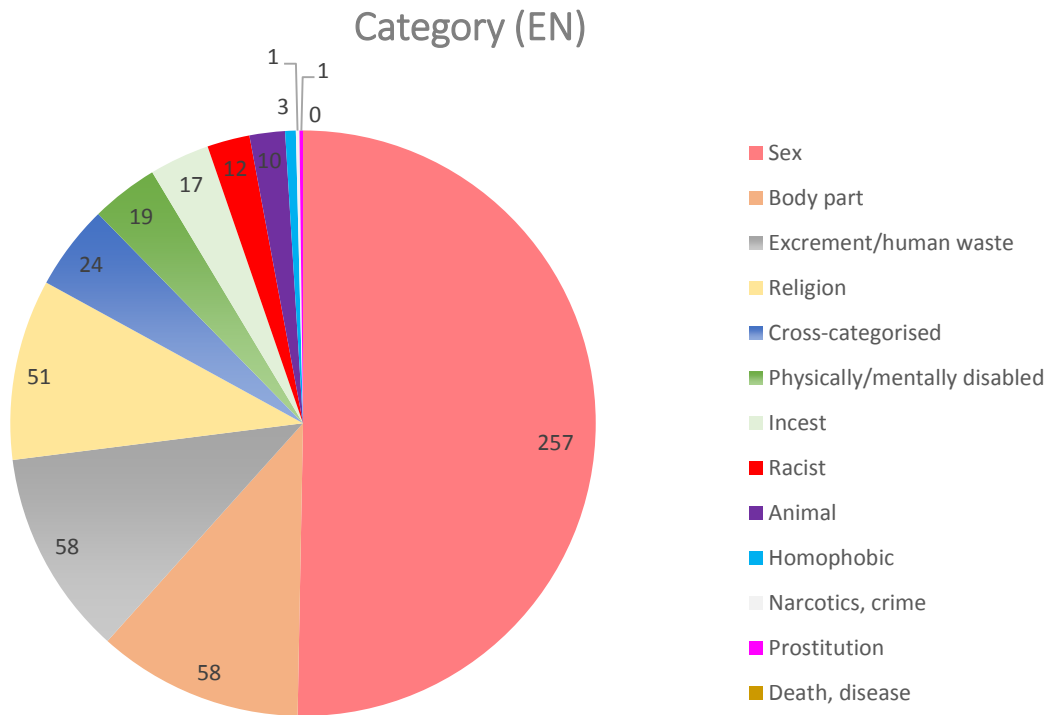
Top 3, source text:

1. Sex (50,29%);
2. Body part or excrement/human waste (11,35%);
3. Body part or excrement/human waste (11,35%).

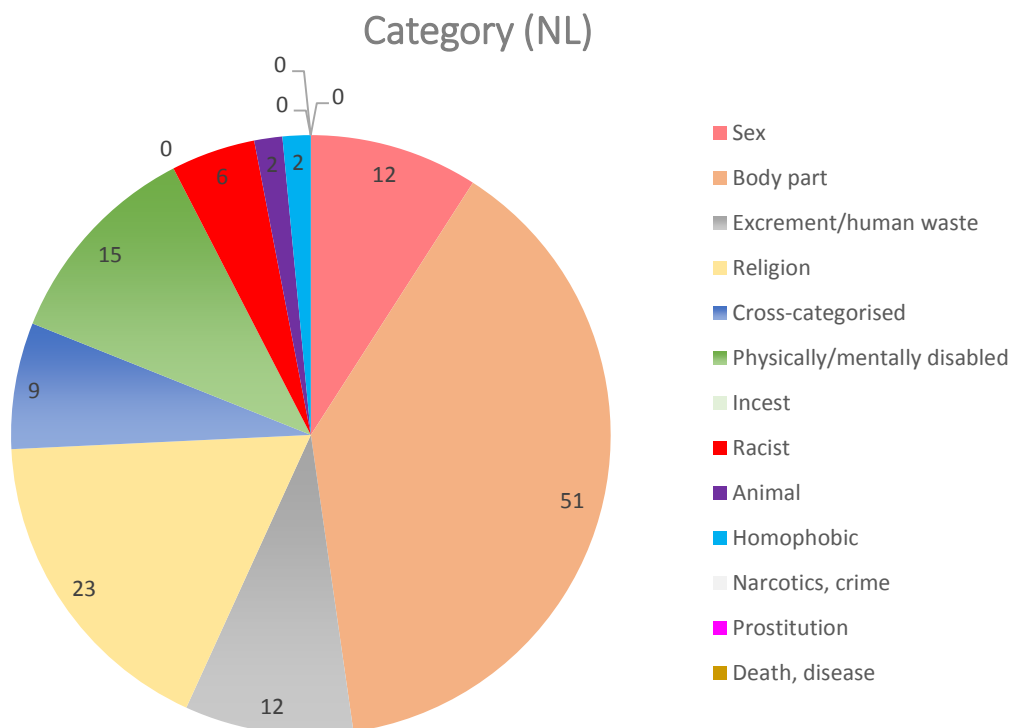
Top 3, target text:

1. Body part (36,69%);
2. Religion (16,55%);
3. Physically/mentally disabled (10,79%).





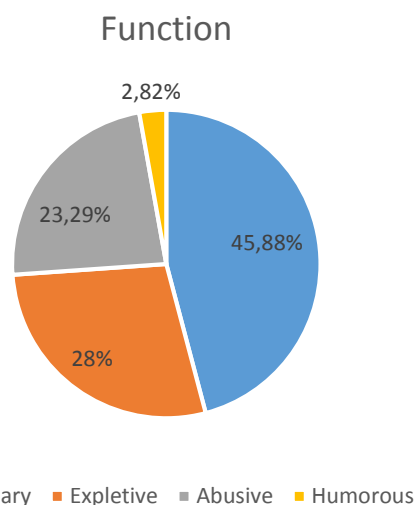
**Figure 16:** Pie chart – visual representation of the semantic classifications: *source text*.



**Figure 17:** Pie chart – visual representation of the semantic classifications: *target text*.

### 5.1.4 | Function – pragmatic classifications

Function	Frequency
<b>Humorous</b>	12
<b>Auxiliary</b>	195
<b>Abusive</b>	99
<b>Expletive</b>	119
	<b>425 total</b>



*Figure 18: Pragmatic classifications*

The analysed data consisted of a total of 425 taboo utterances. Not all sentences were eligible for analysis, as some phrasal verbs, vulgarisms, slang, idioms and coarse language in general did not fit in any of the functional categories and were not *swearwords*<sup>34</sup>, *oaths* or *curses*. Thus, some sentences (86) were filtered from the selection and *not* included in the analysis. Some of these filtered (and thus excluded) examples are:

- It's all about a girl who digs a guy with a big **dick**.
- Her **pussy** should be Bubble Yum by now.
- Everybody starts **going apeshit**.
- When you're dealing with a store like this, they're insured **up the ass**.

The tabooed words above are not used in a joking manner, are not “lazy” words that are part of one's way of speaking, are not used to express hateful feelings towards someone and are not used to express void emotions either. Andersson and Trudgill's theory on functional pragmatism of taboo words is quite limited when put into practice and unfortunately does not cover more ground. For instance, some words carry a condescending tone, but are not

<sup>34</sup> In the strict sense.

necessarily abusive. To illustrate, *Toby the Jap* is condescending in speech and *fuck machine* is used to express admiration towards someone, not meant in an abusive manner. So, both words are taboo, but do not fit any of the categories by Andersson and Trudgill, so there is definitely room for improvement and explication when it comes to the scope of their functional categories.

However, from the available data, the results give a clear impression of the functional make-up of the taboo words in use in *RD*. The dialogue contained very little humorous swearing. *Motherfucker*, *son of a bitch* and suchlike words were sometimes used as a term of endearment:

*You son of a bitch. I see you sitting there, but I don't believe it. How you doing,*

*Toothpick?*

*Take this is the **bastard** you told me about?*

Unsurprisingly, auxiliary swearing is the biggest category out of four. The speech of the characters is sprinkled with meaningless swearwords, which is part of their way of speaking:

*Somebody's a **fucking** rat.*

*Look, look, enough of this "Mr. White" **shit**.*

Both of the example sentences above are auxiliary and the previous one demonstrates "lazy" swearing, as *fucking* takes up the space of a possible adjective. Although *fucking* alone already took up most of the auxiliary "space", abusive and expletive swearing display more variation in usage. *Shut up*, *fuck*, *Jesus Christ* and *shit* are common expletives, but there are many more subtypes, such as vexation interrogatives (*who the fuck*, *why the fuck*, etcetera) and expletive infixations, such as *un-fucking-believable* and *superfucking pissed*. *RD* is popular for its coarse language, profanity and vulgarity, and the expectation was that most of the taboo swearwords carried no meaning and thus, were auxiliaries and expletives. Most of the dialogue occurs in an informal, social circle and as one knows, auxiliary swearing helps maintaining camaraderie. Hence, the context and social group of close friends in fact easily lend itself to this type of

swearing. Although the percentage of expletives and auxiliaries did not approximate each other, as was hypothesised before, both categories are in fact the most popular. The fact that the language in *RD* is peppered with swearwords and curses and the fact that the translation of auxiliary swearing is more commonly associated with informal spoken language rather than written language, the reduction of swearwords in the TT is plausible development.

## 5.2 | Qualitative analysis

### 5.2.1 | Analysis: Translation strategy

#### 5.2.1.1 | Tomasziewicz's translation strategy

Strategy	Frequency
1. Omission	291/511 (56,95%)
2. Literal translation	36/511 (7,05%)
3. Borrowing	2/511 (0,39%)
4. Equivalence	95/511 (18,59%)
5. Adaptation	50/511 (9,78%)
6. Replacement	0/511 (0%)
7. Generalisation	17/511 (3,33%)
8. Explication	20/511 (3,91%)

*Figure 19: Translation strategy results.*

A quick analysis of verbal cultural signs (taboo words) in the subtitled version shows that the vast majority of the taboo words are omitted and that no instances of replacement with deictics were observed.

*Yeah, I got a **fucking** problem*

*Ik zit met een probleem.* [omission]

*Fucking* is devoid of meaning, but this auxiliary use of *fucking* does add information about the characters. The translator has omitted many instances of *fucking* (auxiliary), which causes a “flattening” effect on the TT. Although the denotative message comes across, the connotation is lost on many occasions. *Fucking* has been translated with *verdomme* or *verdomde* several times, but that happens sparingly.

Temporal and spatial factors did not seem to constrain the translator much. The Dutch subtitles often contained around the same amount of characters per line as the ST or were shorter in length due to condensation. Given the fact that the subtitler has been inconsistent with the translation taboo words, despite the fact that the character limit per subtitle was not reached yet, that conveys that the number of offensive items has been toned down on purpose, possibly to

meet the social swearing norms of the TT culture. Furthermore, it is worth noting that *fucking*, the most frequent taboo word in *RD*, may be difficult to replicate in translation and the words. For instance: *Have you lost your **fucking** mind?* has been translated with *Ben jij gek geworden?* Alternatives such as *Ben jij verdomde gek geworden?* or *Ben jij verrekte gek geworden?* in hopes of reproducing *fucking* in the TT do suffice either, as these sentences sound too fabricated and unnatural to Dutch ears. This is one out of many examples that prove that equivalence cannot be met at all times due to cultural factors that come into play.

However, not all of the omissions were caused by the inability to replicate the tone. To illustrate, the ST and TT sentences below demonstrate that *fuck* has been omitted in translation. The element of surprise, disgust, excitement or any emotions alike are conveyed through *the hell, the fuck, the shit*, etcetera, and when these elements are not included in the translation, the characters' swearing no longer seem excessive, which is what it is and should be in translations too.

*What the **fuck** are you talking about?*

*Waar heb je het over?*

Suggested translation: *Waar heb je het **in hemelsnaam** over?*

Literal translations are not to be confused with borrowed translations. *Niggers-nickers* and *diarrhea-diarree* are literal translations, but *pussy* and *shit* are directly borrowed from the SL and remain untouched. It is not entirely clear why the translator has chosen to maintain the English in *Mr **Pussy*** and *Mr **Shit***, but chose to translate all the remaining instances of *shit* with *onzin, flauwekul, stront*. In the light of consistency, the subtitler could have opted for *Mr **Kut*** or *Mr **Stront***. The colleagues of Mr. Pink and Mr. Brown, respectively, make fun of them and give them mock names, but these names do not occur in the rest of the film and do not seem to bear great significance for the plot. Although the names could have been translated easily and the denotations would have still been the same, the connotations of *Mr **Kut*** and *Mr **Stront*** would

have been different. *Pussy* and *shit* are easy to understand by the TT audience and the maintenance of the original names may be part of the translation strategy that the subtitler chooses to adopt.

*It'd just be more **bullshit*** and *Dan hoor je nog meer **onzin*** are considered equivalent, since they essentially mean and function the same way in the TC. Despite the fact that the taboo element is lost in translation, the informal speech is maintained.

The sentence pair below demonstrates an adapted translation. Similar connotations to the original are evoked, but the translation is adapted to the TL and TC.

*Shit... All this blood scares the **shit** out of me, Larry!*

*Al dat bloed maakt me **doodsbang**.*

The translator generalised and explicated a couple of times, often using his or her own interpretation of the story. The ethnic slur *wetback*, a derogatory term that is mainly used in the US to refer to illegal foreigners – in particular Mexicans, is translated as *illegaal*. The cultural context is stripped away, resulting in a more time- and location-neutral translation. *She's been **fucked over** a few times* is translated as [...] *dat is **bedrogen***. The dictionary definition of “to fuck over” reveals that the verb phrase denotes: “To victimize and maltreat, sexually or otherwise” and “Treat unfairly, take advantage of”<sup>35</sup>. The translator has interpreted this as “to cheat on somebody”, which is an overinterpretation of the original. The Dutch verb *naaien* could have been used to convey something similar to *fucked over*: it refers to “being screwed with”. This way the offensive element and the semantic category are maintained and *naaien* can be interpreted multiple ways, leaving room for the viewer to interpret *fucked over* themselves. The word *naaien* occurs in the TT several times and shows that the use of it was not uncommon in 1992.

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<sup>35</sup> Source: “Fuck over”.

### 5.2.1.2 | Venuti's domestication versus foreignization

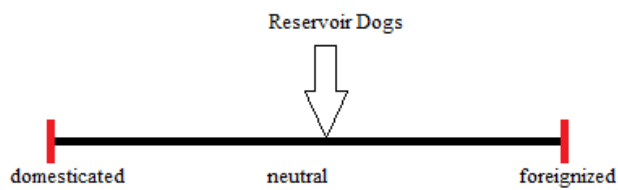
The applied translation strategy is not strictly foreignised or domesticated, since there are several arguments that back up both strategies. The most obvious example of *foreignization* would be the names of the characters: Mr. Pink, Mr. Orange, Joe, Long Beach Mike and so forth. All these names suggest that the characters are foreign (not from the TC) and that the setting may be so too. All titles are kept in their original language, so *Mr. Pussy* and *Mr. Shit* are also maintained in Dutch. However, all other instances of *shit* in the film are translated into Dutch, leaving no trace of English whatsoever.

Nonetheless, ethnic slurs such as *wetback* and *jungle bunny* have been brought down to its very basic meaning. For instance, *jungle bunny* is a extremely racist term to describe African Americans, who jump fences like “bunnies” and are supposedly from the “jungle”. The translation reads *gek*, which does not approach the denotation and connotation of the original. References to anything American (except for the title Long Beach Mike) such as African Americans, American immigrants, but also *Taft airstrip* and *Wacko glue* are neutralised. Although the translator has left out these cultural items to create a text that is more fluent and not intrusive to the TT viewer, the translation does not show signs of *domestication*: the translator did not change Taft airstrip, which apparently is a small airport. One is not made to believe that the characters are Dutch. Considering the fact that the names somewhat give away the foreignness of the characters, the translation strategy is neutral in terms of cultural adaptation.

The reduction of the context-related items could very well be influenced by the interplay between subtitle and visual image. The extent of compression in AVT depends on the cultural and linguistic context given on screen. In this case, the cultural environment of *RD* is clear and the image adds supportive information about the cultural context. As radical as the paraphrasing and “loss” of very culture-specific information may seem, the meaning is expressed, however.



Moreover, it does not distract the viewer with detailed explanations that in essence are not pivotal enough to the development of the plot. A more accurate and detailed translation of *wetback* or *jungle bunny* would probably call for much more character space and might be too lengthy and intrusive in combination with the subtitle and images on screen; the oral aura processing will become unbalanced as a result.



**Figure 20:** Translation strategy judgment using the Venutian scale.

## 6. | CONCLUDING REMARKS

### 6.1 | Summary of findings

In summary, token and type count reveal that there is relatively more variation in the use of swearwords in the TT and that the ST's token count is much higher, but lacks variety. This means that the swearwords in the TT were used less frequently and more inconsistently. Analysis of correspondences show that there are extremely many instances of omission of expletive intensifiers and interjections (*fucking*) in the TT.

Theoretical explanations of scholars of how the English and Dutch swear were supported by the results, though not strongly. Considering the fact that the Dutch are one of the few cultures in the world that refer to *death and disease* in swearing, only 5% of the taboo utterances fell in that category. Furthermore, the influence of Calvinism in the Netherlands have left their traces in swearing. However, the fact that over half of all the taboo utterances referred to *sex*, as opposed the less than 9% in Dutch, support the claims made by language theorists. It shows that swearing is in fact culture-related rather than international.

The functional approach to identify swearwords has proven to be limited in scope. The data that was extracted from the analysis show that there are hardly any instances of humorous swearing in *RD* and that most of the swearing consists of auxiliary swearing (or “lazy” swearing). The latter has a direct impact on the vast majority of omitted taboo words in the TT: these words, which are devoid of meaning, are difficult or impossible to replicate without having to adapt the sentence structure or method used – through paraphrases, explication, saying, etcetera.

All in all, the target text has a neutral tone and is not necessarily domesticated or foreignised. The taboo words alone do not give much information away about the translation strategy in itself. However, due to the maintenance of the foreign character names, the film leans very slightly towards *foreignization*.

## 6.2 | Conclusion

*The aim of this study was to examine what effects the Dutch culture and language have on the audiovisual translation of taboo words and what role the technical constraints had on audiovisual translation.*

The results fit the expectations only to a certain extent. In general, a sizeable reduction/omission was observed very clearly and omission was much more likely to occur when expressions were redundant or repetitive. However, the compactness and deletion of taboo words were not caused by temporal or spatial constraints. In fact, the translator at times chose to leave the taboo words out on purpose, but did not do so consistently throughout the film, so no clear pattern was observed.

Denotation did rule over connotation and the main thoughts from the source text were conveyed. However, the tone of *Reservoir Dogs* in the TT is, without a doubt, toned down: the characters in *RD* do not swear as excessively in the TT. The characters very often use the words *fucking* or *fuck*. The translator has translated these words with *verdomde* and *verdomme* at times, amongst other words too, but has not succeeded in finding an equivalent that can be used consistently, throughout the whole film. It appears that expletives (interjections, interrogatives and “empty” words) are common in social speech, but not so much in written form. The translator has often treated expletives as “indispensable” or “partly indispensable” elements. Denotation was chosen over connotation many times: figurative or sarcastic speech often become neutral in tone in the TT, so the TT has in fact become emotionally repressed.

On the other hand, one has to take into account the medium that is used. Although curses and swearwords have been omitted many times, sound and visual images do compensate for the loss of taboo words. The subtitler also compensated for the loss of swearwords through lexical variation. Variation in lexis contributes to the offensiveness of the taboo words. However, the speech of the characters in the TT is so varied insofar the language of the

subculture is not captured precisely anymore.

Correspondence analysis revealed that the practice of omission is even a more common procedure than anticipated. The research results do not necessarily support the previous claims about the culture-relatedness of taboos. Even within the Western world, each culture has its own rich history of taboos. The translator used swearwords that adhere to the Dutch social swearing norms. With regards to pragmatics, the English (Americans) and Dutch do swear differently: Americans very frequently refer to sexual acts in swearing. In contrast to what has been hypothesised earlier, the Dutch do not include as much illnesses in their swearing as was expected. A more recent study would probably point out otherwise, as English has become integrated into Dutch culture in present-day society. Although the Dutch have a different horizon of expectations when it comes to swearing in literature or films, the taboo words were omitted very frequently, even when there was no instant need to. In effect, the target text has been altered too much by the actions of the translator. There is no absolute number or tool to assess how much swearing Dutch people can take, but the taboo language in the ST does create an overly strong effect when compared to how much is left out in the TT, despite the compensation measures that have been taken. As a result of the lack of censoring of swearwords in the Dutch media, the Dutch are more receptive to swearwords and consequently, the subtitler needs to find better ways to shock the TT.

Indeed, the taboo words consisted mainly of expletives and auxiliaries. However, the use of auxiliary words surpassed the use of expletives by far. This signifies that the data consists of many “empty” words that are commonly left out in subtitling by rule of thumb, but expressed through oral-aura processing.

The translation strategy that is adopted is rather neutral. The expectation was that the target text would showcase strong signs of foreignised elements, but this is not the case. Some intrusive culture-specific elements have been neutralised, but the maintenance of some foreign

names and locations does break TT conventions, so the TT is foreignised, but only to a small extent. Due to the removal of the American culture-specific terms, the sense of place is lost. Taboo language follows different linguistic patterns in each country. The perfect translation ideally maintains the tone, register, idiom, pragmatic intent and takes into account the sociocultural disparities and the translation proves that this is easier said than done.

All in all, the interlingual and intersemiotic transfer of taboo words have proved that much is lost in translation, but much can be also gained through compensation. The Dutch culture apparently has played a great role in the linguistic transfer of taboo word, since the subtitler has had to neutralise the ST to meet the TC's expectations of norms and the culture-relatedness of taboos is expressed through the way the SC and TC swears.

### 6.3 | Problems and limitations

The intersemiotic transfer of linguistic information has proven to be the greatest challenge. The divergence between spoken dialogue (speech) to subtitles should be taken into account. There are structural, but also stylistic discrepancies that characterise the speech or writing: spoken language contains false starts, redundancy and informal speech, but text in written form is marked by a formal and “clean” style, free of repetitive and redundant elements. The problem becomes more grave when the translation of taboo language in *RD*, that for a big part consists of void expletives or auxiliaries, needs to be considered. Expletives and auxiliaries are omnipresent in *RD* and are vital to the tone of the film, but since they bear no denotative significance and subtitling often calls for condensation of information, the translation of particular swearwords may be considered and treated as (partly) dispensable words. Since words seem harsher in written form, the omission of some swearwords may seem to offer the solution to this problem. However, the subtitler runs the risk of “undertranslating” by eliciting nuances and connotations if too many taboo words are left out. Although the visual image will support an expletive such as *fuck!*, regularly omitting expletives like this might result in a “flat” text, that is already formal in character, due to its form (written). The deletion of too many taboo expressions (which are very informal) would therefore result in an *extra* formal text. This is particularly undesirable, since the intent of the saturated taboo language in *RD* is to be impactful and shocking to its viewers.

Furthermore, Andersson and Trudgill’s pragmatic classification proved to be very limited in the analysis of the function of swearwords. The scope was limited and not all of those taboo utterances fit either of the four categories. Moreover, many scholars have classified swearwords into semantic categories, yet each of those categories contained different categories. The categories had to be brought down to just a couple that were applicable in this study. One could argue that *mental/physical disability* could be brought under (*death and*)

*disease*, since mental illnesses are related to diseases. If that were so, previous made claims about Dutch swearing with names of diseases would be supported even stronger.

## 7. | FUTURE STUDIES

Following on from the conduct of this study, there are many options for future studies. For example, it would be interesting to:

- Include more countries for comparison (*Reservoir Dogs*), to see which particular countries react stronger to taboo words and which words are adapted as a result of (self-)censorship.
- Compare the Dutch subtitles from 1991 to more modern Dutch subtitles of *Reservoir Dogs*, to see how time passing by influences the reception of taboo words; changes in vocabulary are a reflection of the socio-cultural developments.
- Study the linguistic transfer (semantic categories) of taboo words in audiovisual translation, in which more films from Quentin Tarantino are incorporated.
- Examine the translation strategies of taboo words across different (film) genres.
- Find out whether film adaptations of novels contain more swearing. People claim that words seem harsher in written form. Thus, translators might adjust the level of swearing according to the medium used.



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## 9. | APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A | Top 25 films featuring the most frequent use of the f-word

TOP 25 FILMS FEATURING THE MOST FREQUENT USE OF THE F-WORD				
FILM	YEAR	F-WORD COUNT	MINUTES	USES/MINUTE
F***- A Documentary on the word	2005	857	93	9.21
The Wolf of Wall Street	2013	506	179	2.83
Summer of Sam	1999	435	142	3.06
Nil by Mouth	1997	428	128	3.34
Casino	1995	422	178	2.40
Alpha Dog	2007	367	118	3.11
End of Watch	2012	326	109	2.99
State Property	2002	321	88	3.65
Twin Town	1997	318	99	3.21
Running Scared	2006	315	122	2.58
Martin Lawrence Live: Runteldat	2002	311	113	2.75
Goodfellas	1990	300	146	2.05
Narc	2002	297	105	2.82
Harsh Times	2006	296	120	2.46
Made	2001	291	94	3.09
Another Day in Paradise	1998	291	101	2.88
Pride and Glory	2008	291	125	2.32
Dirty	2005	280	97	2.88
I'm Still Here	2010	280	107	2.40
Jarhead	2005	278	123	2.26
Bully	2001	274	113	2.42
State Property 2	2005	271	94	2.88
Brooklyn's Finest	2010	270	140	1.93
Reservoir Dogs	1992	269	99	2.71
Pulp Fiction	1994	265	154	1.72

*Figure 21* (Source: McConnell, Donna).



## APPENDIX B | The cast members *In respective order*



**Figure 22**

- *Lawrence Tierney* as **Joe Cabot** – a crime boss who plans the diamond heist together with his son, Eddie Cabot.
- *Chris Penn* as **Eddie Cabot** – also referred to as “Nice guy” Eddie.
- *Michael Madsen* as **Mr. Blonde** – also referred to as “Vic Vega”.
- *Harvey Keitel* as **Mr. White** – also referred to as “Larry Dimmick”.
- *Tim Roth* as **Mr. Orange** – also referred to as Freddy Newandyke. Joe places trust in Mr. Orange and allows him to be a part of the diamond heist team. Mr. Orange later turns out to be an undercover police agent.
- *Steve Buscemi* as **Mr. Pink**.
- *Edward Bunker* as **Mr. Blue**.
- *Quentin Tarantino* as **Mr. Brown**.
- *Randy Brooks* as **Detective Holdaway** – a minor character who secretly works with Freddy Newandyke to bring down Joe Cabot.
- *Kirk Baltz* as police officer **Marvin Nash**.

**APPENDIX C | Screen captures of extremely bloody and violent scenes**



*Figure 23: Mr. Orange is badly injured from a gunshot.*



*Figure 24: An earless policeman named Marvin Nash who fell victim to Mr. Blonde.*

## APPENDIX D | Earliest recorded instances of Anglo-Saxon four-letter words

The earliest recorded instances of four-letter words (ibid.):

Lemma	Entry
<i>piss</i>	c. 1290
<i>shit</i>	c. 1000
<i>fart</i>	c. 1250
<i>fuck</i>	c. 1503
<i>cunt</i>	c. 1203
<i>turd</i>	c. 1000
<i>arse</i>	c. 1000
<i>cock</i>	c. 1400
<i>tarse</i>	c. 1000 – c. 1730
<i>weapon</i>	c. 1000 – c. 1370
<i>limb</i>	c. 1000
<i>yard</i>	c. 1397 – c. 1884
<i>tail</i>	c. 1362
<i>tool</i>	c. 1552
<i>prick</i>	c. 1592
<i>penis</i>	c. 1676

*Figure 25: The earliest recorded instances of four-letter words.*

Lemma	Entry
<i>Bugger</i>	1719
<i>Bastard</i>	1830
<i>Fucker</i>	1893
<i>Prick</i>	1928
<i>Cunt</i>	1929
<i>Twat</i>	1929
<i>Tit</i>	1947

*Figure 26: First recorded insulting applications.*

## APPENDIX E | All taboo expressions in *RD* and the Dutch subtitle translation

### Legend:

- **Bold** = The ST tabooed word, phrase or expression is shown in bold type. The Dutch boldprinted words (if any) immediately below the ST depicts the translation of the TT and thus the solution that the subtitler has provided. The translated bit in bold type does **not** necessarily have to be tabooed in contrast to the ST; this means that the TT may no longer contain a taboo element and instead, the Dutch word will instead show that the tabooed element IS addressed, but rather in an alternative (and perhaps neutralised) fashion.
  - [...] = An irrelevant part of the sentence has been left out for the sake of brevity.
  - **Two or more “(1)”** in subsequent ST sentences = The “(1)” refers to one and the same sentence or phrase. In this case, multiple of one type in one sentence are analysed and therefore the same sentence can be shown multiple times, only highlighting different tabooed expressions each time.
  - **“(1)” followed up by “(2)”** in subsequent ST sentences = Depicts two similar-looking sentences that both have taboo expressions in them. The film regularly contains instances of repetitive swearing: “Fuck you, asshole!” may for instance be uttered twice, in sequence, in the film. The “(1)” and “(2)” behind each subsequent sentence is added to prevent confusion and to show that the sentences are different, even though they may look 100% alike.
  - # = The sentence in which the tabooed element takes place has not been addressed in the TT, the sentence has been left out in the subtitling completely.
- 

1. It’s all about a girl who digs a guy with a big **dick**.  
‘Like A Virgin’ gaat over een meid die voor een kerel met een grote **pik** valt.
2. The whole song is a metaphor for big **dicks**.  
Het is ‘n metafoor voor grote **pikken**.
3. She’s been **fucked over** a few times.  
[...] dat is **bedrogen** [...].
4. Tell that **bullshit** to the tourists.  
Maak **dat** de toeristen wijs.
5. **Who the fuck** is Toby?  
Toby? Wie is dat, **verdomme**?
6. That was a **big ass** hit for Madonna.  
Ook van Madonna.
7. I don’t even follow this Tops In Pops **shit**.  
Ik luister nooit naar de radio en zelfs ik ken **het**.
8. Look, **asshole**, I didn’t say I ain’t heard of it.  
Ik ken die titel wel, ik vroeg me gewoon af hoe het gaat.
9. It’s an old address book I found in a coat I haven’t worn in a **coon’s** age.  
Een oud adresboekje dat ik in ‘n jas heb teruggevonden.
10. **What the fuck** was I talking about?  
Waar had ik het nou over?
11. But *Like a Virgin* was a metaphor for big **dicks**.  
[...] en ‘Like A Virgin’ over grote **pikken**.

12. It's all about this **cooze** who's a regular fuck machine. (1)  
Het gaat over 'n heuse neukmachine...
13. It's all about this cooze who's a regular **fuck machine**. (1)  
Het gaat over 'n heuse **neukmachine**...
14. **Dick**.  
Pik
15. **Dick**.  
Pik
16. **Dick**.  
Pik
17. **Dick**.  
Pik
18. **Dick**.  
Pik
19. **Dick**.  
Pik
20. **Dick**.  
#
21. **Dick**.  
#
22. **Dick**.  
#
23. How many **dicks** was that?  
Hoeveel **pikken**?
24. One day she meets this John Holmes **motherfucker** and it's like woah baby.  
En op een dag ontmoet ze die **kerel met een enorme pik**.
25. She's getting this serious **dick action**.  
Ze wordt dus stevig **geneukt** [...]
26. Her **pussy** should be Bubble Yum by now.  
Dat zou niet meer mogen [...].
27. But this cat **fucks** her, it hurts.  
[...] maar als deze kerel haar **neukt** wel.
28. The pain is reminding a **fuck machine** what it was like to be a virgin.  
De **neukmachine** wordt eraan herinnerd hoe het was om maagd te zijn.
29. Give me that **fucking** thing.  
Geef hier dat **kloteding**.
30. **What the hell** do you think you're doing?  
Wat doe je nou?
31. I'm sick of **fucking** hearing it, Joe.  
#

32. Toby Chung... **Fucking** Charlie Chan.  
Toby Chung? **Klote** Charlie Chan.
33. I've got Madonna's big **dick** coming out of my left ear.  
Madonna's **pik** komt uit m'n rechteroor.
34. And Toby the **Jap** I-don't-know-what, coming out of my right.  
en Toby de **Jap** uit m'n rechter.
35. I'm going to do **whatever the fuck** I want with it.  
Ik doe ermee wat ik wil.
36. **Shit**, you shoot me in a dream, you better wake up and apologize.  
**Shit**, nog niet in je dromen, jongen.
37. That's **fucking** great, isn't it?  
Te gek, hè?
38. I haven't heard that song since I was in fifth **fucking** grade.  
Dat was jaren geleden.
39. I must have heard it a million trillion **fucking** times.  
[...] heb ik het honderden keren gehoord.
40. I know, **motherfucker!** I just heard it!  
Weet ik, **klootzak**, ik zeg toch dat ik het net heb gehoord.
41. Shoot this **piece of shit**, will you?  
Knal dat **stuk stront** toch maar af.
42. Do you know what these chicks make? They make **shit**.  
Die meiden verdienen **bijna niks**.
43. I don't even know a **fucking** Jew who'd have the balls to say that.  
Zelfs een jood durft zoiets niet te zeggen.
44. I don't even know a fucking **Jew** who'd have the balls to say that.  
Zelfs een **jood** durft zoiets niet te zeggen.
45. I don't even know a fucking Jew who'd have the **balls** to say that.  
Zelfs een jood **durft** zoiets niet te zeggen.
46. What's special, take you in the back and **suck your dick**?  
Moet ze je soms eerst **pijpen**?
47. Now we've been here a long **fucking** time.  
#
48. Well, you know, what if she's too **fucking** busy?  
En als ze het te druk heeft?
49. Words "too **fucking** busy" shouldn't be in a waitress' vocabulary.  
Een serveerster heeft het nooit te druk.
50. Excuse me, Mr. Pink – the last **fucking** thing you need is another cup of coffee.  
Jij hebt al genoeg koffie gedronken.
51. **Jesus Christ**, I mean these ladies aren't starving to death.  
Die vrouwen verhongeren niet.

52. These people **bust their ass**.  
Die mensen **werken zich kapot**.
53. That's **bullshit**.  
#
54. **Fuck all that**.  
**Kan me geen zak schelen**.
55. **Jesus Christ!**  
#
56. That's **fucked up**.  
#
57. It would appear that waitresses are just one of the many groups the government **fucks in the ass** on a regular basis.  
Het is een van de vele groepen die de regering voortdurend **naait**.
58. And this non-college **bullshit** you're giving me.  
En die ongeschoolde vrouwen kunnen leren typen...
59. I got two words for that: "Learn to **fucking** type."  
En die ongeschoolde vrouwen kunnen leren typen.
60. Cause if you're expecting me to help out with the rent, you're in for a big **fucking** surprise.  
want ik help hen niet om hun huur te betalen.
61. **Shut up**. What do you mean you don't believe in it?  
Hoezo, je gelooft er niet in?
62. Come on, cough up a buck, you **cheap** bastard.  
Hier met die dollar, **vrek**.
63. Come on, cough up a buck, you cheap **bastard**.  
Hier met die dollar, **vrek**.
64. I paid for your **goddamn** breakfast.  
Ik heb je ontbijt betaald.
65. Just cough in your **goddamn** buck like everybody else.  
Je betaalt je deel, zoals iedereen.
66. Oh, **god!** What the shit! (1)  
#
67. Oh, god! What the **shit!** (1)  
#
68. Who would have **fucking** thought that?  
Ongelooflijk.
69. Hey, just cancel that **shit** right now!  
Hou daar meteen mee op.
70. You're hurt real **fucking** bad.  
Je bent er heel slecht aan toe [...]

71. Oh, **shit**.  
#
72. All this blood **scares the shit out of** me, Larry!  
Al dat bloed maakt me **doodsbang**.
73. Say the **goddamn** words.  
Zeg het nou [...].
74. Say the **goddamn** fucking words! (1)  
Zeg het nou, **verdomme**. Zeg het.
75. Say the goddamn **fucking** words! (1)  
Zeg het nou, verdomme. Zeg het.
76. You're a **fucking** tough guy.  
Jij bent 'n bikkel, een **keiharde** bikkel.
77. We **fucking** made it.  
We hebben het gehaald.
78. We have **fucking** made it. (1)  
#
79. We have **fucking** made it. (2)  
#
80. **Shit!**  
#
81. You're going to bang a **fucking** hole in the floor.  
Dadelijk zit er 'n gat in de vloer.
82. You don't want to hurt the **fucking** floor, do you?  
Je wilt de vloer toch geen pijn doen.
83. I'm so **fucking scared**, man.  
Ik ben **doodsbang**, man.
84. You're not going to **fucking** die.  
Je gaat **heus** niet dood.
85. **Fuck** jail, man!  
Ik ga niet de bak niet in.
86. I **swear** to fucking god, man! (1)  
Dat **zweer** ik, man
87. I swear to **fucking** god, man! (1)  
Dat zweer ik, man.
88. I swear to fucking **god**, man! (1)  
Dat zweer ik, man.
89. You're not going to **fucking** die, kid, all right?  
Je gaat niet dood, oké?
90. **No shit!**  
#



91. Was that a **fucking** setup or what?  
Was dat een valstrik of niet?
92. **Shit**, Orange got tagged?  
**Shit**. Is Orange geraakt?
93. **Fuck!** Where's, uh, Brown?  
Waar is Brown?
94. **How the fuck** do you think? The cops shot him.  
Hoe dacht je? De smerissen hebben 'm doodgeschoten.
95. This is bad. This is so **fucking** bad. Is it bad?  
Het ziet er echt beroerd uit. Is het erg?
96. Man, this is **fucked up**.  
Dit is echt **klote**.
97. This is so **fucked up**.  
#
98. Somebody **fucked** us **up** big time, man.  
Iemand heeft ons serieus **genaaid**.
- Addition 1: #  
Waar kwamen al die **juten** opeens vandaan?
99. In one minute, there were seventeen blue boys out there, all loaded for bear, all knowing exactly **what the fuck** they were doing.  
Binnen 'n minuut stonden er zeventien agenten en die wisten wat ze deden.
100. Those were the ones responding to the alarm, man, but those first **motherfuckers**, I'm telling you man, they were there and they were waiting for us.  
Die tweede groep kwam op 't alarm af, maar die **anderen** stonden te wachten.
101. Haven't you **fucking** thought about this?  
Had jij dat nog niet bedacht?
102. First I was just trying to get the **fuck** out of there.  
Ik probeerde daar weg te komen [...].
103. Let's start **fucking** thinking about it, man.  
Ik kon aan niks anders denken.
104. I'm going to **fucking** die.  
#
105. **What the fuck** am I doing here, man?  
Wat doe ik hier, **verdomme**?
106. As soon as I felt it, I should have said "No, thank you" and walked, but I didn't **fucking** listen.  
Ik had al zo'n voor gevoel. Ik had meteen moeten bedanken en weggaan.
107. I always said if I felt this way about a job, I **fucking** walk, and I didn't, and I (smash) didn't because of the **fucking** money! (1)  
Dat was niet zo. Ik had moeten weggaan, maar ik bleef voor het geld.
108. I always said if I felt this way about a job, I **fucking** walk, and I didn't, and I (smash) didn't because of the **fucking** money! (1)

Dat was niet zo. Ik had moeten weggaan, maar ik bleef voor het geld.

109. Everybody starts **going apeshit**.  
En iedereen **raakt in paniek**.
110. Look, look, enough of this “Mr. White” **shit**.  
Zeg geen Mr White tegen me.
111. Don’t tell me your **fucking** name, man!  
Ik wil je naam niet horen.
112. I don’t want to know it. **Jesus Christ**, I ain’t going to tell you mine!  
Ik vertel jou de mijne ook niet.
113. Get the **fuck** out of the way! (1)  
Ga uit de weg, **verdomme**.
114. Get the **fuck** out of the way! (2)  
Uit de weg, **verdomme**.
115. **Jesus Christ!** What the fuck is your problem, man?  
**Jezus**, wat heb jij? (1)
116. Jesus Christ! **What the fuck** is your problem, man?  
Jezus, wat heb jij? (1)
117. You **fucking** asshole! (1)  
**Stomme** klootzak.
118. You fucking **asshole!** (1)  
Stomme **klootzak**.
119. **Fucker!**  
#
120. **Jesus!**  
#
121. Get the **fuck** out of the car!  
Stap **verdomme** uit.
122. That was the most insane **fucking** thing I have ever seen.  
Zoiets waanzinnigs heb ik nog nooit gezien.
123. **Why the fuck** would Joe hire a guy like that?  
Waarom huurt Joe zo’n kerel in?
124. A choice between doing ten years and taking out some **stupid** motherfucker ain’t no choice at all. (1)  
De keuze tussen tien jaar zitten en ‘n **idiot** mollen... dat is geen keuze.
125. A choice between doing ten years and taking out some stupid **motherfucker** ain’t no choice at all. (1)  
De keuze tussen tien jaar zitten en ‘n **idiot** mollen... dat is geen keuze.
126. **What the fuck** was Joe thinking?  
Hoe haalt Joe het in z’n hoofd?
127. We’re awful **goddamn** lucky he didn’t tag us when he shot the place up.  
Gelukkig heeft hij ons niet geraakt.

128. I came this close to **taking his ass out** myself.  
Het had maar zoveel gescheeld of ik had 'm zelf **gemold**.
129. **Fuck**, man, you panic on the inside, in your head, you know?  
Je raakt van binnen in paniek, in je hoofd, weet je wel.
130. What you're supposed to do is act like a **fucking** professional.  
Je moet je als 'n prof gedragen.
131. A **psychopath** ain't professional.  
Een **psychopaat** is geen prof.
132. You can't work with a **psychopath**.  
**Daar** valt niet mee te werken.
133. You don't know what those **sick** assholes are going to do next. (1)  
Je weet nooit wat zo'n **gek** gaat doen.
134. You don't know what those sick **assholes** are going to do next. (1)  
Je weet nooit wat zo'n gek gaat doen.
135. I mean, **Jesus Christ**, how old do you think that black girl was?  
**Jezus**, hoe oud was dat zwarte meisje?
136. Yeah, and that was a **fucking** miracle.  
Ja, en dat was 'n wonder.
137. But even if they did get away, then **where the fuck** are they?  
Stel dat ze ontsnapt zijn, waar zijn ze dan?
138. We should have our **fucking** heads examined.  
We zijn **gek** als we hier blijven.
139. Then **where the fuck** is everybody?  
Waar is iedereen dan?
140. We ain't have the slightest **fucking** idea what happened to Mr. Blonde and Mr. Blue.  
We weten niet waar Blonde en Blue zijn.
141. I **swear** to god I'm fucking jinxed. (1)  
Ik **zweer het je**, er rust een vloek op me.
142. I swear to **god** I'm fucking jinxed. (1)  
Ik zweer het je, er rust een vloek op me.
143. I swear to god I'm **fucking** jinxed. (1)  
Ik zweer het je, er rust een vloek op me.
144. **No shit**?  
Dat meen je niet.
145. **Thank god**, we discovered it in time.  
**Gelukkig** ontdekten we het nog op tijd.
146. Had to forget the whole thing, just walk the **fuck** away from it.  
We hebben de zaak laten schieten.
147. I can tell you definitely Joe didn't **fucking** know about this bullshit. (1)  
Joe weet hier **zeker** niks van.

148. I can tell you definitely Joe didn't fucking know about this **bullshit**. (1)  
Joe weet **hier** zeker niks van.
149. For all I know, you're the **fucking** rat!  
Misschien ben jij de het.
150. All right! Now you're using your **fucking** head!  
Nu gebruik je tenminste je hersens.
151. That kid in there's dying from a **fucking** bullet I saw him take, so don't you be calling him a rat!  
Die jongen ligt daar te sterven, dus noem hem geen verklikker.
152. Somebody's a **fucking** rat.  
[...] iemand heeft ons verlinkt.
153. 20 years? **Holy** god.  
Twintig jaar?
154. 20 years? Holy **god**.  
Twintig jaar?
155. You know, I'll lay low and I'll call Joe—**Shit**.  
Ik zal Joe bellen en... **verdomme**.
156. Is he **fucking** dying on us?  
[...] is hij dood?
157. Scared the **fucking** shit out of me, man. (1)  
Ik schrok me rot.
158. Scared the fucking **shit** out of me, man. (1)  
Ik schrok me **rot**.
159. Now, well that might not mean **jack shit** to you, but it means a hell of a lot to me. (1)  
Daar zit jij niet mee, maar ik wel.
160. Now, well that might not mean jack shit to you, but it means a **hell of a lot** to me. (1)  
Daar zit jij niet mee, maar ik wel.
161. **Jesus Christ**, I tend to doubt he's gonna have a lot of sympathy for our plight.  
Hij zal geen medelijden met ons hebben.
162. He's a **fucking** bloody mess.  
Hij zat onder het bloed [...].
163. I **swear** to god, I thought he was going to die right then and there. (1)  
Ik dacht dat hij ter plekke zou sterven.
164. I swear to **god**, I thought he was going to die right then and there. (1)  
Ik dacht dat hij ter plekke zou sterven.
165. **What the fuck** was I supposed to do, tell him I'm sorry?  
Wat moest ik anders? Moest ik zeggen: 'Sorry [...].
166. I can't give out that **fucking** information!  
Dat mag ik niet verklappen, da's tegen de regels?
167. **Fuck you**, and fuck Joe!  
Jij en Joe kunnen me wat!

168. Fuck you, and **fuck** Joe!  
Jij en Joe kunnen me wat!
169. Don't **fucking** patronize me!  
Lees me de les niet.
170. I mean, **Jesus Christ**, I was worried about mug shot possibilities as it was.  
Ik vroeg me af wat hij al allemaal kon weten.
171. They're not gonna have to show him a **hell of a** lot of pictures for him to pick you out.  
Hij kan je zo aanwijzen.
172. What you **fucking** touching me for, man?  
Raak me niet aan.
173. You wanna **fuck** with me?  
Wou je met mij **sollen**?
174. I'll show you who you're **fucking** with!  
Probeer het.
175. You want to shoot me, you little **piece of shit**?  
Wou je schieten?
176. **Fuck you**, White.  
**Val dood**, White.
177. You're acting like a first-year **fucking** thief.  
Je gedraagt je als 'n amateur [...].
178. **Shit**, fifteen minutes ago you almost told me your name.  
Daarnet had je mij ook al bijna je naam verklapt.
179. Mr. Blonde, **shit**.  
#
180. You're **fucking** kicking me.  
Dat durft mij te schoppen.
181. You better start talking, **asshole**, 'cause we got shit we need to talk about. (1)  
Begin maar met praten, **lul**. We hebben van alles te bespreken.
182. You better start talking, asshole, 'cause we got **shit** we need to talk about. (1)  
Begin maar met praten, lul. We hebben van alles te bespreken.
183. We need you acting freaky like we need a **fucking** bag on our hip.  
Dat gedoe van jou kunnen we missen.
184. **Piss** on this fucking turd, we're outta here. (1)  
Die klootzak kan **doodvallen**.
185. Piss on this **fucking** turd, we're outta here. (1)  
Die klootzak kan doodvallen.
186. Piss on this fucking **turd**, we're outta here. (1)  
Die **klootzak** kan doodvallen.
187. **Fuck you**, maniac! (1)  
**Val dood**, maniak.

188. Fuck you, **maniac!** (1)  
Val dood, **maniak**.
189. It's your **fucking** fault we're in this trouble.  
Dit is **allemaal** jouw schuld.
190. Yeah, I got a **fucking** problem.  
Ik zit met een probleem [...].
191. I got a big **fucking** problem!  
[...] een heel groot probleem.
192. A **trigger-happy madman** almost gets me shot!  
Ik zit met 'n **gek** die me bijna het leven heeft gekost.
193. **What the fuck** you talking about?  
Waar heb jij het over?
194. That **fucking** shooting spree, in the store, remember?  
Die schietpartij. In die winkel, weet je nog?
195. Ah, **fuck** 'em. They set off the alarm. They deserve what they got.  
Ach, ze lieten het alarm afgaan. Ze hebben het verdiend.
196. You almost killed me, **asshole!**  
Ik was er bijna geweest. **Klootzak**.
197. Oh, **Christ**.  
#
198. Look, you two **assholes**, calm the fuck down. (1)  
Hé **idioten**, kalm aan.
199. Look, you two assholes, calm **the fuck** down. (1)  
Hé idioten, kalm aan.
200. **Fucking** guys are acting like a bunch of fucking niggers, man. (1)  
Jullie lijken wel 'n stel nikkers.
201. Fucking guys are acting like a bunch of **fucking** niggers, man. (1)  
Jullie lijken wel 'n stel nikkers.
202. Fucking guys are acting like a bunch of fucking **niggers**, man. (1)  
Jullie lijken wel 'n stel **nikkers**.
203. You work with **niggers**, huh?  
#
204. You **fucking** said that?  
Is dat zo?
205. No, **fuck** sides!  
#
206. Somebody's sticking a red hot poker up our **asses**.  
Iemand is ons aan het **naaien** [...].
207. **Fuck**. Look, I know I'm no piece of shit, and I'm pretty sure you're okay, and I'm fucking positive you're on the level. (1)

- Ik ben het niet geweest en jij vast ook niet. En van jou ben ik heel zeker.
208. Fuck. Look, I know I'm no **piece of shit**, and I'm pretty sure you're okay, and I'm fucking positive you're on the level. (1)  
Ik ben het niet geweest en jij vast ook niet. En van jou ben ik heel zeker.
209. Fuck. Look, I know I'm no piece of shit, and I'm pretty sure you're okay, and I'm **fucking** positive you're on the level. (1)  
Ik ben het niet geweest en jij vast ook niet. En van jou ben ik heel zeker.
210. **Why the fuck** didn't you say that in the first place?  
Waarom zei je dat niet?
211. Hardy-**fucking**-har.  
Leuk, hoor.
212. **Jesus Christ**.  
#
213. Let's get him **the fuck** out of here.  
Hij moet hier weg.
214. He's a **fucking** asshole. (1)  
Het is een **echte** klootzak.
215. He's a fucking **asshole**. (1)  
Het is een echte **klootzak**.
216. A **fucking** jungle bunny slits a woman's throat for 25 cents, he gets Doris Day for a parole officer. (1)  
Een gek snijdt een vrouwtje de keel door en krijgt Doris Day als ambtenaar.
217. A fucking **jungle bunny** slits a woman's throat for 25 cents, he gets Doris Day for a parole officer. (1)  
Een **gek** snijdt een vrouwtje de keel door en krijgt Doris Day als ambtenaar.
218. Good fella like you gets stuck with a **ball-busting** prick. (1)  
En een brave vent als jij krijgt een **keiharde** klootzak.
219. Good fella like you gets stuck with a ball-busting **prick**. (1)  
En een brave vent als jij krijgt een keiharde **klootzak**.
220. **What the hell** was I supposed to do, forget about you?  
Ik kon je toch niet vergeten.
221. I wished **the hell** I could've done a lot more.  
Ik had graag veel meer gedaan.
222. You **son of a bitch**. I see you sitting there, but I don't believe it. How you doing, Toothpick?  
Ik zie je zitten, maar ik kan het niet geloven. Hoe gaat het, Toothpick?
223. I've had my head up in my **ass** the whole time.  
Ik heb de boel niet meer op een rijtje.
224. No, that you had your head up your **ass**.  
Nee, dat je de boel niet op een rijtje hebt.
225. My son Eddie's a **fuckup**.  
Mijn zoon Eddie is een **sukkel**.

226. Enough of this **shit!**  
Zo is het wel genoeg.
227. The guy got me on the ground, he tried to **fuck** me.  
Hij wou me **neuken**.
228. You **sick** bastard, Vic. (1)  
#
229. You sick **bastard**, Vic. (1)  
#
230. You tried to **fuck** me in my father's office.  
Je probeerde me te **neuken** in het kantoor van m'n vader.
231. Look, Vic, whatever you want to do in your own home, go do it, but don't try to **fuck** me.  
Thuis doe je wat je wilt, maar probeer mij niet te **neuken**.
232. Listen, if I was a **butt cowboy**, I wouldn't even throw you to the posse.  
Al was ik 'n **kontneuker**, ik zou je nog niet aan m'n vijanden geven.
233. You know, four years **fucking** punks up the ass, you'd appreciate a piece of prime rib when you see it.  
Na vier jaar **brommen** kun je zo'n lekker stuk wel waarderen.
234. You know, four years fucking punks up the **ass**, you'd appreciate a piece of prime rib when you see it.  
Na vier jaar brommen kun je zo'n lekker stuk wel waarderen.
235. It might break you in, Nice Guy, but it would make you my dog's **bitch**.  
Ik zou je africhten en je dan aan m'n **hond** geven.
236. A man walks into prison a white man, walks out talkin like a **fucking nigger**. (1)  
Die kerel komt uit de bajes en praat als 'n **verdomde** nikker.
237. A man walks into prison a white man, walks out talkin like a fucking **nigger**. (1)  
Die kerel komt uit de bajes en praat als 'n verdomde **nikker**.
238. I think it's all that black **semen** that's been pumped up your ass so far, now it's backed into your fucking brain and it's coming out of your mouth. (1)  
Dat zwarte **sperma** is zo diep in je kont ingepompt dat het nu uit je mond komt.
239. I think it's all that black semen that's been pumped up your **ass** so far, now it's backed into your fucking brain and it's coming out of your mouth. (1)  
Dat zwarte sperma is zo diep in je **kont** ingepompt dat het nu uit je mond komt.
240. I think it's all that black semen that's been pumped up your ass so far, now it's backed into your **fucking** brain and it's coming out of your mouth. (1)  
Dat zwarte sperma is zo diep in je kont ingepompt dat het nu uit je mond komt.
241. Eddie, you keep talking like a **bitch**, I'm gonna slap you like a bitch. (1)  
Als je zo doorgaat, krijg je 'n dreun.
242. Eddie, you keep talking like a bitch, I'm gonna slap you like a **bitch**. (1)  
Als je zo doorgaat, krijg je 'n dreun.
243. All right, enough of this **shit!**  
Genoeg nu.
244. Scagnetti. **Fuck**. I hear he's a motherfucker. (1)  
Scagnetti. Dat moet 'n klootzak zijn.



245. Scagnetti. Fuck. I hear he's a **motherfucker**. (1)  
Scagnetti. Dat moet 'n **klootzak** zijn.
246. Oh, he's a **fucker**.  
Dat mag je wel zeggen.
247. He won't let me leave the halfway house unless I get some **shitty** job.  
Hij eist dat ik 'n baantje zoek.
248. First I got to prove to **asshat** that I can get a regular job job-type before I can move out on my own.  
Dat zou ik wel willen, maar eerst moet ik die **klootzak** bewijzen dat ik 'n gewone baan kan vinden, anders mag ik niet zelfstandig wonen.
249. I can't come back to work for you guys if I got to worry about making some **silly-ass** 10 o'clock curfew every fucking night. (1)  
Ik kan niet voor jullie werken als ik elke avond om tien uur thuis moet zijn.
250. I can't come back to work for you guys if I got to worry about making some silly-ass 10 o'clock curfew every **fucking** night. (1)  
Ik kan niet voor jullie werken als ik elke avond om tien uur thuis moet zijn.
251. I don't want to lift no **fucking** crates, Eddie.  
Ik ga niet met kisten zeulen, Eddie.
252. Vic, You ain't going to lift **shit**.  
Je hoeft niks te doen.
253. So you move into a halfway decent place without this Scagnetti **fuck** going, "Hey! Where the fuck's the money coming from?"  
Dan kun je verhuizen zonder dat Scagnetti aan je kop zit te zeuren.
254. So you move into a halfway decent place without this Scagnetti fuck going, "Hey! **Where the fuck's** the money coming from?"  
Dan kun je verhuizen zonder dat Scagnetti aan je kop zit te zeuren.
255. And if he decides to make a surprise visit, that's the day we sent you to Tustin, pick up **a load of shit** and bring it back.  
En als hij onverwachts langskomt, ben je net op weg naar Tustin om **rommel** op te halen.
256. We had to send him out to the Taft airstrip five **fucking** hours away.  
"Hij is naar 'n klein vliegveldje vijf uur hiervandaan om iets op te halen."
257. We had **a load of shit** we had to have him pick up there and bring back here.  
"Hij is naar 'n klein vliegveldje vijf uur hiervandaan om **iets** op te halen."
258. They're a little **fucked up** is what they are.  
[...] worden naar de **klote** geholpen.
259. Get this Scagnetti **fuck** off your back, then we'll talk to you, all right?  
En als je van die Scagnetti af bent, praten we verder. Oké?
260. The guy's a **fucking** rabbit's foot for crying out loud.  
Hij is echt een konijnpootje.
261. All I know is what Vic told me, man, said the place turned into a **fucking** bullet festival.  
Vic zegt dat de zaak in een **heuse** schiettent veranderde.
262. He took a cop hostage just to get **the fuck** out of there.  
Hij moest een smeris gijzelen.

263. Do I sound like I'm **fucking** joking?  
Geen geintje.
264. He's **fucking** driving around with a cop in his trunk!  
Hij rijdt rond met 'n smeris in z'n kofferbak.
265. **Fuck you!**  
**Klootzak** [...].
266. You like being a **fucking** hero, huh?  
[...] hang je graag de held uit?
267. You like being a **fucking** hero?  
#
268. Oh, **fuck!**  
#
269. You're going to suffer for nothing, pal. You hear me? 'Cause you're going to **fucking** talk.  
We houden niet op, je zult praten.
270. I don't **fucking** know anything!  
Ik weet niks.
271. You **fucking** know. (1)  
Je weet het wel.
272. You **fucking** know. (2)  
#
273. **Where the fuck** is Joe?  
#
274. **Holy** shit, Orange is dead. (1)  
**Verdomme**, Orange is dood.
275. Holy **shit**, Orange is dead. (1)  
**Verdomme**, Orange is dood.
276. Nobody **fucking** set anybody up!  
Het was geen val.
277. **Bullshit.**  
**Gelul.**
278. Hey, **fuck you**, man!  
#
279. Okay, Mr. **fucking** detective, you're so fucking smart, huh? Who did it?  
Oké, meneer de inspecteur, zeg dan maar eens wie het heeft gedaan.
280. Okay, Mr. **fucking** detective, you're so **fucking** smart, huh? Who did it?  
Oké, meneer de inspecteur, zeg dan maar eens wie het heeft gedaan.
281. **What the hell** do you think we've been asking each other?  
Dat vragen wij ons ook af.
282. You think I **fucking** set you up?  
Denk je dat ik jullie heb verlinkt?

283. You **fucking** assholes turned a jewelry store into—  
Klootzakken, jullie overvallen...
284. You fucking **assholes** turned a jewelry store into—  
**Klootzakken**, jullie overvallen...
285. Don't you call me an **asshole**!  
Noem me geen **klootzak**.
286. You **fucking** idiot— (1)  
#
287. You fucking **idiot**— (1)  
#
288. Turned a **fucking** jewelry store into a wild west show—  
Jullie maken er 'n schiettent van [...].
289. Don't you call me a **fucking** idiot! (1)  
#
290. Don't you call me a fucking **idiot**! (1)  
#
291. – and you wonder why the **fucking** cops show up!  
[...] en zijn verbaasd dat de politie opdaagt.
292. He says Daddy's coming down here, and he's **fucking** pissed. (1)  
Dov zei dat paps eraan komt en dat hij razend is.
293. He says Daddy's coming down here, and he's fucking **pissed**. (1)  
Dov zei dat paps eraan komt en dat hij **razend** is.
294. **Jesus Christ**, give me a fucking chance to breathe. (1)  
Rustig, ik heb ook nog wat vragen.
295. Jesus Christ, give me a **fucking** chance to breathe. (1)  
Rustig, ik heb ook nog wat vragen.
296. All right, Mr. **fucking** compassion.  
Oké, braverik.
297. A **fucking** snake charmer, what do you think?  
Een slangenbezweerder. Wie denk je?
298. Take this is the **bastard** you told me about?  
Ik neem aan dat dat die **vent** is.
299. Maybe he can tell us who the **fuck** set us up.  
Misschien weet hij iets.
300. If you **fucking** beat this prick long enough, he'll tell you he started the goddamn Chicago fire. (1)  
Als je hem lang genoeg slaat zal hij alles bekennen [...].
301. If you fucking beat this **prick** long enough, he'll tell you he started the goddamn Chicago fire. (1)  
Als je hem lang genoeg slaat zal hij alles bekennen [...].
302. If you fucking beat this prick long enough, he'll tell you he started the **goddamn** Chicago fire. (1)  
Als je hem lang genoeg slaat zal hij alles bekennen [...].

303. Now that don't necessarily make it **fucking** so!  
[...] maar daarom is het nog niet waar.
304. First things **fucking** last—who's got the stones?  
De belangrijkste zaken het laatst. Wie heeft de diamanten?
305. Please, somebody, at least, tell me one little **fucking** favor, just for my sake.  
Misschien wil iemand me dat tenminste vertellen.
306. 'Cause he's a **fucking** psycho. (1)  
Hij is 'n psychopaat.
307. 'Cause he's a **fucking** psycho. (1)  
Hij is 'n **psychopaat**.
308. And if you think Joe's **pissed off**, that ain't nothing compared to how pissed off I am at him for putting me in the same room as that bastard! (1)  
En Joe mag dan al **razend** zijn, maar ik ben nog veel razender op hem. Hij heeft me met die zak in contact gebracht.
309. And if you think Joe's pissed off, that ain't nothing compared to how **pissed off** I am at him for putting me in the same room as that bastard! (1)  
En Joe mag dan al razend zijn, maar ik ben nog veel razender op hem. Hij heeft me met die zak in contact gebracht.
310. And if you think Joe's pissed off, that ain't nothing compared to how pissed off I am at him for putting me in the same room as that **bastard**! (1)  
En Joe mag dan al razend zijn, maar ik ben nog veel razender op hem. Hij heeft me met die **zak** in contact gebracht.
311. I **fucking** walked in here, I told these guys about staying put, Mr. White whips out his gun, he's sticking it in my face, calling me a motherfucker, saying he's going to blow me away, and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. (1)  
Ik kom hier binnen en zeg dat ze moeten wachten. Mr White duwt z'n pistool onder m'n neus, scheldt me uit voor klootzak en zegt dat hij me gaat afknallen. En bla, bla, bla...
312. I fucking walked in here, I told these guys about staying put, Mr. White whips out his gun, he's sticking it in my face, calling me a **motherfucker**, saying he's going to blow me away, and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. (1)  
Ik kom hier binnen en zeg dat ze moeten wachten. Mr White duwt z'n pistool onder m'n neus, scheldt me uit voor **klootzak** en zegt dat hij me gaat afknallen. En bla, bla, bla...
313. What are you, a **fucking** silent partner?  
Ben je een stille vennoot of zo?
314. I told them not to touch the **fucking** alarm, they did.  
Ik zei dat ze van het alarm moesten afblijven.
315. (applauds) My **fucking** hero.  
Wat ben jij 'n held, zeg.
316. Shut **the fuck** up, man!  
#
317. There is no **fucking** setup!  
Het was geen valstrik.
318. I told you I don't know anything about any **fucking** setup.  
Ik zei toch al dat ik niks van 'n valstrik weet.

319. Nobody tells me **shit**.  
Niemand vertelt mij iets.
320. Hear what I said, you **son of a bitch**?  
Heb je gehoord wat ik zeg, **klootzak**?
321. Look at that **fucking** shit. (1)  
Wat een viezigheid.
322. Look at that fucking **shit**. (1)  
Wat een **viezigheid**.
323. I'm not going to **bullshit** you, okay?  
Ik zal **eerlijk** tegen je zijn.
324. I don't really **give a good fuck** what you know or don't know.  
Het kan me geen **zak** schelen of je iets weet of niet.
325. (laughing) Oh, **god**.  
#
326. Hold still, you **fuck**!  
Zit stil, **klootzak**.
327. I—I don't know anything about any of you **fucking** guys!  
[...] ik weet niks van jullie [...].
328. **Fuck**.  
#
329. Ah... **Shit**.  
#
330. **Shit**, I don't remember that at all.  
Daar weet ik niets meer van.
331. I do. **Fuck**. Freddy, Freddy, Freddy. How do I look?  
Ik wel. Hoe zie ik eruit?
332. That **fuck**.  
Die **klootzak**.
333. Oh, that **sick** fuck! (1)  
Die **gestoorde** klootzak.
334. Oh, that sick **fuck**! (1)  
Die gestoorde **klootzak**.
335. That **fucking** bastard! (1)  
Die **vuile** smeerlap.
336. That fucking **bastard**! (1)  
Die vuile **smeerlap**.
337. **What the fuck** are they waiting for?  
Waar wachten ze dan nog op?
338. This **fucking** guy slashes my face, and he cuts my fucking ear off! (1)  
Die **maniak** vermindt m'n gezicht en snijdt verdomme m'n oor af.

339. This fucking guy slashes my face, and he cuts my **fucking** ear off! (1)  
Die maniak verminkt m'n gezicht en snijdt **verdomme** m'n oor af.
340. I'm **fucking** deformed!  
Ik ben verminkt, **verdomme**.
341. **Fuck you!** (1)  
**Krijg de klere.**
342. **Fuck you!** (2)  
**Krijg de klere.**
343. I'm **fucking** dying here!  
Ik lig hier **verdomme** te sterven.
344. I'm **fucking** dying!  
#
345. Don't **pussy out** on me now, Marvin.  
Dus laat me nou niet **in de steek**.
346. We're just going to sit here and bleed till Joe Cabot sticks his **fucking** head through that door.  
We blijven hier bloeden tot Joe Cabot z'n kop om die deur steekt.
347. Say hello to a **motherfucker** who's inside.  
Ik ben erbij.
348. This ain't no joke. I'm in there, **up his ass**.  
Dit is geen grap, ik mag meedoen.
349. After waiting three **goddamn** days by the fucking phone, he calls last night and says Joe's ready and he'll pick me up in 15 minutes. (1)  
Na drie dagen belde hij om te zeggen dat Joe er klaar voor was.
350. After waiting three goddamn days by the **fucking** phone, he calls last night and says Joe's ready and he'll pick me up in 15 minutes. (1)  
Na drie dagen belde hij om te zeggen dat Joe er klaar voor was.
351. Okay, Mr. Orange, have you ever seen this **motherfucker** before?  
Had je die **kerel** al ooit gezien?
352. Now this is sweet, man, 'cause if this crook's a Brewers fan, his **ass** gotta be from Wisconsin.  
Als hij 'n supporter is, moet hij uit Wisconsin komen.
353. And I'll bet you everything from a diddled-eye-Joe to a **damned-if-I-know** that in Milwaukee they got a sheet on this Mr. White motherfucker's ass. (1)  
En ik wed dat ze in Milwaukee een strafblad van Mr White hebben.
354. And I'll bet you everything from a diddled-eye-Joe to a damned-if-I-know that in Milwaukee they got a sheet on this Mr. White **motherfucker's** ass. (1)  
En ik wed dat ze in Milwaukee een strafblad van Mr White hebben.
355. And I'll bet you everything from a diddled-eye-Joe to a damned-if-I-know that in Milwaukee they got a sheet on this Mr. White motherfucker's **ass**. (1)  
En ik wed dat ze in Milwaukee een strafblad van Mr White hebben.
356. He's backing me up a long **fucking** way.  
Hij heeft alles bevestigd.

357. Long Beach Mike is not your **fucking** amigo, man.  
Long Beach Mike is je vriend niet.
358. Long Beach Mike is a **fucking** scumbag. (1)  
Het is een klootzak.
359. Long Beach Mike is a fucking **scumbag**. (1)  
Het is een **klootzak**.
360. That's what kind of a nice guy he **fucking** is, all right?  
Zo'n aardige vent is dat.
361. I'll take care of his **fucking** ass, but you get that lowlife scumbag out of mind and take care of business, you hear? (1)  
Ik reken wel met hem af. Dus vergeet hem maar en doe wat je moet doen.
362. I'll take care of his fucking **ass**, but you get that lowlife scumbag out of mind and take care of business, you hear? (1)  
Ik reken wel met hem af. Dus vergeet hem maar en doe wat je moet doen.
363. I'll take care of his fucking ass, but you get that **lowlife** scumbag out of mind and take care of business, you hear? (1)  
Ik reken wel met hem af. Dus vergeet hem maar en doe wat je moet doen.
364. I'll take care of his fucking ass, but you get that lowlife **scumbag** out of mind and take care of business, you hear? (1)  
Ik reken wel met hem af. Dus vergeet hem maar en doe wat je moet doen.
365. You got to be naturalistic – you got to be naturalistic **as hell**.  
Je moet zo natuurlijk **als de neten** overkomen.
366. 'Cause if you ain't a great actor, you're a bad actor, and bad acting is **bullshit** in this job.  
Want als je 'n slechte acteur bent, loopt het gegarandeerd slecht af.
367. Something funny that happened to you while you were doing a **fucking** job, man.  
Iets grappigs dat je tijdens een klus is overkomen.
368. That's over four **fucking** pages of this shit, man. (1)  
Moet ik die vier pagina's uit m'n hoofd leren?
369. That's over four fucking pages of this **shit**, man. (1)  
Moet ik die vier pagina's uit m'n hoofd leren?
370. Pretend you're Don Rickles or some-**fucking**-body and tell the joke, all right.  
Doe of je een of andere komiek bent.
371. You gotta know if they got liquid soap or that pink granulated powdered **shit** they used to use in high school, remember?  
Is er vloeibare zeep of van dat roze poeder zoals op school?
372. If some nasty, **lowlife**, scum-ridden motherfucker, man, sprayed diarrhea all over one of the bowls.  
Heeft een vuile klootzak met diarree een pot ondergescheten? (1)
373. If some nasty, lowlife, **scum-ridden** motherfucker, man, sprayed diarrhea all over one of the bowls.  
Heeft een **vuile** klootzak met diarree een pot ondergescheten? (1)
374. If some nasty, lowlife, scum-ridden **motherfucker**, man, sprayed diarrhea all over one of the bowls.  
Heeft een vuile **klootzak** met diarree een pot ondergescheten? (1)

375. If some nasty, lowlife, scum-ridden motherfucker, man, sprayed **diarrhea** all over one of the bowls.  
Heeft een vuile klootzak met **diarree** een pot ondergescheten? (1)
376. I still had a connection, which was insane, 'cause you couldn't get any weed any-**fucking**-where.  
Ik had nog een leverancier, terwijl je nergens nog iets kon krijgen.
377. Got to be every time I bought some weed, I was buying for four or five different **fucking** people.  
Het moet zowat iedere keer als ik wiet kocht, deed ik dat voor vijf personen.
378. Finally I said, "**Fuck** this shit, I'm making this bitch rich." (1)  
Tot ik besepte dat ik dat kreng rijk aan het maken was.
379. Finally I said, "Fuck this **shit**, I'm making this bitch rich." (1)  
Tot ik besepte dat ik dat kreng rijk aan het maken was.
380. Finally I said, "Fuck this shit, I'm making this **bitch** rich." (1)  
Tot ik besepte dat ik dat **kreng** rijk aan het maken was.
381. She didn't have to do **jack shit**.  
Ze hoefde **niks** te doen.
382. Then it got to be a **pain in the ass**.  
Het werd echt 'n **probleem**.
383. People called me on the phone all the **fucking** time.  
[...] ik werd aldoor gebeld.
384. I couldn't even rent a **fucking** tape without six fucking phone calls interrupting me. (1)  
Ik kon niet eens meer rustig een video kijken. 'Wanneer krijg je weer wat?'
385. I couldn't even rent a fucking tape without six **fucking** phone calls interrupting me. (1)  
Ik kon niet eens meer rustig een video kijken. 'Wanneer krijg je weer wat?'
386. "**Motherfucker**. I'm trying to watch the Lost Boys, you know. When I get home, I'll let you know."  
Ik zit naar 'The Lost Boys' te kijken, **lul**. Je hoort wel van me.
387. Then these rink-a-dink **potheads** come by.  
**Ze** begonnen zelfs langs te komen.
388. I've still got all my **shit** laid out in \$60 bags.  
Ik had zakjes van 60 dollar gemaakt [...].
389. To break it up is a major **fucking** pain in the ass. (1)  
Een doffe ellende.
390. To break it up is a major fucking pain in the **ass**. (1)  
Een doffe ellende.
391. 'Cause I don't know if you remember back in '86 there was a major **fucking** drought.  
Herinneren jullie je de enorme schaarste van 1986 nog?
392. Now I'm carrying the weed around, the one with carry-on bags, I got to take a **piss**.  
Ik heb al die wiet op zak, maar ik moet **pissen**.
393. That's a **fucking** hard situation.  
Dat is mooi **klote**.
394. "Take off, man! Just bail, just get the **fuck** out of there!"  
'Ga ervandoor, man, maak dat je wekomt.'



395. Sure as that **fucking** dog can, they can smell it on me.  
Net als die **verdomde** hond. Ze konden het ruiken.
396. **Shut up!**  
**Hou je kop.**
397. “Freeze! Don’t **fucking** move.”  
‘Geen beweging, verroer je niet.’
398. This little **idiot’s** looking right at me.  
Die **mafkees** kijkt me aan en zegt: ‘Oké, rustig maar.’
399. I scream at him, “**Asshole!** I’m going to fucking blow you away right now! Put your hands on the dash!”  
(1)  
Ik roep: ‘**Klootzak**, ik knal je overhoop. Leg je handen op het dashboard.’
400. I scream at him, “**Asshole!** I’m going to **fucking** blow you away right now! Put your hands on the dash!”  
(1)  
Ik roep: ‘Klootzak, ik knal je **overhoop**. Leg je handen op het dashboard.’
401. “Buddy, I’m going to shoot you in the face if you don’t put your hands on the **fucking** dash!”  
‘Maat, ik schiet je recht in je gezicht als je je handen niet op het dashboard legt.’
402. And this guy’s girlfriend—this real sexy oriental **bitch**, you know?  
Z’n vriendin, zo’n sexy, oosters **wijf** [...].
403. His **fucking** registration.  
Z’n kentekenbewijs.
404. No, man. **Stupid** fucking citizen doesn’t know how close he came to getting blown away.  
Ja, ik had die vent bijna afgeknald. (1)
405. No, man. Stupid **fucking** citizen doesn’t know how close he came to getting blown away.  
Ja, ik had die vent bijna afgeknald. (1)
406. ... a **bonehead** running round the neighbourhood police brutality—  
#
407. Just **shit** your pants and dive in and swim.  
Je **doet het** in je broek, maar je springt en zwemt.
408. Oh, yeah, with that, uh, invisible **bitch** and, uh, flame-on and shit, right? (1)  
Met die onzichtbare **griet** en zo.
409. Oh, yeah, with that, uh, invisible bitch and, uh, flame-on and **shit**, right? (1)  
Met die onzichtbare griet **en zo**.
410. Thing... **Motherfucker** looks just like the thing.  
The Thing, die **vent** is net The Thing.
411. Don’t **pussy out** on me now.  
Niet **schijterig** worden.
412. They don’t know **shit**.  
Ze weten **niks**.
413. You’re not going to get hurt. You’re **fucking** baretta.  
Jou zal niks overkomen.

414. They believe every **fucking** word 'cause you're super cool.  
Ze geloven alles wat je zegt. Je bent supercool.
415. What a **white** bitch will put up with a black bitch wouldn't put up with for a minute, man. (1)  
Een zwarte pikt veel minder.
416. What a white **bitch** will put up with a black bitch wouldn't put up with for a minute, man. (1)  
Een zwarte pikt veel minder.
417. What a white bitch will put up with a **black** bitch wouldn't put up with for a minute, man. (1)  
Een **zwarte** pikt veel minder.
418. What a white bitch will put up with a black **bitch** wouldn't put up with for a minute, man. (1)  
Een zwarte pikt veel minder.
419. They got a line, and if you cross it, they **fuck** you up.  
Als je te ver gaat, **neemt** ze je **te grazen**.
420. Okay, Mr. Expert. If this is such a truism, why is it that every **nigger** I know treats his woman like a piece of shit? (1)  
Als dat zo'n waarheid als een koe is, waarom behandelen alle **nikkers** hun vrouw dan als stront?
421. Okay, Mr. Expert. If this is such a truism, why is it that every nigger I know treats his woman like a **piece of shit**? (1)  
Als dat zo'n waarheid als een koe is, waarom behandelen alle nikkers hun vrouw dan als **stront**?
422. I'll make you a bet that those same damn **niggers** who were showing their ass in public, when their bitches get 'em home, man, they chill the fuck out. (1)  
Die **nikkers** die in het openbaar zo stoer doen, piepen thuis heel anders.
423. I'll make you a bet that those same damn niggers who were showing their **ass** in public, when their bitches get 'em home, man, they chill the fuck out. (1)  
Die nikkers die in het openbaar zo stoer doen, piepen thuis heel anders.
424. I'll make you a bet that those same damn niggers who were showing their ass in public, when their **bitches** get 'em home, man, they chill the fuck out. (1)  
Die nikkers die in het openbaar zo stoer doen, piepen thuis heel anders.
425. I'll make you a bet that those same damn niggers who were showing their ass in public, when their bitches get 'em home, man, they chill **the fuck** out. (1)  
Die nikkers die in het openbaar zo stoer doen, piepen thuis heel anders.
426. Lady E, I mean she was a **man-eater-upper**.  
Hoe dan ook, Lady E **verslond mannen** bij de vleet.
427. Un-**fucking**-believable.  
Ongelooflijk.
428. Every guy that ever ever laid his eyes on her had to **jack-off** to her at least once.  
Elke kerel die haar zag, moest zich meteen **aftrekken**.
429. How the **fuck** should I know?  
Weet ik veel.
430. Great, now I'm totally **fucking** tortured.  
Nu blijft het in m'n hoofd zitten.
431. **Shut up!** I'm trying to tell a story here.  
**Hou je kop** even.

432. There's Carlos – he's the bartender – he's a **wetback** – he's a friend of mine.  
En ik zie Carlos, de barman. Een **illegaal** en een vriend van me.
433. Now apparently Lady E was married to a real **piece of dogshit**, a real fucking animal.  
Het feit wil dat ze getrouwd was met een echte **klootzak**, een beest. (1)
434. Now apparently Lady E was married to a real piece of dogshit, a real **fucking** animal.  
Het feit wil dat ze getrouwd was met een echte klootzak, een beest. (1)
435. Now apparently Lady E was married to a real piece of dogshit, a real fucking **animal**.  
Het feit wil dat ze getrouwd was met een echte klootzak, een **beest**. (1)
436. She waits for this **bag of shit** to get drunk.  
Ze wacht tot die **pleuribak** dronken is.
437. He falls asleep on the **fucking** couch.  
Hij valt in slaap op de bank [...].
438. She puts some wacko glue on his **dick** and glues his dick to his belly. (1)  
[...] smeert lijm op z'n **pik** en lijmt die aan z'n buik vast.
439. She puts some Wacko Glue on his dick and glues his **dick** to his belly. (1)  
[...] smeert lijm op z'n pik en lijmt **die** aan z'n buik vast.
440. **Jesus Christ!**  
#
441. They had to call the paramedics to cut the **prick** loose, literally.  
De ambulancebroeders moesten z'n **pik** lossnijden.
442. Was he all **pissed off**?  
Hij was zeker **pisnijdig**?
443. How would you feel if every time you had to take a **piss** you had to do a fucking handstand? (1)  
Zou jij dat niet zijn als je een handstand moest doen om te **pissen**?
444. How would you feel if every time you had to take a piss you had to do a **fucking** handstand? (1)  
Zou jij dat niet zijn als je een handstand moest doen om te pissen?
445. Giggling like a bunch of young **broads** in the schoolyard.  
Net een stel giechelende **meiden**.
446. Five guys sitting in a bullpen, San Quentin, wondering how the **fuck** they got there.  
Vijf kerels zitten samen in een grote cel in San Quentin. Ze vragen zich af hoe ze daar komen.
447. "It's your fault, my fault, his fault." All that **bullshit**.  
'Het is jouw schuld, mijn schuld...' Dat **gelul**.
448. While we were planning this caper, all we did was sit around and tell **fucking** jokes.  
Terwijl we die klus zaten te plannen, maakte iedereen grappen.
449. When this caper's over, and I'm sure it's going to be a successful one, **hell** we'll get down to Hawaii, and I'll roar and laugh with all of you.  
Als deze klus geklaard is, kunnen we op Hawaii met elkaar dollen.
450. Because you're a **faggot**, all right?  
Omdat je 'n **flikker** bent.

451. Yeah, but Mr. Brown, that's a little too close to Mr. **Shit**.  
Mr Brown lijkt veel op Mr **Shit**.
452. Mr. Pink sounds like Mr. **Pussy**.  
En Mr Pink lijkt op Mr **Pussy**.
453. This ain't no **goddamn** fucking city council meeting, you know. (1)  
Het is hier geen gemeenteraad.
454. This ain't no goddamn **fucking** city council meeting, you know. (1)  
Het is hier geen gemeenteraad.
455. **Jesus Christ**. Fucking forget about it. (1)  
Laat maar zitten, Joe. Ik sta hierboven.
456. Jesus Christ. **Fucking** forget about it. (1)  
Laat maar zitten, Joe. Ik sta hierboven.
457. All you guys got the **goddamn** message?  
Is de boodschap duidelijk?
458. I'm so **goddamn** mad hollering at you guys, I can hardly talk.  
Ik heb zo hard moeten schreeuwen dat ik er schor van ben.
459. That girl's **ass**?  
De **kont** van dat meisje?
460. It's sitting right here on my **dick**.  
Die zit hier op m'n **pik**.
461. Since no display cases are being **fucked** with, no alarms should go off.  
We **blijven af** van de vitrines, dus het alarm gaat niet af.
462. When you're dealing with a store like this, they're insured **up the ass**.  
Die zaken zijn **volledig** verzekerd.
463. Nobody says **fucking** shit after that. (1)  
Daarna zegt er niemand nog wat.
464. Nobody says fucking **shit** after that. (1)  
Daarna zegt er **niemand** nog wat.
465. You might get some **bitch** talk shit to you. (1)  
Misschien begint er 'n **wijf** te zeuren.
466. You might get some bitch **talk shit** to you. (1)  
Misschien begint er 'n wijf te **zeuren**.
467. But give her a look like you're going to smash her face next, watch her **shut** the fuck **up**. (1)  
Dan kijk je alsof je haar ook gaat slaan. Dan **is** ze meteen **stil**.
468. But give her a look like you're going to smash her face next, watch her shut the **fuck** up. (1)  
Dan kijk je alsof je haar ook gaat slaan. Dan is ze meteen stil.
469. The managers know better than to **fuck around**.  
Die weten dat het menens is.
470. So if you get one that's giving you static, he probably thinks he's a real cowboy, so you gotta break that **son of a bitch** in two.

Als er toch eentje moeilijk doet en de cowboy uithangt, moet je ‘m breken.

471. Come on! **Fuck!**  
#
472. **Jesus.** I got blood everywhere – I’m fucking blind. (1)  
Ik zit onder het bloed. Ik ben blind.
473. **Jesus.** I got blood everywhere – I’m **fucking** blind. (1)  
Ik zit onder het bloed. Ik ben blind.
474. Get out of the **fucking** car!  
#
475. Who the **fuck** would have thought that?  
Wie verwacht dat nou?
476. Hey! Just cancel that **shit** right now!  
Hou op met die **flauwekul**.
477. You’re hurt real **fucking** bad, but you ain’t dying!  
Je bent er slecht aan toe, maar je gaat niet dood.
478. **Shit...** All this blood scares the shit out of me, Larry! (1)  
Al dat bloed maakt me doodsbang.
479. **Shit...** All this blood scares the **shit** out of me, Larry! (1)  
Al dat bloed maakt me **doodsbang**.
480. What the **fuck** happened?  
Wat is er gebeurd?
481. When you guys walked through the door, he was going to blow you to **hell** and make off with the diamonds.  
Hij wou ons en daarna jullie **vermoorden** en er met die diamanten vandoor gaan.
482. That **sick** piece of shit was a stone-cold psycho. (1)  
Die klootzak was een complete psychopaat.
483. That sick **piece of shit** was a stone-cold psycho. (1)  
Die **klootzak** was een complete psychopaat.
484. That sick piece of shit was a stone-cold **psycho**. (1)  
Die klootzak was een complete **psychopaat**.
485. Makes perfect **fucking** sense to me.  
Voor mij wel.
486. I **swear** on my mother’s eternal soul that’s what happened.  
Ik **zweer** op m’n moeders ziel dat het zo is gegaan.
487. He could have **fucking** walked.  
Hij was vrijuit gegaan [...].
488. All he had to do was say my dad’s name, but he didn’t; he kept his **fucking** mouth shut.  
als hij m’n pa’s naam had genoemd, maar hij zweeg.
489. And he did his **fucking** time, and he did it like a man.  
Hij aanvaardde z’n straf als ’n man.

490. You're telling me that now that this man is free and we're making good on our commitment to him, he's just going to decide, out of the **fucking** blue, to rip us off?  
Jij beweert dat nu die man eindelijk vrij is en wij iets voor hem doen hij plots zomaar besluit om ons te bestelen?
491. What the **hell** for?  
Waarom zou hij?
492. It'd just be more **bullshit**.  
Dan hoor je nog meer **onzin**.
493. Dad, I'm sorry, but I don't know what the **hell's** happening.  
Ik weet niet wat er gebeurd is, pa.
494. What the **fuck** are you talking about?  
Waar heb je het over?
495. That **lump of shit's** working with the L.A.P.D.  
Dat **stuk stront** is van de politie.
496. Joe, I don't have the slightest **fucking** idea what you're talking about.  
Ik heb geen idee waar jij het over hebt.
497. Like **hell** I am.  
Vergeet het maar.
498. You're **superfucking** pissed.  
Ik begrijp dat je **razend** bent.
499. You don't know **jack shit!**  
Jij weet van **niks** [...].
500. The **cocksucker** tipped off the cops and had Mr. Brown and Mr. Blue killed.  
**Hij** heeft de politie getipt en Mr Brown en Mr Blue laten vermoorden.
501. I should have my **fucking** head examined, going ahead when I wasn't 100%.  
Ik had beter moeten weten.
502. Have you lost your **fucking** mind?  
Ben jij gek geworden?
503. We're supposed to be **fucking** professionals.  
Laten we ons als profs gedragen.
504. Let's just put our guns down, and let's settle this with a **fucking** conversation.  
Laten we onze wapens zakken en we bespreken dit rustig.
505. I will put **fucking** bullets right through your heart.  
[...] maar ik doorboor je hart [...].
506. You put that **fucking** gun down.  
[...] als je dat pistool niet laat zakken.
507. **Goddamn you**, Joe.  
**Godverdomme**, Joe.
508. Larry, stop pointing that **fucking** gun at my dad!  
Richt dat pistool niet langer op m'n vader.

509. Freeze! Drop the **fucking** gun, buddy!  
Geen beweging. Laat dat pistool vallen.

510. Drop the **fucking** gun!  
Laat vallen, **verdomme**.

511. We're going to **fucking** blow you away!  
We schieten je **overhoop**.

## APPENDIX F | Lemmas categorised by semantics and frequency: English (ST)

### 1. Sex (257)

Fucking (170), Fuck (70), Fucked (7), Fucker (2), Fucks (2), Scumbag (2), Ball-busting (1), Jack-off (1), Suck (1), Superfucking (1)

### 2. Body part (58)

Ass (18), Dick (16), Asshole (8), Pussy (4), Assholes (3), Dicks (3), Prick (3), Asses (1), Balls (1), Cooze (1)

### 3. Excrement/human waste (58)

Shit (46), Pissed (5), Piss (3), Diarrhea (1), Semen (1), Shitty (1), Turd (1)

### 4. Religion (51)

Hell (12), Goddamn (11), Jesus Christ (11), God (7), Swear (4), Holy (2), Jesus (2), Christ (1), Damned (1)

### 5. Cross-categorised (24)

Bullshit (9), Shut up (3), Jack shit (3), Son of a bitch (3), Apeshit (1), Cheap (1), Dogshit (1), Fuckup (1), Man-eater-upper (1), Scum-ridden (1)

### 6. Physically, mentally disabled (19)

Sick (4), Idiot (3), Lowlife (2), Psycho (2), Psychopath (2), Stupid (2), Asshat (1), Bonehead (1), Madman (1), Maniac (1)

### 7. Incest (17)

Motherfucker (11), Bastard (5), Motherfuckers (1)

### 8. Racist (12)

Niggers (3), Nigger (2), Black (1), Coon (1), Jap (1), Jew (1), Jungle bunny (1), Wetback (1), White (1)

### 9. Animal (10)

Bitch (8), Animal (1), Bitches (1)

### 10. Homophobic (3)

Butt cowboy (1), Cocksucker (1), Faggot (1)

### 11. Narcotics, crime (1)

Potheads (1)

### 12. Prostitution (1)

Broads (1)

### 13. Death, disease (0)

N/A



## APPENDIX G | Lemmas categorised by semantics and frequency: Dutch (TT)

1. **Sex (12)**  
Neuken (3), Neukmachine (2), Geneukt (1), Neukt (1), Pijpen (1), Naait (1), Genaaid (1), Naaien (1), Aftrekken (1)
2. **Body part (51)**  
Klootzak (20), Pik (12), Klote(-) (5), Pikken (3), Zak (3), Lul (2), Kont (2), Gelul (2), Klootzakken (1), Pussy (1)
3. **Excrement/human waste (12)**  
Shit (3), Stront (3), Pissen (2), Sperma (1), Diarree (1), Schijterig (1), Pisinjdig (1)
4. **Religion (23)**  
Verdomme (15), Zweer (3), Jezus (2), Verdomde (2), Godverdomme (1)
5. **Cross-categorised (9)**  
Juten (2), Vuile (2), Hou je kop (2), Wijf (1), Vrek (1), Smeerlap (1),
6. **Physically, mentally disabled (15)**  
Gek (4), Psychopaat (3), Maniak (2), Stomme (1), Idioot (1), Idiolen (1), Sukkel (1), Gestoorde (1), Mafkees (1)
7. **Incest (0)**  
N/A
8. **Racist (6)**  
Nikkers (3), Jap (1), Jood (1), Nikker (1)
9. **Animal (2)**  
Hond (1), Beest (1)
10. **Homophobic (2)**  
Kontneuker (1), Flikker (1)
11. **Narcotics, crime (0)**  
N/A
12. **Prostitution (0)**  
N/A
13. **Death, disease (7)**  
Val dood (2), Krijg de klere (2), Doodvallen (1), Kren<sup>36</sup> (1), Pleuribak<sup>37</sup> (1)

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<sup>36</sup> ‘Kren<sup>g</sup>’: a wicked person, often directed at a woman. The Middle Dutch word *crenge* derived from the French (*carogne*) and the French word has been influenced by the Italian word *carogna*, which then bared the meaning ‘carrion’. The accusative case of the Latin word *carnem* was *caro* (flesh). Disease, mutilation as well as corpses have played an active part in the establishment of swearwords. (Source: Sijs, Nicoline van der)

<sup>37</sup> *Pleuribak* is a derivative of *pleuritis* (NL), or *pleurisy* (EN), which “is due to inflammation of the pleura next to the lung. It is often caused by infection with a germ (a viral infection). In these cases the pain can be severe, but soon goes.” (Source: Kenny, Tim)

APPENDIX H | DVD cover of *Reservoir Dogs*, Dutch subtitles

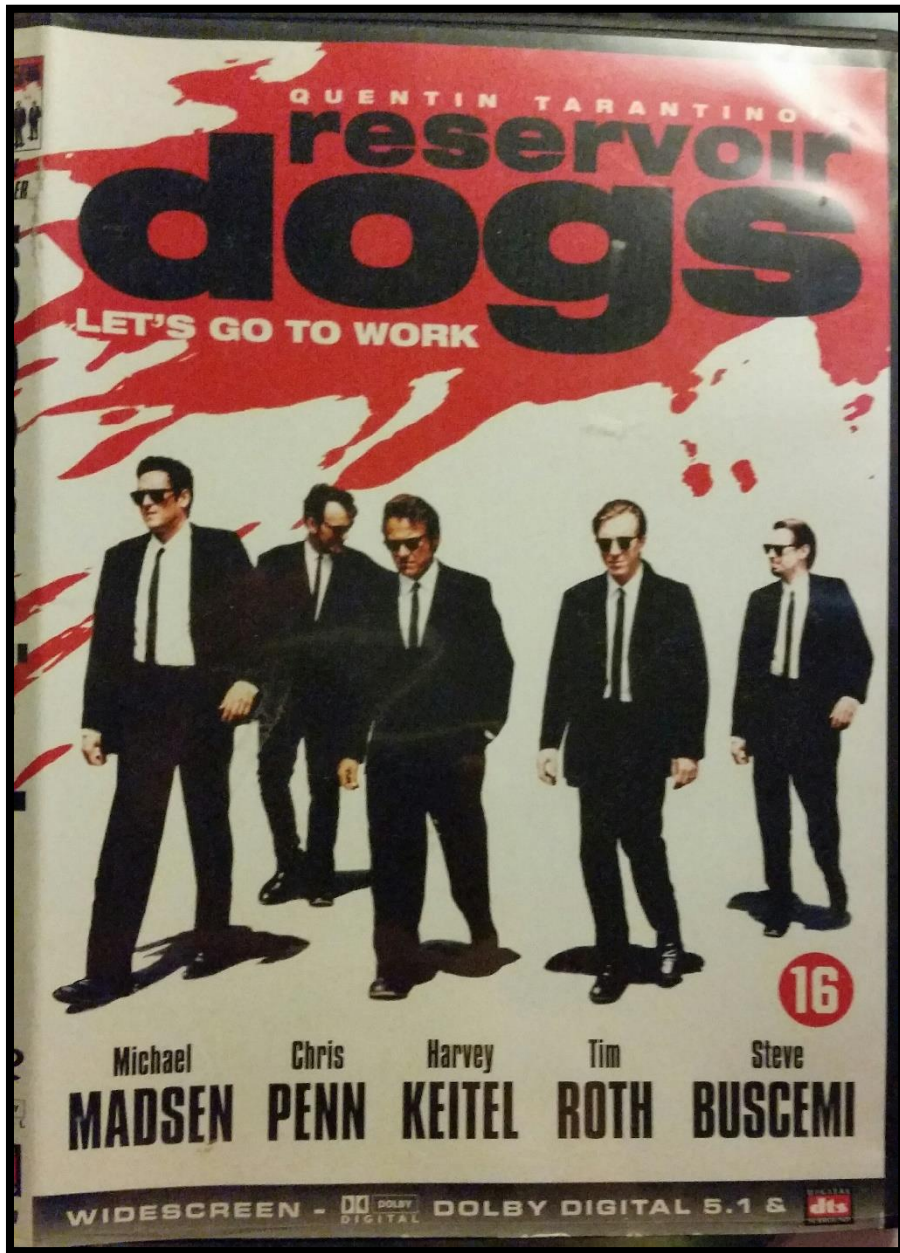


Figure 27: DVD front cover.

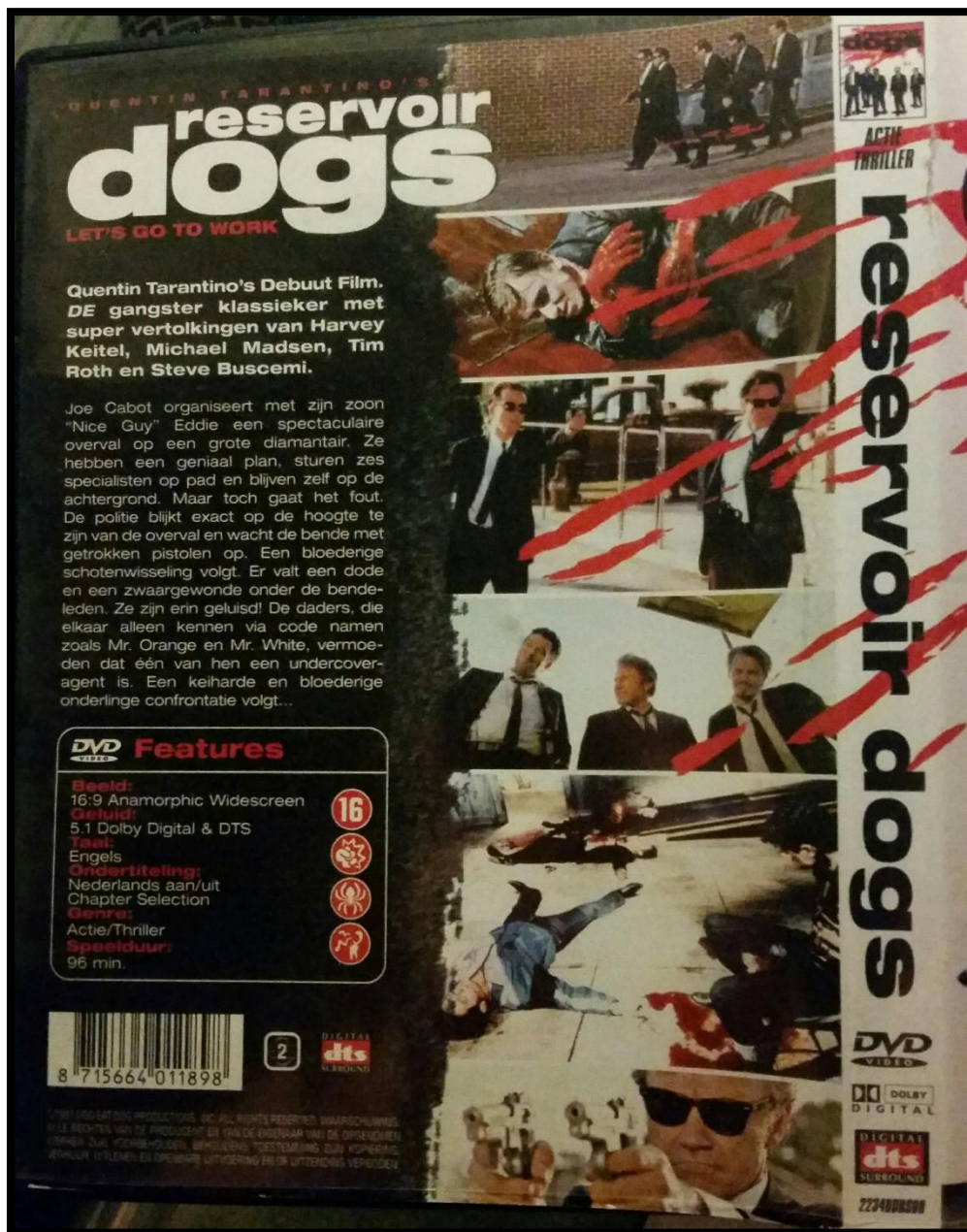


Figure 28: DVD back cover.