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## **Original Research Article**

# **Translation Strategies of Taboo Words in Interlingual Film Subtitling**

Dr. Fatma Ben Slamia

Assistant Professor, Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Sousse, Sousse University, Tunisia

Corresponding Author: Dr. Fatma Ben Slamia, E-mail: benslamiaf@yahoo.fr

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Interlingual subtitling was singled out for this research, as it is the common mode used to translate English films intended for an Arabic audience in most Arab T.V channels. However, this form of audiovisual translation is often prone to many constraints, and subtitling taboos is a case in point. The research aims to raise awareness about the special use of some strategies and showcase the ensuing changes, omissions and errors in the target language. This article looks into the translation strategies of taboo words, be them lexemes and/or expressions about death, sex, cursing, religion or calling names. Methodology-wise, 214 English-Arabic pairs of taboo words were collected from five popular Arab T.V channels and 23 American and British films were assessed. The data was coded according to Gottlieb's subtitling strategies (1992) and both quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted. The quantitative results showed four specific recurrent strategies during the subtitling process to cope with rendering taboo words. The qualitative analysis, however, revealed other lexico-semantic devices such as euphemism, disphemism and general words; translation techniques namely literal translation, partial rendering and inaccurate equivalence, along with other subtitling technical schemes. The research contributes to fill some gaps in the field of film subtitling from English into Arabic and insists on the importance of applying the adequate strategies when conveying taboos in the target language.

## Introduction

Seeing the importance of audiovisual translation (AVT) in the transfer of information to the target audience, it seems vital to reconsider its modes, with a special focus on subtitling in order to ensure a good translation quality. Despite its being a common mode of translation in most Arab countries, film subtitling is still at its infancy, and "little examination has been conducted into the process of subtitling foreign programs into Arabic" (Gamal 2009, 4). AVT in the Arab world is mainly processed through two different forms; namely, subtitling and dubbing. Thawabteh (2011, 25) confirms that "in the Arab World audiovisual programmes (e.g., sitcoms, documentaries, soap operas, TV series, cartoons, etc.) diversify mainly via two different forms of AVT - subtitling and dubbing". In fact, Arab T.V stations regularly broadcast English films subtitled into Arabic. Film translation largely contributes to the reception of a source language film in the target culture (Szarkowska, 2005). However, the translation output is usually directed towards a foreign culture, and often addresses an audience that has its own schemata, values and social norms. Mistranslations are possible outcomes of such a transfer, which might cause ambiguities and/or distort the message of the original text (Ben Slamia 2015). Most importantly, when taboo words are subtitled from English into Arabic, they are expected to be translated using particular subtitling strategies because of the cultural peculiarities of the Arabic audience and the linguistic constraints inherent in the target language per se. Nornes (2004) confirms that the consideration of the translation mode through which the cinematic experiences with the foreign are mediated is recommended to avoid

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mistranslations, and even cultural shocks. This research looks into the subtitling strategies of taboo English words in films and inspects mistranslations in the target Arabic language.

### **Literature Review**

## Defining taboo words and theoretical framework

It seems important to refer to a basic definition by Crystal (2003, p. 8) as formulated in the Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language:

The word taboo has been borrowed from Tongan, where it means 'holy' or 'untouchable'. Taboos exist in all known cultures, referring to certain acts, objects, or relationships which society wishes to avoid – and thus to the language used to talk about them.

As for relationships, taboo words and morality are interdependent, and any terms that flout or go against ethics are considered to be immoral; thus, tabooed. In this context, Wardhaugh (1984, 45) asserts that "taboo is one way in which a society expresses its disapproval of certain kinds of behavior believed to be harmful to its members, either for supernatural reasons or because such behavior is held to violate a moral code". Moreover, taboo words are usually verbalized to express resentment, anger, offensiveness, astonishment, excitement, and other states of mind that incite speakers to behave against social norms or flout morals. According to Jay (2009), taboo and swear words can be used interchangeably to describe the lexicon of offensive emotional language. Jay (1992, 29), for his own part, classifies taboo words into ten types, which are: Cursing, profanity, blasphemy, taboo, obscenity, vulgarity, slang, epithets, insults and slurs, and scatology. Alternatively, Napoli & Hoeksema (2009, p. 615-216) come up with a condensed typology and contend that there are four big taboo topics; namely, religion, health, sex and bodily excretions. Likewise, Crystal (2003, p. 8) asserts that "verbal taboos are generally related to sex, the supernatural, excretion, and death".

Definitely, all the aforementioned typologies agree on the same taboo classes with little variance at the level of categories and sub-categories. Accordingly, based on them, an eclectic typology made up of five large categories of taboos, the most recurrent in the literature, will be used to codify the data. Each main category, followed by subordinate ones, has been classified on a collocational basis. Therefore, the typology that will be used for data extraction from subtitled films include taboos that belong to the following categories:

- a) Sex: This category includes reproductive organs, bodily functions and sexual acts.
- Cursing: It includes taboo words that relate to swear words, sex and others, bodily excretion diction and obscene words.
- c) Religion: This category encompasses terms that express religion-based profanities.
- d) Name calling: Terms denoting racial and/or ethnic names and insults, are classified under this type.
- e) Death: Taboos that relate to death conditions.

### Film Subtitling challenges

Subtitling has been criticized because the original foreign language texts are badly translated (Koolstra et al, 2002), which would possibly affect the perception of films. In this respect, Nornes (2004) also confirms that it is likely that no one has ever come away from a foreign film admiring the subtitles. Likewise, Arab viewers have always been bothered by inadequate subtitles, non-equivalence, mistranslations and problems of literal translation that altogether lead to their dissatisfaction and confusion. Ballester (1995) insists on the foreignness of American films when watched by the target audience and concluded that the shift from universality into nationality modifies the relationship between spectator and film in such a way that American cinema is perceived as foreign. Adapting or domesticating the original text to the culture of the target language may indeed bring about a sense of foreignness, oddity and incongruity, among others. The socio-cultural restrictions in the Arabic language, the inadvertent mistranslation of actors' utterances or the deliberate choices of subtitlers might cause semantic errors and distort the intended meaning (Ben Slamia, 2015). This is because the translated output is often directed towards a foreign culture, and addresses a foreign audience that has its own convictions, values and social behaviour.

In general, every audiovisual product brings with it a range of additional obstacles to comprehension (Cintas, 2003). A subtitled film, as an audiovisual product, adduces such obstacles; and subtitling is *de facto* special due to the nature of the process itself. Subtitling is polysemiotic par excellence (Gottlieb, 2001), because of the co-presence of different channels, namely: visual, auditory, and written. A subtitled film is made of dialogues, sounds, subtitles images and other non-linguistic codes, which makes speech condensation inevitable as the number of characters on-screen is limited and controlled. Ben Slamia (2019)

argued that this reduction process is more likely to cause both qualitative and quantitative losses in the target language. Regarding constraints, they may be human, technical or linguistic (Gottlieb, 1997). Accordingly, this research investigates the outcome of the different constraints, during the subtitling process of taboos from English into Arabic, and their ensuing subtitling mistakes in the subtitling product.

#### Statement of the problem

The bond between translation and the target culture/society is solid, while different cultural groups do not share the same cultural/social rules that govern their linguistic behaviour. Taboo words are culture-bound and language-specific. They are subject to forbiddance in the native language and censorship in public and media settings, let alone when translated across languages. In subtitling, taboos can either be transferred, i.e. rendered, or not. When they are not transferred, and depending on the strategies used, taboo words may be mistranslated, omitted, adjusted or inappropriately substituted for, which would change the intended meaning and generate errors in the target language. Consequently, exploring translation strategies may justify the choice of subtitlers and explain mismatches of taboo words between the source text and target text.

## Methodology

This section is threefold. It includes the research questions designed for this case study, the research instruments and data collecting methods.

## Research questions

Two research questions were set up to meet the needs of this research:

- a) Which subtitling strategies were used for translating English taboos into Arabic?
- b) What are the other devices used for subtitling taboo words?

#### Research Instruments

In order to meet the needs of this research, both quantitative (using descriptive statistics), and qualitative (using error analysis) analyses will be employed. The quantitative analysis has been conducted to answer the first research question using figures and frequencies. The qualitative analysis has been considered to answer the second research question by randomly selecting samples of English-Arabic pairs, and further exploring the other devices used to cope with the subtitling of taboo words.

## Data collection

The data is under the form of a bilingual binary corpus (see appendix A) that includes 214 pairs of taboo words, which makes 428 English taboo words and their Arabic subtitles in total. The data was collected over 8 weeks from five popular T.V Arabic stations; namely, MBC2, MBC4, MBC Action, MBC Max, and Dubai One. The collection started early February 2016 and ended late March 2016. After a pilot study, five film genres were considered, namely, romantic, action, comedy, drama, and adventure. This is to say, 23 American and British films (see appendix B) were examined, and taboo words were selected from films first, then transcribed separately in a binary bilingual corpus (see Appendix A).

### Theoretical framework and data coding

The extracted data was coded following Gottlieb's theoretical framework (1992, p. 161-170) of subtitling strategies. He has devised ten subtitling strategies as follows:

Type of strategy	Character of translation	
1) Extension	Expanded expression, adequate rendering (culture-specific references etc.)	
2) Paraphrase	tered expression, adequate content (non-visualized language-specific phenomena)	
3) Transfer	Full expression, adequate rendering ('neutral discourse'- slow tempo)	
4) Imitation	Identical expression, equivalent rendering (proper nouns, international greetings etc.)	
5) Transcription	Anomalous expression, adequate rendering (non-standard speech etc.)	
6) Dislocation	Differing expression, adjusted content (musical or visualized language-specific phenomena)	

7) Condensation	Condensed expression, concise rendering (normal speech)	
8) Decimation	Abridged expression, reduced content (fast speech of some importance)	
9) Deletion	Omitted expression, no verbal content (fast speech of less impotance)	
10) Resignation Differing expression, distorted content ('untranslatable' elements)		

Table 1: Gottlieb's Subtitling Strategies

According to Gottlieb (1992, p. 167), types 1-7 provide correspondent translations of the segments involved, while types 8 and 9 cause drastic semantic and stylistic cuts in the original expressions; yet, the message is often conveyed. Strategy 10, however, is an abortive strategy that cannot render some culture/language-specific elements

### **Results**

### **Quantitative results**

After classifying the subtitling of Arabic taboo words into the corresponding subtitling strategies, only four main strategies out of ten were spotted throughout the bilingual corpus. Their frequencies and percentages were distributed as follows:

Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Transfer	103	48%
Dislocation	52	24%
Resignation	36	17%
Deletion	23	11%
Total	214	100 %

Table 2: Frequency distribution of Gottlieb's subtitling strategies.

The highest frequency (48%) goes to the "transfer" strategy where almost half of taboo words were successfully translated, while 24% of the English data is dislocated, i.e subtitled with some different expressions and adjusted content. The "resignation" strategy is used to translate 17% of the total number of taboo terms, and yield awkward and erroneous Arabic subtitles. The "deletion" strategy, however, stands for the smallest percentage where only 11% of the English data has been utterly omitted in the target language, thus left unsubtitled.

## **Qualitative results**

The qualitative analysis further investigates each of the four subtitling strategies (see Table 2) and revealed other subordinate types of strategies. In total, 35 English-Arabic pairs of taboo words were randomly selected to be analyzed below.

### Dislocation

Dislocation (see Table 1) is about the use of a differing expression with an adjusted content (Gottlieb, 1992). Indeed, in Arabic subtitles, the content was adjusted with different expressions through some lexico-semantic devices; namely euphemism, dysphemism and general words.

In interlingual subtitling, some taboo words and expressions have been rendered successfully and explicitly in the target Arabic language, while others remain subject to linguistic, translation and technical restrictions.

#### **Euphemism**

Euphemism has been defined as "the use of vague or indirect expression in place of one which is thought to be unpleasant, embarrassing, or offensive" (Crystal, 1997, p. 111). The selected pairs (Examples 1 to 6) demonstrate the use of euphemism as a linguistic strategy to subtitle some categories of taboo words.

English utterances	Arabic Subtitles	
1) What a bitch!	يا لها من حقيرة	
2) A whore	سافلة	
3) Son of a bitch	حقير	
4) Women love that shit	النساء تحب هذا الهراء	
5) Fuck you/damn it/shit	تبا	
6) Dick-head	سافل وضيع	

Examples 1, 2 and 3 are cases of name calling using obscene words such as « bitch » and « whore » which are subtitled respectively into «حقيرة» and « سافلة». The Arabic subtitles, however, do not carry the tabooing of the original English terms and are, thus, devoid of the nagative connotation initially embedded in the English utterances. The word «shit» in example 4, which is a bodily excretion, is used for cursing and subtitled into «الهراء» which means « nonsense » in English. Furthermore, all swear words in example 5 are subtitled into «تبا» and express anger but not necessarily swearing in Arabic. The genital part used for name-calling as in example 6, is not transferred into Arabic but rather euphemistically subtitled into «سافل وضبع» and backtranslated into «mean» in English. Thus, the subtitler tried to avoid the rendering of the obscene word « dick-head » into Arabic, and substituted it for two adjectives that express name-calling without carrying any sexual connotation, though.

The aforementioned English taboo words were subtitled into Arabic subtitles that efface the pragmatic intention of the speaker, be it anger, swearing or name-calling, and erase the sexual connotations rooted in the source language by means of euphemistic expressions that neutralize the translation of taboo words.

## Disphemism

Disphemism has been defined as "the use of an offensive or disparaging expression instead of a neutral or pleasant one" (Crystal, 1999, p. 96). This linguistic strategy is tracked in some subtitles of English taboo words that relate to death, religion-based profanities and swearing. These types of taboo words are subtitled with an increase in the degree of illocutionary force in the Arabic expressions. The following examples illustrate this linguistic strategy:

English Utterances	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
7) She's just gone	ماتت فحسب	
		She died
8) Oh God! / Jesus Christ/	يا للهول	
my goodness/Jesus		What a horror!
9) Go and fuck yourself!	اذهب إلى الجحيم	Go to hell

The phrase « she has just gone », which means that the person passed away, is subtitled into «ماتت فحسب». The past verb «ماتت» effectively conveys the intended meaning of death unpleasantly, explicitly and directly, thus creating dysphemism. In example 8, exclamative phrases are religion-based profanities used in the investigated films to express disbelief, fear or anger. They were regularly subtitled into «يا للهول» which is backtranslated into « what a horror ». The denotational meaning of the word «مول» is intenser than the exclamative English terms, and conveys the intention of speakers such as fear, anger, surprise or stupefaction without using any profane equivalent words in Arabic.

The swear expression in example 9 is also rendered by accenting the swearing using the expression «اذهب إلى الجحيم», back translated into Arabic as « *go to hell* », and without transferring the sexual act embedded in the English swearing.

The subtitler has definitely dislocated the above taboo words by means of using different expressions whose pragmatic meaning is conveyed with a stronger degree of illocutionary force, i.e. the intended meaning. Presumably, he/she has avoided using direct equivalents of taboo words in Arabic, yet the pragmatic intention of the English actors is preserved even without rendering the same degree of the illocutionary force.

#### General Words

A general word is an umbrella term that covers human and abstract areas. The following underlined words in examples 10, 11 and 12 in Arabic are cases of general words in Arabic.

English utterances	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
10) She doesn't care about that shit	لا تهتم بتلك <u>الأشياء</u>	She doesn't care about those things
11) You haven't had sex since a long time	لم تقم <u>بعلاقة</u> منذ مدة	You haven't had a <i>relationship</i> since a long time
12) can't have sex	لايمكنني إقامة <u>علاقة</u>	I can't make <b>a <i>relationship</i></b>

Taboo words like «shit » and « having sex» have been subtitled using general words in Arabic like «الأشياء» and «الأشياء» and «الأشياء» respectively. Such subtitles were opted for to express a more general and less specific meaning than the propositional content of English taboo words.

#### Deletion

This subtitling strategy (see Table 1) is about omission of parts or whole expressions (Gottlieb, 1992) in the target text. In the bilingual corpus, taboo words used to express cursing such as *wbloody/fuck/fucking/shit/damn* are deleted as shown in the following examples:

English Utterances	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
13) I fucking hate you	أكرهك	I hate you
14) You're a <i>bloody</i> screwy	انك سافل مختل	You are a screwy
15) I'm damn sure	أنا واثقة	I'm sure
16) Damn it/fuck		

After analyzing the corpus, English cursing expressions were completely dropped from the Arabic subtitles when:

- a. Used as intensifiers as in example 13, 14 and 15.
- b. Uttered in isolation, that is not embedded within sentences as in example number 16.
- c. They were redundant with a fast and high pitch of voice, though predictable from the body language of actors.

There were some technical strategies used to delete taboo words in Arabic. It has been noticed that subtitlers often turn down the volume at a specific time so that English taboo words are not heard, while subtitles are either kept on-screen or dropped. Yet, it is easy for a good bilingual viewer to guess the dropped taboo words through lip-reading actors' utterances.

#### Resignation

This subtitling strategy (see Table 1) is the outcome of deviant expressions and distorted content (Gottlieb, 1992). Errors and mistranslations occur when the message is not conveyed and the pragmatic meaning has not been rendered appropriately, which entails a loss of the intended meaning and a negative transfer. In this research, errors are mainly caused by translation techniques such as literal translation, partial rendering and vague terms.

### Literal translation

The following Arabic subtitles were literally subtitled:

English Utterances	Arabic Subtitles
17) We did it mum!	لقد فعلناها
18) I slept with him	لقد نمت معه
19) Do you still love me when I wet my bed?	ستبقى تحبينني حين ابلل السرير
20) Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat	أنا لست قطعة لحم
21) Son of a bitch	ابن الساقطة
22) Sick dream	حلم مریض

In all the above examples (17-22), the intention was not transferred correctly because of the word-for-word translation in the target language. In examples 17 and 18, the intended meaning of having a sexual intercourse is not rendered, because the Arabic subtitles are literally translated, and thereby become devoid of any sense. In example 19, the implied meaning of the taboo phrase « when I wet my bed » is « when I get old ». The English phrase has a sexual connotation as it involves the bodily funtion of peeing, and it is negatively transferred into Arabic by means of literal translation. Likewise, the taboo expression « a piece of meat » in example 20, which has a sexual connotation that denotes genitals and sexual parts, is literally translated and results in an error. As for example 21, the literal translation of the tabooed expression «son of a bitch» also produces a mistranslation, and the intention of name-calling fades away. In the last pair, the English phrase «sick dream» has a special connotation as the actor is talking about a pornographic dream that he had the night before. This sexual connotation is not transferred into Arabic as the literal subtitle «حلم عریض» becomes meaningless and does not convey the implied meaning loaded with tabooing.

## Partial rendering

In the following instances, only parts of the English utterances were rendered correctly in Arabic through this translation technique.

English Utterances	Arabic Subtitles
23) What the hell is going on?	ماذا يحدث <u>بحق السماء</u> ؟
24) What the hell are you talking about?	عن ماذا تتحدثين بحق الجحيم؟

Subtitlers have translated only parts of the sentence and make use of words that are not common in the target language and do not make sense in Arabic. Words like «بحق الجحيم» and «بحق الجحيم» are rather literally translated from English without considering the cultural and linguistic peculiarities of the Arabic language.

#### Innacurate equivalents

Resignation is also caused through the use of vague terms that lack accuracy, mislead the viewer and shifts his/her attention away from the purpose of English expressions.

English utterances	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
25) I missed my <b>period</b>	لدي مشكلة جسدية	I have a <i>problem</i> in my body
26) I have no fantasy	ليس لدي نوايا	I have no <u>intentions</u>

The word « *period* », in example 25, is uttered by a female actress who is talking about menstruation. It has been translated into « *a problem in the body* » which is vague and fails to convey the intended meaning. Similarly, the taboo word « *fantasy* » has been subtitled into « غوايا »; yet, both subtitles are not equivalent terms to the taboo English words.

Deviant subtitles and shifts in meaning caused by the use of inappropriate translation techniques, distort the content and imply that the pragmatic intention has not been rendered in the target text and the intended meaning of taboo words is effaced were Arabic subtitles.

## Transfer

This subtitling strategy (see Table 1) occurs when there is an adequate rendering and full expression (Gottlieb, 1992). An important number of English taboo words (see Table 2) has been transferred to the target text as follows:

English Utterances	Arabic Subtitles
27) We screwed ourselves	لقد قمنا بالمضاجعة
28) Why don't you fuck that girl?	لماذا لا تحاول معاشرتها
29) Sex	الجنس
30) You didn't have sex with your wife?	لم تمارس الجنس مع زوجتك؟
31) Hand job	العادة السرية
32) Who's this sexy woman bro?	من هذه المرأة المثيرة؟
33) Aphrodisiac drinks	مشروبات مثيرة و مهيجة
34) Sexy dancing	رقصة مثيرة
35) One day it's gonna be like terrific porno sex	يوم ما سيكون جنس جنوني رائع

The abovementioned samples and all the successfully transferred subtitles in the corpus were subtitled by rendering the intended meaning regardless of the socio-cultural constraints inherent in the target language. It has been demonstrated that there is a successful rendering of the following taboo words in particular:

- a. Kiss, pee, Death, hot, sex, porno, sexy, making love, idiot.
- b. Parts of the body (such as butt, ass, uterus, vagina) when referred to as physical parts and not as cursing or swearing.
- c. Abstract nouns like «curse».
- Words that refer to sexual intercourse/coitus (eg. Fuck, screw, shag, hump, did it, sleep with, make love).

The pragmatic intention of the above taboo words has been successfully transferred, and the indirect/implied meaning is rendered. What is worthnoting is that the religious background of Arab subtitlers has not been activated when subtitling taboo words. For instance, in order to subtitle « making love », religious terms, that exist in the Holy Quran, like «نكاح» or «حماع» have been used by translators; and synonymous terms like «مطارحة , مضاجعة» have been recurrent in the Arabic corpus. Same for the taboo term «whore», its equivalent «نائية»

In short, the aforementioned qualitative analysis highlighted the different strategies used to subtitle taboo words and unveiled other linguistic and translation devices along with other translation strategies employed to subtitle taboo words.

#### Discussion

In this case study, strategies other than Gottlieb's subtitling strategies have been used to transfer tabooed data from English into Arabic such as translation strategies as well as other technical and linguistic devices. Technical tips were used to delete taboo words, while translation techniques such as literal translation, partial rendering and innacurate equivalence are strategies that have been frequently used, and have ultimately caused ambiguity and/or errors in Arabic subtitles. Moreover, because of socio-cultural constraints on the explicit use of taboos in the target language, lexico-semantic devices, namely euphemism, dysphemism, and general words have been applied. In a similar vein, Ben Slamia (2019) suggests that Arab subtitlers always resort to euphemism that generates a lexical shift in the target language and consequently a sociopragmatic loss. Translation scholars have also found out other strategies similar to the lexico-semantic strategies, which they labeled differently. For instance, "taming" is a strategy proposed by Hariyanto (2005) to translate the "impolite words" into "polite" ones in order to be received by audiences. "Domestication" is another translation strategy that has been advocated by Venuti (2004) where terms are adopted to the target language culture.

According to Gottlieb (1992), the "deletion" strategy is supposed to reduce the semantic and the stylistic content, while the reduction is basically of a qualitative nature. However, in this case study deletion also reduces the pragmatic content and changes the intended meaning, since the intensity of the pragmatic message in taboos is not always the same across English and Arabic. It has been noticed that the "deletion" subtitling strategy also illiminates the perlocutionary effect of taboo words on the viewer as it neutralizes Arabic subtitles.

As for the successful tranfer of taboos, Napoli & Hoeksema (2009) maintain that "sex, reproductive organs, bodily functions and reproductive acts provide strong linguistic taboos" (2009, p. 605), yet in this bilingual corpus, such words were successfully transferred into Arabic. Taibi and Maataoui (2016) further conclude that regarding Arab cultures, sex is not a taboo field contrary to common beliefs, as it depends on contextual factors such as space, time and interpersonal relationships. Also, transferring taboos without referring to religious terms is common in the Holy Quran. Taibi and Maataoui (2016, p. 73) argue that "islamic religious and jurisprudential discourses are much more open and less conservative than popular discourses on sexualiaty and sex education". In audiovisual translation, there is a restriction on the use of straightforward Islamic religious terms which are replaced with their equivalents that have no religious connotations.

Alternatively, there seems to be neither sociocultural nor linguistic barriers to transfer love words in particular. In contrast to taboo terms, words expressing love and desire have been successfully subtitled. Obviously, in film subtitling, Arab translators do not have particular constraints when expressing feelings of love and even transferring them into their native language. This reflects a reconciliation of subtitlers with the large historical background of love poems and Arab love poetry in general.

## Conclusion

The case study aims at showcasing the uses and misuses of subtitling strategies and their impacts on the subtitled product. In interlingual subtitling, depending on the category of taboo words and expressions, some taboos have been rendered successfully and explicitly in the target Arabic language, while others were subject to linguistic, translation and technical restrictions. Mishandling subtitling strategies, deleting, adjusting or mistranslating taboos can only alter the semantic meaning of Arabic subtitles, distort the message and cause loss of intentions in the target language. Overall, the study calls for more research in other linguistic and audiovisual contexts such as Arabic-English film subtitling, dubbing, and across other pairs of languages to contrast the findings and further explore the process of subtitling taboos.

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### Appendix A

English	utterances	Arabic subtitles
1.	What the hell is going on?	ماذا يحدث بحق السماء؟
2.	You are disgusting	انك مقرفة
3.	You are not an idiot	أنت لست حمقاء
4.	Oh God!	يا للهول
5.	What a bitch!	يا لها من حقيرة
6.	Oh heavens!	النعيم
7.	We kissed	قبلنا بعضنا
8.	There is no shame at dying	ليس من عار في الموت
9.	She's a bitch	إنها حقيرة
10.	We did it mum!	لقد فعلناها
11.	What do you mean you did it?	مادا تقصد بفعلناها ؟
12.	This is nuts	هذا جنون
13.	You groosh	سافل
14.	We're fucky divorced	لقد انتهينا
15.	Oh my God!	يا للهول
16.	She's dying	إنها تحتضر

17.	She's just gone	ماتت فحسب
18.	Death is death, nobody understands	الموت هو الموت. لا احد يفهم هذا.
19.	Who's this sexy woman bro?	من هذه المرأة المثيرة؟
20.	l'm damn sure	أنا واثقة
21.	Stop talking You idiot!	أيها الغبي
22.	What the hell is wrong with you?	ما خطبك بحق السماء
23.	This is bull shit!	هذا هراء
24.	Crap	
25.	Butt	مؤخرة
26.	They are peeing on themselves	يتبولون على أنفسهم
27.	Shit!	تبا
28.	Damn it!	تبا
29.	Have you had sex ?	هل مارست الجنس معه
30.	Jesus christ move !	يا للهول تحركي
31.	Women love that shit	النساء تحب هذا الهراء
32.	That godamn store	هدا المتجر البائس
33.	Jesus christ	يا للهول
34.	My lord	يا ألاهي
35.	Law is a tricky shit	القانون كثير التعقيد
36.	Son of a bitch	ابن الساقطة
37.	Son of a bitch	حقير
38.	Fuck you !	بئسا لك
39.	You 're just a slack	انك كسول
40.	You're fucking lying to me	انك تكذب علي
41.	Crock shit	
42.	Dick-head	سافل وضيع
43.	God damn it	تبا
44.	Damn it! she makes good apple pies	يا للهول إنها تصنع فطائر تفاح شهية جدا
45.	The whores	الساقطات
46.	My goodness	يا للهول
47.	The crap	الخردة
48.	Totally naked	عارية بالكامل
49.	Making love	مطارحة الغرام
50.	Sex	الجنس
L		I

5.2.         Somebody wanted to sleep with me         يعد التواقعة التي التي التي التي التي التي التي التي	51.	Oh my God!	يا للهول
54.         I sweep off your feet         غرائي           55.         Sleep with me!         ٢ γρα μεται (λαμα) (λαμα)           56.         I have to go pee         ناسر القلمية إلى المرحاف           57.         Do you still love me when I wet my bed?         عيدا المستد الم	52.	Somebody wanted to sleep with me	أراد احدهم النوم معي
55.         Sleep with mel         Type Multi Same Up           56.         I have to go pee           57.         Do you still love me when I wet my bed?         المستد           58.         Shut the fuck up         المستد           59.         Hand Job         المستد           60.         You're a dick         June           61.         Fuck you!         Imt           62.         Pee on himself         June           63.         Sex board         June           64.         This facking guy         Jull Libb           65.         What the hell are you talking about?         June           66.         Motherfucker!         Jull Libb           67.         I fucking hate you         June           68.         This town smells like fish shit         June           69.         The mean man         June           70.         Breast         June           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a plece of meat         June           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you         Jull Jull Jull Jull Jull Jull Jull Jull	53.	She's cursing faith	تلعن القدر
56.         I have to go pee           57.         Do you still love me when I wet my bed?           58.         Shut the fuck up           59.         Hand Job           60.         You're a dick           61.         Fuck you!           62.         Pee on himself           63.         Sex board           64.         This fucking guy           65.         What the hell are you talking about?           66.         Motherfucker I           67.         I fucking hate you           68.         This town smells like fish shit           69.         The mean man           70.         Breast           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat           72.         I'm a pig           81.         A kiss           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you           75.         My penis is burning           76.         Oh crap I           77.         A whore           78.         I'li kick your ass           80.         Are you slick?           81.         Get out of this house you little saucy           82.         I missed my period           83.         I committed an adult	54.	I sweep off your feet	أوقعك في غرامي
Section   Sec	55.	Sleep with me!	هل تمضي الليلة معي؟
Shut the fuck up   المستاد المعدى   المستدى   المستاد المعدى   المستدى المستدى   المستاد المعدى   المستدى المعدى   المستاد المعدى   المعدى   المستدى المعدى   المستدى المعدى   المعدى المعدى   المعدى   المعدى المعدى المعدى   المعدى المعدى   المعدى المعدى   المعدى	56.	I have to go pee	يجب أن اذهب إلى المرحاض
ال العاملات السرية المسابق العاملات السرية العاملات	57.	Do you still love me when I wet my bed?	ستبقى تحبينني حين ابلل السرير
60.         You're a dick           61.         Fuck you!           62.         Pee on himself           63.         Sex board           64.         This fucking guy           65.         What the hell are you talking about?           66.         Motherfucker!           67.         I fucking hate you           68.         This town smells like fish shit           69.         The mean man           70.         Breast           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat           72.         I'm a pig           73.         A kiss           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you           75.         My penis is burning           76.         Oh crap!           77.         A whore           78.         I'll kick your ass           79.         I used to be a bad ass           80.         Are you sick?           81.         Get out of this house you little saucy           82.         I missed my period           83.         I committed an adultery	58.	Shut the fuck up	اصمت
61.         Fuck you!         لسلو	59.	Hand job	أن تمارس العادة السرية
62. Pee on himself         بينول على نفسه           63. Sex board         الوحة جلس           64. This fucking guy         يعدا الشاب اللعن           65. What the hell are you talking about?         إليا السافل           66. Motherfucker!         إليا السافل العجم المعاداة الله المعادلة المعادلة الله المعادلة الله المعادلة الله المعادلة الله المعادلة الله المعادلة المعادلة المعادلة الله المعادلة الله المعادلة المعا	60.	You're a dick	أنت أحمق
الله المناب العين المناف المناب العين المناف المناب العين المناب العين المناف المناب العين المناف المناب العين المناف المناب العين المناف ال	61.	Fuck you!	بئسا
64.         This fucking guy         نجدای العجابی بحق العجابی بحق العجابی العدی بعق العالمات العدی بعق العجابی بحق العجابی العربی بعق العجابی بعث العجابی ب	62.	Pee on himself	يتبول على نفسه
65.         What the hell are you talking about?         ما ماذا تتحدثين بحق الجحيم           66.         Motherfucker !         لاأسافل !           67.         I fucking hate you         حاجمه           68.         This town smells like fish shit         تاجمل الدني الدني المسافل !           69.         The mean man         مسر           70.         Breast         مسر           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat         مسر           72.         I'm a pig         عنون المستخفى فيتزا جذابا مثلك           73.         A kiss         غيلة           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you         تاك تستحق فيتزا جذابا مثلك           75.         My penis is burning         ينها           76.         Oh crap!         ليل           77.         A whore         عنون الله           78.         I'll kick your ass         المودون تحرك ضرا           80.         Are you sick?         تاب مساغبة           81.         Get out of this house you little saucy         غيلة جسدية           82.         I missed my period         إيكب إلى المشكلة جسدية           83.         I committed an adultery         I committed an adultery	63.	Sex board	لوحة جنس
الهالسافل المعافل الم	64.	This fucking guy	هذا الشاب اللعين
1	65.	What the hell are you talking about?	عما ماذا تتحدثين بحق الجحيم
68.         This town smells like fish shit         تالحوا النون الحول           69.         The mean man         والحجا الدني العلق           مسر         مسر           70.         Breast         مسر           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat         الألست قطعة لحم           72.         I'm a pig         عقود           73.         A kiss         قبلة           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you         خللة المستحق قبتارا جذابا مثلك           75.         My penis is burning         بشما           76.         Oh crap!         لينا           77.         A whore         غالف           78.         I'll kick your ass         الماولة           79.         I used to be a bad ass         غرف أنت           80.         Are you sick?         حاميون أنت           81.         Get out of this house you little saucy         أيتها الحقوة           82.         I missed my period         إيكبت إثما الحقوة           83.         I committed an adultery         I committed an adultery	66.	Motherfucker!	أيها السافل
69.         The mean man         الجل الدنيء           70.         Breast         مصدر           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat         مما محافظة لحم           72.         I'm a pig         المخير ووغد           73.         A kiss         غلبق           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you         الله يحرقني الإجذاب مثلة           75.         My penis is burning         بالس           76.         Oh crap!         لسلب           77.         A whore         albim           78.         I'll kick your ass         المجنون أنت           80.         Are you sick?         حنا مشاغبة           81.         Get out of this house you little saucy         قيتها الحقيق الحقيق الحقيق الحقيق الحقيق الحقيق الحقيق الحقيق المحتملة جسدية           82.         I missed my period         التكبت إلسائح الحكيت المثالاء           83.         I committed an adultery         المائح المشاخبة المثالاء	67.	I fucking hate you	أكرهك
70.         Breast         صحر           71.         Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat         انا ست قطعة لحم           72.         I'm a pig         انا حقير ووغد           73.         A kiss         قبلة           74.         You deserve a guitar as sexy as you         انان تستحق قيتارا جذابا مثلك           75.         My penis is burning         ينسا           76.         Oh crap!         لسب           77.         A whore         albim           78.         I'll kick your ass         ليسا           79.         I used to be a bad ass         قبض الحضر المحتون التحقيق المجنون التحقيق المحتون المحت	68.	This town smells like fish shit	رائحتها كغائط الحوت
71.       Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat       المعلق الحقير ووغد الاست قطعة لحم         72.       I'm a pig       عقير ووغد الأحقير	69.	The mean man	الرجل الدنيء
72.       I'm a pig       علاء ووغد وعد والله عليه ووغد الله عليه ووغد الله الله والله عليه ووغد الله وغد الله ووغد الله وغذ الله ووغد الله وغد الله ووغد الله وغذ الله	70.	Breast	صدر
الله تستحق قيتارا جذابا مثلك كريد و الله الله و ال	71.	Get your hands off I'm not a piece of meat	أنا لست قطعة لحم
74.       You deserve a guitar as sexy as you       خالبا مثلك         75.       My penis is burning       يانسا         76.       Oh crap!       باسنب         77.       A whore       albim         78.       I'll kick your ass       بابرحك ضريا         79.       I used to be a bad ass       axion         80.       Are you sick?       خامجنون أنت         81.       Get out of this house you little saucy       fuzipal ll-sangle         82.       I missed my period       axion         83.       I committed an adultery       lcizy-: jth	72.	l'm a pig	أنا حقير ووغد
75. My penis is burning يانه يحرقني 176. Oh crap! بلسا ببالا يعرفني الله ببالا يعرف	73.	A kiss	قبلة
76. Oh crap! بلسا 77. A whore albib  78. I'll kick your ass المرحك ضريا 79. I used to be a bad ass are of large of l	74.	You deserve a guitar as sexy as you	انك تستحق قيتارا جذابا مثلك
77. A whore       عافله         78. I'll kick your ass       اسأبرحك ضريا         79. I used to be a bad ass       غنت مشاغبة         80. Are you sick?       تأمجنون أنت         81. Get out of this house you little saucy       أيتها الحقيرة         82. I missed my period       لدي مشكلة جسدية         83. I committed an adultery       ارتكبت إثما	75.	My penis is burning	انه يحرقني
78. I'll kick your ass اسأبرحك ضريا   79. I used to be a bad ass قبت مشاغبة   80. Are you sick? أمجنون أنت   81. Get out of this house you little saucy أيتها الحقيرة   82. I missed my period لدي مشكلة جسدية   83. I committed an adultery ارتكبت إثما	76.	Oh crap!	بئسا
79. I used to be a bad ass غنت مشاغبة	77.	A whore	سافلة
80. Are you sick? تأمجنون أنت 81. Get out of this house you little saucy أيتها الحقيرة 82. I missed my period تكبت إثما الرتكبت إثما الرتكبت إثما المسئلة جسدية	78.	l'll kick your ass	سأبرحك ضريا
81. Get out of this house you little saucy أيتها الحقيرة 82. I missed my period لدي مشكلة جسدية 83. I committed an adultery	79.	I used to be a bad ass	كنت مشاغبة
82. I missed my period لدي مشكلة جسدية 83. I committed an adultery ارتكبت إثما	80.	Are you sick?	أمجنون أنت
83. I committed an adultery ارتكبت إثما	81.	Get out of this house you little saucy	أيتها الحقيرة
	82.	I missed my period	لدي مشكلة جسدية
84. It's just a love affair مجرد علاقة صغيرة	83.	I committed an adultery	ارتكبت إثما
	84.	It's just a love affair	مجرد علاقة صغيرة

85.	You screwed that girl in my father's office?	نمت مع تلك الفتاة في مكتب أبي؟
86.	You haven't had sex since a long time	لم تقوم بعلاقة منذ مدة
87.	That idiot nearly killed me	ذلك الأبله كاد يقتلني
88.	She's hot	إنها جميلة جدا
89.	You subtle!	أيها الماكر
90.	Have you slept with her?	هل أقمت علاقة معها؟
91.	Move your ass	تحركي الآن
92.	I will never forgive you for getting that bastard into our bad	لن أسامحك على جلب ذلك الحقير إلى سريرنا
93.	To hell with procedure !	بئسا للإجراءات
94.	You're a bloody screwy	انك سافل مختل
95.	Oh bullshit come on	هذا هراء
96.	We are shit at the bottom of somebody's shoes	نحن حثالة في أسفل قدمه
97.	You're humping	تضاجع
98.	I can't have sex	لايمكنني إقامة علاقة
99.	I've got to pee	علي أن أتبول
Underw	ear	ملابس داخلية
100.	Jesus!	ياللهول
101.	I'll sit on my butt	سأجلس
102.	You mid black?	أيها الأسود
103.	Do you want to be kissed?	هل تحبين العاطفة؟
104.	Fuck you	ابت
105.	American education is in the shit	التعليم الأمريكي في الحضيض
106.	My ass looks like a burger	مؤخرتي تبدو كالبرقر
107.	I'll shoot your ass	سأطلق النار على مؤخرتك
108.	You little Hindi	أيها الهندي الصغير
109.	homosexual	غريب الأطوار
110.	you dick weenie!	أيها الأحمق
111.	Sexual predator	مفترس النساء
112.	I like you guys (said by a gay addressing 2 men)	لقد استلطفتكما
113.	They're two hot girls	إنهما بنتان جذابتان
114.	Sexy dancing	رقصة مثيرة
115.	big kisses (On the phone said by a gay to a man)	شكراكبيرا
116.	Aphrodisiac drinks	مشروبات مثيرة و مهيجة
117.	Uterus	رحم
		I

119.       Enough of the shit!       تاهات المائة	
121.       Have sex with whores       تشابعة عشيقات         122.       I'm a stupid ass       يج لا أل غيل         123.       Crap new year       طاع جديد تافه         124.       You're sexy       أيك مثيرة         125.       Sick dream       تاك مثيرة         126.       Holy shit       omitted         127.       To curse faith       rule of the curse         128.       Pee on himself       provided the curse         129.       I'm not afraid of dying       rule of the curse         130.       Curse       rule of the curse         131.       Your glory walks hand in hand with your doom       rule of the curse of	
122. I'm a stupid ass يام جديد تافه الكري الاستراكة الكري الكرية	
الله عام جديد تافه الذكري . Crap new year عام جديد تافه . 124. You're sexy تابله عثيرة . 125. Sick dream بريض العلى الله علي الله على الله على نفسه على الله على نفسه الله على الله ع	
الك مثيرة الكافرية ا	
125. Sick dream ريض حلم مريض omitted  126. Holy shit omitted  127. To curse faith يلكن القدر العين القدر العين القدر العين القدر العين القدر العين ال	
126. Holy shit omitted  127. To curse faith تلعن القدر القد	
127. To curse faith       تلعن القدر         128. Pee on himself       متبول علي نفسه         129. I'm not afraid of dying       اللحتي الموت         130. Curse       اللعنة         131. Your glory walks hand in hand with your doom       كالمجد مقترن بهلاكك         132. Harry up you monkey       عبيا أبها القرم         133. You pervert       أبها الأحمق         134. We need this bloody disc       ينجبا أبها الأحمق         135. Don't mess me up       لا تعبث معي         140. Jesus is the healer       الرب هو الشافي         137. They cut his penis       لا تعبث معي	
128. Pee on himself       عبي نفسه         129. I'm not afraid of dying       تالموت         130. Curse       اللعنة         131. Your glory walks hand in hand with your doom       المجد مقترن بهلاكك         132. Harry up you monkey       عبيا أيها القرد         133. You pervert       أيها الأحمق         134. We need this bloody disc       نحتاج إلي هدا القرص اللعين         135. Don't mess me up       لا تعبث مي         الرب هو الشافي       الرب هو الشافي         136. Jesus is the healer       التزعوا عضوه الذكري         137. They cut his penis       They cut his penis	
129. I'm not afraid of dying تالعني الموت اللعني الموت	
العنة الله القرن بهلاكك المجد مقترن بهلاكك المجد القرام المجد ال	
131. Your glory walks hand in hand with your doom       المجد مقترن بهلاكك         132. Harry up you monkey       عيا أيها القرد         133. You pervert       أيها الأحمق         134. We need this bloody disc       نحتاج إلي هدا القرص اللعين         135. Don't mess me up       لا تعبث معي         136. Jesus is the healer       الرب هو الشافي         137. They cut his penis       انترعوا عضوه الذكري	-
ا القرد القرص اللعين القرد القرص اللعين القرد القرص اللعين القريم اللعين القريم اللعين القريم اللعين القريم اللعين المنافي المنافي المنافي المنافي القريم الشافي القريم الشافي الترجوا عضوه الذكري المنافي القريم ا	-
133.       You pervert       الفيا الأحمق         134.       We need this bloody disc       نحتاج إلي هدا القرص اللعين         135.       Don't mess me up       لا تعبث معي         136.       Jesus is the healer       الرب هو الشافي         137.       They cut his penis       انتزعوا عضوه الذكري	
العين كنتاج إلي هذا القرص اللعين العين العرب اللعين العين القرص اللعين العين العين العين العين القرص اللعين العين العين العين العين معي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي النزعوا عضوه الذكري النزعوا عضوه الذكري التعين العرب العين	-
135. Don't mess me up لا تعبث معي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي النزعوا عضوه الذكري النزعوا عضوه الذكري النزعوا عضوه الذكري	-
الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي الرب هو الشافي المنافئ ا	
انتزعوا عضوه الذكري They cut his penis	
يا للهول يا للهول 138. God Christ	-
الله عنية مثيرة This is a sexy song	-
انه مثیر ا	-
141. I slept with him لقد نمت معه	-
انه شغوف He's passionate about you	
موسیقی سریعة و مثیرة Just give the music, steering and sticky music	
استعراض جنسي Sexual display	
145. Is there something I can do tonight? To shag/knob me مضاجعتي الليلة	-
146. You're like a pumpkin bitch أنت مثل اليقطينة السافلة	
147. You didn't have sex with your wife? بمارس الجنس مع زوجتك؟	
148. Fuck buddies عديقان في المضاجعة	
149. We're sex friends نحن صديقان في الجنس	
الله 150. I'll go on date with you	
151. You're amazing أنت فاتنة	

152.	He's an amazing lover	انه عا شق ممتاز
153.	Why don't you fuck that girl?	لماذا لا تحاول معاشرتها
154.	Fuck!	تبا
155.	Are you drawning or fucking?	هل تغرقان أم تتعاشران؟
156.	We screwed ourselves	لقد قمنا بالمضاجعة
157.	Flicky	منتهي الإثارة
158.	You're an asshole	أنت سافل
159.	She drives me crazy	إنها تثير جنوني
160.	I'm a jackass	أنا أبله
161.	You slut	أيتها الساقطة
162.	You likes him	تحبينه
163.	Bitch	Volume down+unsubtitles
164.	damn it	Volume down+unsubtitles
165.	damn it	Volume down+unsubtitles
166.	I had a crash on her	كنت اشعر بالإعجاب تجاهها
167.	I have no fantasy	ليس لدي نوايا
168.	She fells in love	تقع في الحب
169.	Christ	رياه
170.	god damn it	اللعنة
171.	fuck	omitted
172.	sexual abuse	اعتداء جنسي
173.	she likes me	تحبني
174.	she doesn't care about that shit	لا تهتم بتلك الأشياء
175.	confidence is sexy	الثقة هي الإثارة
176.	I thought about the sexy time with her	فكرت بالأوقات المثيرة معها
177.	please don't have sex with Ronny	أرجوك لا تمارسي الجنس مع روني
178.	you can't lose your virginity to him	لا تستطيعي أن تخسري عذراءتك لشخص مثله
179.	one day it's gonna be like terrific porno sex	يوم ما سيكون جنس جنوني رائع
180.	the point is that you are infatuated with Jane	المقصد هو انك مفتون بجين
181.	I'll let go with Ronny	إذا سأفعلها مع روني
182. yours is d	you know that my name is actually Dave like I know that ick	اعرف اسمك حقيقة (قضيب)
183.	I'll kick your ass	سأركل مؤخرتك
184.	she's super cute	إنها لطيفة للغاية

185.		he's a honey	هو مثیر
186.		did you bring a condom	هل أحضرت واقي ذكري؟
187.		go and fuck yourself	اذهب إلى الجحيم
188.		you're dead (threatening)	إذا ستموت
189.		I called the phone sex line	هاتف الجنس
190.		I look like a shit	أبدو قبيحة
191.		I'm a bad ass	أنا شقية
192.		I'd like to spend 9 months inside you	أريد تمضية 9 أشهر بداخلك
193.		It's a little vagina	انه مهبل صغير
194.		You're a joke	أنت أضحوكة
195.		How were the slatterns?	كيف كانت الفاسقات؟
196.		What was that for?	لماذا هذه القبلة؟
	197.	Can you think of that man hitting That ; hot stuff?	هل تتخيله أثناء مضاجعة تلك المرأة المثيرة
	198.	baby	حبيبي
	199.	I love you	احبك
	200.	I'm fond of you	أنا مولع بك
	201.	What the fuck is this ?	ماهذا؟
	202.	Whose fucking kid is that	ولد من هذا؟
	203.	Open this fucking door!	افتح هذا الباب البائس
	204.	Hot magazine	مجلة خلاعية
	205.	You look like a jewish	تبدو کیهودي
	206.	It's fucking terrible	سيء للغاية
207.		she left with her boyfriend	رحلت مع حبيبها
208.		Honey/sweetheart	عزيزتي
209.		I adore you	أنا أقدرك
	210.	Are you dating someone ?	هل تواعد احدا؟
	211.	Hi sugar	يا حلوتي
	212.	He fucked her	عاشرها
	213.	This is not gonna happen tonight	هذا لن يحصل الليلة
	214.	Fuck fuck fuck fuck fuck fuck	Omitted when its a speedy repetetivespeech

## Appendix B

- 1. No strings attached
- 2. The punch-drunk love
- 3. The rocker
- 4. If only
- 5. My sister's keeper
- 6. Man on a ledge
- 7. A thousand words
- 8. Signs
- 9. Battle Los Angeles
- 10. Thelma and Luise
- 11. Goya's ghosts
- 12. Hart of Dixie
- 13. Due Date
- 14. City lickers
- 15. Eat pray love
- 16. Troy
- 17. Accepted
- 18. Starsky and Hutch
- 19. Music and Lyrics
- 20. In the cut
- 21. The big wedding
- 22. The constant gardener
- 23. The change-up