"What the hell's going on?"
A Diachronic Perspective on Intensifying Expletives in Original and Dubbed Film Dialogue

Maicol Formentelli, Elisa Ghia

Abstract
Film dialogue is characterised by strong emotionality expressed through many linguistic traits, not least swearing and taboo language. Using the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (PCFD), this short-term diachronic study explores how a set of English intensifying expletives, namely *bloody*, *fucking*, (*god*)*damn*, *the fuck* and *the hell*, are deployed in Anglophone films and how they are dubbed into Italian in a timespan of more than two decades (1995-2017). Results show a significant growth in the frequency of intensifying expletives in English film dialogue over time confirming the increase in swearing in Anglophone telecinematic products (Azzaro 2018). The opposite direction is taken by dubbing, where omission and mitigation of expletives have increased considerably in the last decade, leading to a reduction of the pragmatic force of the original texts. The wide repertoire of translational routines employed in dubbing indicates an orientation to both source language expressions (calques) and target language patterns. These findings lead us to reflect on censorship, source text interference, target text adaptation, hybridisation and the increase of phraseological variability over time, which testifies to the dynamicity of translational routines in dubbing and to the distinctiveness of audiovisual discourse in itself.

Key-words: intensifying expletives, dubbing, English film dialogue, Italian film dialogue, hybridisation, translational routines, short-term diachrony.

1. Introduction

Emotionality is a distinctive property of telecinematic dialogue and is actualised through a range of linguistic structures, including discourse markers, pragmatic questions, vocatives, slang terms, intensifiers and swear words (Quaglio 2009; Forchini 2012; Pavesi 2012; Baños 2013; Formentelli and Monti 2014; Formentelli 2014;

2019; Ghia 2014; 2019; among others). Taboo words are an especially pervasive feature of films (Azzaro 2005), where they contribute to characterisation, the staging of conflict, the expression of teasing and solidarity, and plot advancement (Bednarek 2019). Bad language fosters realism in fictional dialogue by foregrounding an informal trait of everyday casual interactions. At the same time, it entertains the audience by calling upon their emotional involvement and empathic participation (Dynel 2012).

This paper investigates how taboo language is used in English films to express emotionality among fictive characters and beyond the screen, and how these strong feelings are carried through to the Italian audience by means of dubbing. While being a universal social phenomenon, bad language varies substantially across languages and communities, and takes on different linguistic forms and structures, as well as cultural meanings and values (Ljung 2011). The linguacultural gap between English and Italian may therefore pose challenges to translators. In this respect, dubbing has proved to play an effective role in the cross-cultural mediation of insults by offering a privileged insight into linguistic patterns and communicative strategies of both source and target language through hybridisation (Pavesi and Formentelli 2019).

Moving from these results, the present study focuses on a set of English swear words that serve emphatic functions both in face-to-face conversation and on screen, namely *bloody*, *fucking*, (*god*) *damn*, *the fuck* and *the hell* (Azzaro 2005; McEnery 2006; McEnery and Love 2018). The lexico-grammatical constructions in which they occur show different degrees of routinisation in set expressions (*bloody hell*, *fucking hell*) and fixed syntactic frames (*bloody/ fucking/*(*god*)*damn* + headword; WH-word + *the fuck/the hell*) that in most cases do not coincide with those available in Italian. Hence the need to examine the linguistic strategies adopted to render such constructions in Italian dubbing in order to ascertain the role of both source and target models in shaping translation.

In addition to the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic dimensions activated through audiovisual translation, the study combines a short-term diachronic perspective on data by searching a corpus of films produced over a timespan of more than twenty years (1995-2017). Recent studies have confirmed the steady increase in the frequency of swear words in films (Azzaro 2005; 2018). Nonetheless,

the temporal dimension of analysis has been largely neglected in the literature on taboo language in audiovisual translation (Chiaro 2007; Bruti 2009; Fernández Fernández 2009; Sabatini 2016; among others), with few exceptions (Pavesi and Malinverno 2000; Mereu Keating 2014; Valdeón 2020). We argue that the diachronic perspective on audiovisual translation adopted in this study will prove valuable to assess whether and how translational norms and routines have affected dubbed Italian over the last two decades.

The contribution opens with an overview of intensifying expletives in English and Italian, to which our target constructions ascribe. The research questions and methodology are then illustrated, followed by quantitative and qualitative data analyses of the five expletives in English and dubbed Italian films from a short-term diachronic perspective. After a review of the main results, the findings are discussed with reference to the changing frequencies of swear words in original and dubbed film dialogue and the processes of routinisation and hybridisation between source and target language in dubbing. The concluding section briefly describes the implications of the study for future research.

2. Taboo language

An exploration of taboo language cannot overlook the terminological dimension. In approaching the study of offensive language authors have introduced a myriad of technical and folk terms to capture the various aspects of this multifaceted phenomenon (Montagu 1967; Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Jay 1992; Allan and Burridge 2006; McEnery 2006; Alfonzetti 2009; Canobbio 2010; Culpeper 2011; Ljung 2011). The current terminology ranges from general expressions like 'bad language', 'obscenity', 'vulgarity' and 'dysphemism', to more specific and restricted categories such as 'swearing', to indicate the reflexive and untargeted expressions of anger, frustration or surprise; 'cursing', to invoke harm on another person by calling upon a supernatural entity; and 'insults', aimed to offend or make fun of specific addressees.

2.1. Expletive interjections, emphasisers and slot fillers in English

The swear words analysed in this study ascribe to the category of intensifiers (see Fuchs 2017) and serve an emotive function

(Jakobson 1960: 354). According to Ljung (2011), they principally occur as part of expletive interjections (*bloody hell!*[1]; *Jesus fucking Christ!*), as emphasisers in formulaic interrogative constructions (*what the hell was that?*; *who the fuck are you?*) or phrasal verbs (*get the fuck out of here!*; *shut the fuck up!*), and as expletive slot fillers modifying nouns (*I'm not talking about the damn bag*), adjectives (*bloody cold over here*), verbs (*are you fucking threatening me?*) or adverbs (*you're going fucking nowhere*).

Expletive interjections encode the speaker's emotional reactions and fulfil numerous pragmatic functions. These encompass the expression of stance and attitudes, the introduction of reformulations and repairs, and the acknowledgment of the interlocutor's previous turn. Expletive slot fillers act as intensifiers to amplify the meaning of adjectives, adverbs and gradable nouns, but can also be used with a non-intensifying function to express dislike of human referents or objects, and to emphasise the relevance of clause constituents or the illocutionary force of an entire speech act (Ljung 2011; see also Biscetti 2004).

While expletive interjections do not engage in syntactic constructions with other words, expletive slot fillers are syntactically combined with other linguistic elements in a versatile way. They generally precede the headword following canonical English word order (*when is anyone in this damn house, in this damn life gonna consider my feelings?*), but can also be inserted in fixed phrasal units (*Merry bloody Christmas*), proper names (*Sir Daniel fucking Blake*) or compound words (*I could drive around the M25 and head to Dover or some-fucking-where*).

As for their meaning, these expletives have a functional value rather than expressing propositional content, since they have undergone a process of delexicalisation and grammaticalisation (Biscetti 2008; Hoeksema and Napoli 2008). Yet, based on their external linguistic form it is possible to trace them back to two main lexical fields that usually feed swearing expressions, namely sexuality (*fucking*, *the fuck*) and religion (*bloody*, *(god)damn*, *the hell*)[2].

---

[1] The examples included in the paper are drawn from the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (https://studiumanistici.unipv.it/?pagina=p&titolo=pcfd) (see § 3 below).
[2] In Italian, scatological terms are also used with intensifying functions, e.g., *merda* 'shit' and *stronz** 'turd' (see § 2.2 below).

2.2. Expletive forms in Italian

Expletive interjections, emphasisers and slot fillers are by no means restricted to the English language. In Italian the vulgar term *cazzo* 'dick' appears in numerous expressions to refer to something of little importance or value (Sabatini Coletti 2007), for instance as a postmodifier in noun phrases (*fuoristrada del cazzo* 'fucking 4WD', lit. '4WD of the dick'). It is also commonly used as an emphatic element in interrogative-exclamatory sentences (*che cazzo vuoi?*, 'what the fuck do you want?', lit. 'what the dick do you want') or in isolation as an exclamation of disdain or surprise (*Cazzo!*, 'fuck!', lit. 'dick'). Quite distinctive of Italian is also the construction *cazzo di* 'dick of' + noun (*quel cazzo di numero*, 'that fucking number', lit. 'that dick of a number'), which encodes the "emphatic attitude by [sic] the speaker towards the expression that follows it as well as towards the situation as a whole" (Doliana 2016: 91). Similarly, the taboo word *merda* 'shit' has been used as a severe insult since the late Middle Ages (Dean 2004) and can be still found nowadays in both pre-modifying and post-modifying position (*quella merda di cravatta*, 'that shitty tie', lit. 'that shit of a tie', *un paio di scarpe di merda*, 'a pair of shitty shoes', lit. 'a pair of shoes of shit').

Numerous other vulgar words work as intensifying expletives in Italian, ranging from mild euphemistic expressions (*porco cane*, 'sod a dog', lit. 'pig dog', *porca miseria*, 'darn it', lit. 'pig misery', *cavolo* and *cacchio* 'heck' for *cazzo*) to very offensive terms (*porca puttana*, 'fuck', lit. 'pig whore', *porca troia*, 'fuck', lit. 'pig slut', *stronz** 'bitch/prick', lit. 'turd') (Rossi 2011). Likewise, some expletives such as *maledett** 'goddamn', *dannat** 'damn', *fottut** 'fucked', *diavolo* 'devil' can be found as translational routines in Italian films dubbed from English. Such forms have spread in everyday interactions in Italian but are generally regarded as typical of dubbed dialogue and may sound unnatural to some speakers (Pavesi and Malinverno 2000). Some of these translational routines will be focused on in the following sections with reference to the dubbing of a set of five English intensifying expletives into Italian, testifying to the variety of routinisation patterns in contemporary dubbed discourse.

3. Research questions and methodology

This corpus-based study investigates how intensifying expletives express emotionality in original and dubbed film dialogue adopting a short-term diachronic perspective. A property of these constructions is their formulaicity, a key feature that is also reproduced in original and translated audiovisual texts (Pavesi 2005; Freddi 2011). In dubbing, recurrent phraseological clusters and formulae give rise to recognisable translational routines, which are the result of "systematic correspondences between two languages once a similarity has been identified in the form, meaning or use of given linguistic expressions across lingua-cultural divides" (Pavesi 2018: 12). Moreover, recent accounts have documented that translational routines show a graded adherence to source language models, ranging from literal translations to vague semantic or pragmatic similarity. They also exhibit constrained patterns of variation around prototypical elements and are a dynamic phenomenon subject to overextension as well as loss of currency and replacement with new expressions (Pavesi 2018).

Moving from these assumptions the following research questions are addressed:
– What are the frequencies of the intensifying expletives *bloody*, *fucking*, *(god)damn*, *the fuck* and *the hell* in English film dialogue and how have they changed over the last two decades?
– What are the translation strategies adopted to dub these expletives into Italian and how have they evolved over the last two decades?
– What is the role played by source and target language models in the dubbing of intensifying expletives?

The data are drawn from the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (PCFD), a parallel corpus of Anglophone films and their dubbed versions into Italian, complemented with a comparable component of original Italian films. The films were selected from a range of genres with a focus on face-to-face conversations taking place in contemporary everyday contexts to capture a variety of language styles, socially diversified characters and domains of interactions (Freddi and Pavesi 2009; Pavesi 2014). The updated version of the PCFD includes the transcripts of 31 original and dubbed British and American films produced from 1995 to 2017 (ca. 670,000 words

of English and Italian dialogue) and of 26 Italian films produced from 1998 to 2016 (ca. 250,000 words of Italian dialogue), making it a valuable tool for short-term diachronic investigations of original and translated film dialogues. To this aim, the parallel component was used as the main source of data and was divided into two subcorpora (PCFD_1, 1995-2004 productions; PCFD_2, 2005-2017 productions), maximising the comparison in terms of number of films (17 vs. 14), timespan (ca. 10 years each) and number of words (ca. 340,000 each). The comparable component of original Italian films was regularly referred to as a benchmark to evaluate translation outcomes against non-translated Italian film dialogue and determine the degree of alignment with the target language.

All the target expletive forms used in the English dialogues were identified through automatic search and manually checked to exclude occurrences expressing denotational meanings (e.g., *bloody* = covered with blood, *the hell* = place of damnation). Each term was then classified in the dubbed Italian dialogue according to four translation strategies: omission, close rendering, lexical/syntactic replacement and compensation. The four categories were defined taking into account the translation of the intensifying component of the original forms, while the transfer into Italian of the swearing component of each occurrence was considered in a subsequent phase of data analysis to determine the impact of mitigation in dubbing. The rationale behind this procedure rests on the observation that the mitigation of the swearing connotation of original intensifying expletives cuts across the four translation categories and needs be treated as a separate holistic phenomenon.

3.1. Translation strategies

The category of omission consists in the deletion of intensifying expletives in translation without altering the rest of the original utterance (i). This strategy also comprises the deletion of expletives and concurrent substitution of original utterances with words that are completely unrelated to the source text, both in their content and in the speaker's attitude.

(i) From *I, Daniel Blake* (Loach 2016)

	English dialogue	Dubbed Italian	Back translation
DANIEL	Come back here and **bloody** clean that up.	*Torna qui e pulisci!*	Come back here and clean!

Close rendering includes instances of intensifying expletives that are translated with Italian expressions serving an emphatic function or encoding emotionality (ii), regardless of their swearing potential (iii).

(ii) From *Locke* (Knight 2013)

	English dialogue	Dubbed Italian	Back translation
IVAN	Because if you are on the **fucking** cider and I find out, I will cut your legs off with a **fucking** pavement saw.	*Perché, se stai bevendo del **cazzo di** sidro ed io lo scopro... ti taglio le gambe con una **cazzo di** sega per pavimenti.*	Because if you're drinking some fucking cider (lit. dick of cider) and I find out... I'll cut your legs with a fucking floor saw (lit. dick of floor saw).

(iii) From *Ae fond kiss* (Loach 2004)

	English dialogue	Dubbed Italian	Back translation
TAHARA	Casim, look at me! Look at me, what's wrong? You're such a **fucking hypocrite**! Look at me! I'll never forgive you for this.	*Casim, guardami! Avanti, guardami in faccia! Sei un **mostro di** ipocrisia! Guardami! Non ti perdonerò mai.*	Casim, look at me! Come on, look at my face! You are a monster of hypocrisy! Look at me! I will never forgive you.

Lexical/semantic replacement qualifies as a partial or complete reformulation of the original utterance. This occurs for instance when an intensifying expletive and the headword it modifies

are translated with a different lexical expression (iv), or when syntactically marked constructions are used to convey a degree of emphasis to the utterance (v).

(iv) From *Boyhood* (Linklater 2014)

	English dialogue	Dubbed Italian	Back translation
CHARLIE	You're **fucking** lying.	*Stai **sparando cazzate**.*	You are talking bullshit (lit. s h o o t i n g bullshit).

(v) From *Sliding Doors* (Howitt 1998)

	English dialogue	Dubbed Italian	Back translation
HELEN	**Bloody** marvellous idea!	***Questa sì che** è un'idea meravigliosa.*	This is what we'd call a marvellous idea.

Finally, strategies of compensation are employed whenever the omission of expletives is complemented with the addition of lexical elements or formulae in a different part of the utterance to restore the intensifying force of the original text (vi).

(vi) From *Boyhood* (Linklater 2014)

	English dialogue	Dubbed Italian	Back translation
BILL	Your mother had a little accident. Now she's being dramatic. Get off the **fucking** floor Olivia, for Christ's sake!	*Vostra madre ha avuto un piccolo incidente. Sta facendo un po' di scena. Alzati da terra, **cazzo**, Olivia, Cristo santo!*	Your mother had a little accident. She's making a bit of a scene. Get up from the floor, fuck (lit. dick), Olivia, holy Christ!

---

4. Results

4.1. Intensifying expletives in English film dialogue over time

The occurrences of the expletives identified in the English component of the PCFD are reported in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Expletive forms in the PCFD – English subcorpora

	PCFD_1 (1995-2004)			PCFD_2 (2005-2017)		
	Raw count	Normed per 100,000	Dispersion across films	Raw count	Normed per 100,000	Dispersion across films
Bloody	39	21.8	7/17 (41%)	62	36.5	9/14 (64%)
Fucking	115	64.3	11/17 (65%)	323	190.1	9/14 (64%)
(*God*)*damn*	39	21.8	10/17 (59%)	6	3.5	4/14 (29%)
The fuck	33	18.4	9/17 (53%)	36	21.2	7/14 (50%)
The hell	38	21.2	12/17 (71%)	33	19.4	10/14 (71%)
Total	264	147.5	17 films	460	270.7	14 films

The overall frequency of expletives in English has almost doubled in the last two decades, moving from 147.5 to 270.7 forms per 100,000 words, which testifies to the key role of swear words in expressing emotionality on screen. The five expletives are found across the different films of the PCFD with dispersion values that range from 29% to 71% of films and remain on average above 50%. The dispersion rates in the two subcorpora are rather stable over time, with the exception of *bloody*, which is used in a larger number of films in PCFD_2 (from 41% to 64%)[3], and (*god*)*damn*, which shows the opposite trend with a more limited occurrence in recent productions (from 59% to 29% of films).

As for the frequency of each expletive, the results show a statistically significant change over time ($\chi^2[4]$ = 81.62, p <.00001). The use of *bloody* and *fucking* increases dramatically in PCDF_2 with almost twice and three times as many forms as in PCFD_1, respectively (from 21.8 to 36.5 forms per 100,000 words for *bloody*; from 64.3 to 190.1 forms per 100,000 words for *fucking*). Especially noticeable is the impact of the expletive interjection *fucking hell* in more recent films, which covers almost 8% (28 instances) of all

---

[3] The increase in the dispersion value of *bloody* may be explained by the higher number of British films included in PCFD_2 compared to PCFD 1, as *bloody* is typical of British English varieties, while it is generally not used in American English varieties (Biscetti 2004).

occurrences of *fucking*, compared to less than 1% (2 occurrences) in older films. Conversely, the occurrences of (*god*)*damn* are drastically reduced in PCDF_2 (from 21.8 to 3.5 forms per 100,000 words) in line with the dispersion data. This may be the result of a gradual replacement of this expletive with functionally similar forms such as *bloody* and *fucking*. The frequencies of *the fuck* and *the hell* hardly vary across the two subcorpora (from 18.4 to 21.2 and from 21.2 to 19.4 forms per 100,000 words, respectively).

Figure 1 shows a graphic representation of the frequencies of expletives in the last two decades.

FIGURE 1
Frequencies of intensifying expletives in PCFD_1 and PCFD_2
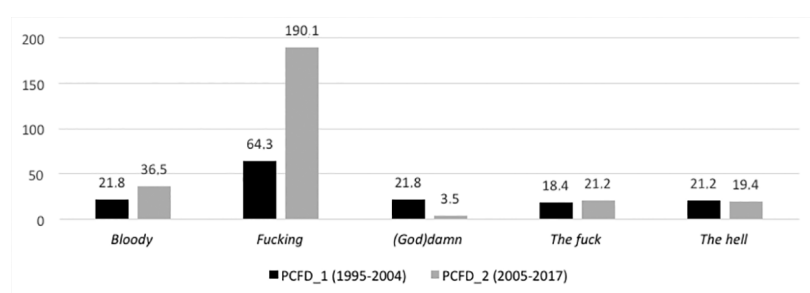
4.2. Intensifying expletives in dubbing

4.2.1. *Bloody*

The dubbing of *bloody* into Italian suggests a reduction of this expletive in translation over the last twenty years (Figure 2), with a consequent lowering of the pragmatic force of the dialogues. The trend is mainly attributable to an increase in omissions (from 31% to 50%), combined with a decrease in close renderings (from 41% to 29%), replacements (from 21% to 18%) and compensation strategies (from 8% to 3%).

FIGURE 2
Translation strategies for *bloody* in PCFD_1 and PCFD_2
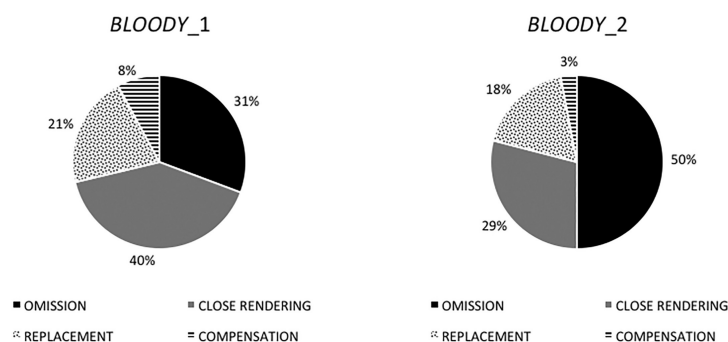
The close rendering patterns identified in older films show a combination of source-oriented calques (*maledetto treno* 'damn train' < *bloody train*, *schifosamente sfacciata* 'disgustingly cheeky' < *bloody cheeky*), mildly vulgar Italian fixed formulae (*porco cane* 'sod a dog', lit. 'pig dog', *porco diavolo* 'what the hell', lit. 'pig devil' < *bloody hell*) and target-oriented expressions (*quella stronza di tua sorella* 'that bitch of your sister' < *your bloody sister*). By contrast, an orientation to Italian intensification patterns (see Cimaglia 2010; Grandi 2017) and/or vulgar expressions prevails in more recent films, through pre- and post-modification (*bella seccatura* 'beautiful nuisance' < *bloody nuisance*, *laureati del cazzo* 'graduates of the dick' < *bloody graduates*), suffixation (*Buon Natalaccio* 'Merry Christmas + pejorative suffix -accio' < *Merry bloody Christmas*, *da secolissimi* 'since centuries + superlative suffix -issimi' < *in bloody ages*) and fixed collocations (*freddo cane* 'very cold', lit. 'cold dog' < *bloody cold*).

4.2.2. *Fucking*

Fucking is the most frequent intensifying expletive in the PCFD. Like *bloody*, this form undergoes a considerable reduction in dubbing, mostly through omission, which moves from 37% to 49% of all translation strategies in the span of twenty years (Figure 3).

Accordingly, the increased deletion of forms impacts on replacement strategies (from 18% to 15%), compensations (from 14% to 11%) and close renderings (from 31% to 25%).

FIGURE 3
Translation strategies for *fucking* in PCFD_1 and PCFD_2
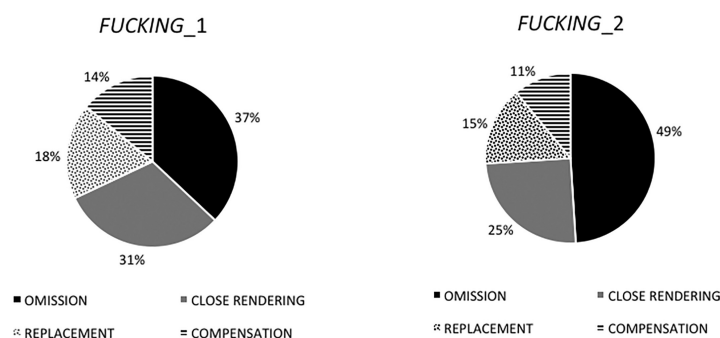
Both replacement and compensation strategies generally preserve the emphatic strength of the original dialogue over the two decades, but some instances of mitigation or deletion of the taboo component are recorded. While replacement leads to a wider range of lexico-grammatical patterns, compensation mostly involves the addition of the expletive interjection *cazzo* 'dick'. Selected examples in which the original vulgar strength is maintained or deleted through mitigation are included in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Sample of replacement and compensation strategies

English dialogue	Italian dubbing	Literal back translation	Type of strategy
That's **fucking** great! Neglectful?	*Ma che cazzo vuol dire indifferente?*	What the dick does it mean indifferent?	replacement

TABLE 2 (*continued from previous page*)

|			
Well, you've **fucking**-well let me down!	*Adesso hai **mandato tutto a puttane**!*	Now it's all gone to whores!	replacement
Fucking sick of it!	*Mi sono **rotto le palle**!*	I've broken my balls!	replacement
They **fucking** started it!	***Sono loro** che hanno cominciato!*	It's them who started it!	replacement (with deletion of vulgarity)
That is the **fucking** problem.	*Questo è il problema, **cazzo**.*	This is the problem, dick.	compensation
Get away that **fucking** camera!	***Vaffanculo** con quella telecamera!*	Fuck off with that camera!	compensation
Pull the **fucking** trigger!	*Tira il grilletto. **Avanti!***	Pull the trigger. Come on!	c o m p e n s a t i o n (with deletion of vulgarity)

As for close renderings, hybridity characterises films from both subcorpora, with a combination of source-oriented patterns (*fottuta reputazione* 'fucked reputation' < *fucking reputation*, *maledettamente confusa* 'damn confused' < *fucking confused*) and target-oriented lexico-grammatical constructions (*un cazzo di deserto* 'a dick of a desert' < *the fucking desert*, *un vigliacco di merda* 'a coward of shit' < *a fucking chicken*, *bel servizio in camera* 'beautiful room service' < *fucking room service*). Similarly to *bloody*, in more recent films translation solutions show greater variation, generating clusters of patterns in which recurrent emphasising elements are combined and recombined (see §5).

4.2.3. (*God*)*damn*

The occurrences of (*god*)*damn* in the English dialogues fall drastically from PCFD_1 to PCFD_2, with an impact on Italian dubbing (Figure 4). While the proportion of omissions does not change over the two decades (33%), replacement and compensation strategies are abandoned (from 18% and 8% to 0%) in favour of close renderings (from 42% to 67%).

FIGURE 4

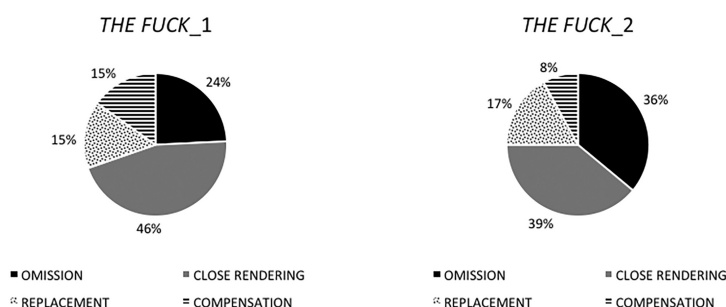Translation strategies for (*god*)*damn* in PCFD_1 and PCFD_2
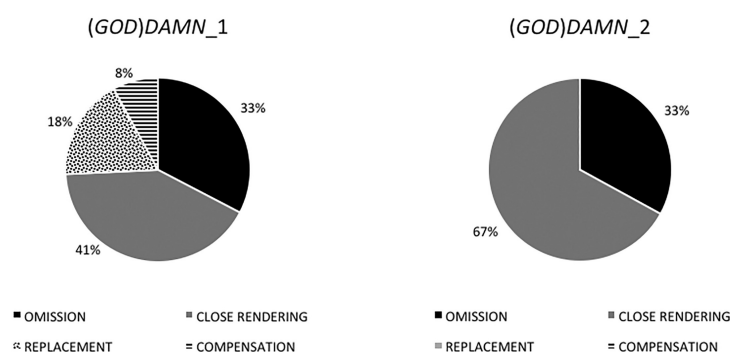
The few translations in more recent films (4 occurrences) converge on the nominal combination *maledett** 'damn' + headword, calqued from English (e.g., *maledetta casa* 'damn house' < *damn house*). This leads to a gradual reduction of the solutions previously found in films produced from 1995 to 2004, which instead exhibit a variety of lexico-grammatical patterns modelled either on English (*maledetta chiamata* 'damn call' < *damn phone call*) or on Italian (*quella manaccia* 'that hand + pejorative suffix -*accia*' < *your goddamn hand*, *la moto più bestiale* 'the most beastly motorcycle' < *the best damn motorcycle*, *schiavo di stenografo* 'slave of a steno clerk' < *goddamn steno clerk*).

4.2.4. *The fuck*

The frequency of use of *the fuck* in the English dialogues remains stable over time. In dubbing the close rendering of the expletive is the preferred option, even though with a gradual decrease from 45% to 39% in the last decade. In contrast, the proportion of omitted forms increases from 24% to 36% in more recent films to the detriment of close renderings and compensation strategies (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5
Translation strategies for *the fuck* in PCFD_1 and PCFD_2

THE FUCK_1   *THE FUCK_2*

15%   24%   8%   36%
15%   17%
      46%   39%

■ OMISSION   ■ CLOSE RENDERING   ■ OMISSION   ■ CLOSE RENDERING
⌘ REPLACEMENT   ≡ COMPENSATION   ⌘ REPLACEMENT   ≡ COMPENSATION

When the original occurrences of the intensifier are translated, in both PCFD_1 and PCFD_2 they occur as part of target-oriented stock phrases centred around the Italian expletive *cazzo* 'dick', which are adapted to fulfil the syntactic functions of the original utterances (e.g., *(ma) che cazzo* '(but) what dick' < *what the fuck*, *chi/come/dove cazzo* 'who/how/where dick' < *who/how/where the fuck*). Lexical/syntactic replacements, on the other hand, combine mild translational routines (e.g., *si può sapere...?* 'can one know...?' < *What/who the fuck is...?*) with vulgar solutions (*tira via il culo dalla mia officina* 'pull your ass away from my workshop' < *get the fuck outta my shop*; *non rompere le palle* 'don't break my balls' < *shut the fuck up*; *non mi romperai più il cazzo* 'you'll no longer break my dick' < *you'll stay the fuck out*)[4].

4.2.5. *The hell*

The intensifying expletive *the hell* is also quite limited in use in the PCFD. Among the five forms analysed in this study, it is the only one that exhibits a marked increase in translations over time (from 61% to 76%) and a lower incidence of omissions (from 24% to 15%), as summarised in Figure 6.

---

[4] See Di Cristofaro and McEnery (2017) for a detailed analysis of the Italian swearing expressions *rompere* 'break' + noun.

FIGURE 6
Translation strategies for *the hell* in PCFD_1 and PCFD_2

*THE HELL*_1

16%   24%

60%

■ OMISSION   ▓ CLOSE RENDERING
⠿ REPLACEMENT   ≡ COMPENSATION

*THE HELL*_2

9%   15%

76%

■ OMISSION   ▓ CLOSE RENDERING
⠿ REPLACEMENT   ≡ COMPENSATION

Being mostly part of formulaic expressions and interrogative chunks, *the hell* tends to be rendered in Italian with well-established source-oriented translational routines that show semantic proximity to the original (*che/cosa/dove/chi diavolo* 'what/where/who the devil' < *what/where/who the hell*), but a milder offensive force. Target-oriented formulae (*che cazzo* 'what dick' and the euphemistic *che cavolo* 'what cabbage') are only recorded in very few instances, especially in older films.

4.2.6. Mitigation

The mitigation of the swearing component of intensifying expletives affects all five forms over time and cuts across the different translation strategies. A major contribution to mitigation is made by the omission of original forms in dubbed productions, with an incidence of deletions that reaches 50% for *bloody* and 49% for *fucking* in more recent films.

While close renderings and lexical/syntactic replacements often preserve the intensifying value of the original, for instance by amplifying the meaning of adjectives and gradable nouns or of entire utterances or phrases, non- or mildly taboo intensifiers are generally preferred, to the detriment of the original vulgarity of the expression. This happens in 30% of translated or replaced expressions in PCFD_1 and 27% of items in the same categories in

PCFD_2, with a substantial impact on the swearing connotation of dubbed dialogues.

As a last strategy, compensation through the addition of expletives and swear words elsewhere in the utterance progressively loses ground and is gradually abandoned. The decrease in the use of compensation varies across different forms and seems to be slower for the expletive *fucking*. Here, compensative target patterns involving the Italian interjection *cazzo* 'dick' are still documented. Nonetheless, the overall result is generally milder and is complementary to the increase in omissions and the reduction of the vulgar connotation of expletives through close renderings and replacements.

5. Discussion

The numerous intensifying expletives identified in the PCFD contribute significantly to the emotional load of film dialogue and carry a strong disaffiliative value in dramatic scenes where verbal abuse often accompanies physical attacks. Overall, the target expletives have almost doubled in the English films over two decades, a tendency which is in line with the growing frequency of swear words in Anglophone telecinematic products and the "general lessening of the grips of censorship […] [in] the English-speaking world" (Azzaro 2018: 310). Different expletives show a diversified behaviour. A considerably marked increase is recorded for *fucking* and *bloody*, which take on a predominant, prototypical role as intensifying expletives and appear to progressively replace (*god*)*damn*. The rise in the occurrence of specific expletives in films reflects their extensive use in spontaneous spoken interactions and the variety of syntactic combinations in which they are employed (McEnery 2006; McEnery and Love 2018), but may also be linked to the growing popularity of given stock phrases such as *fucking hell*. Hardly any variation is documented for *the fuck* and *the hell*, which are syntactically and lexically more constrained, being used in a limited set of interrogative constructions and verb phrases.

When looking at how intensifying expletives are dubbed into Italian, a reversed trend emerges which indicates considerable mitigation of vulgarity through a substantial decrease in the translation of taboo language in the target texts both synchronically

and diachronically. Our results suggest that Italian dubbing continues to pursue, and even reinforce, the practice of a partial (self)censorship of bad language which has been documented in previous research on swear words (Pavesi and Malinverno 2000), sexual taboos (Chiaro 2007) and racial slurs (Mereu Keating 2014). These findings are in contrast with the vulgarisation hypothesis put forward by Valdeón (2020), who reports a dramatic increase of swear words in Spanish dubbing by means of additions and stronger vulgar translations, a trend that does not apply to our data on Italian dubbing. Further research on this aspect in Italian dubbing from English is needed that will take into account the overall amount of swear words in translated dialogues, to assess whether and how the degree of swearing in dubbed Italian films has changed over time given the rising number of taboo words in recent Anglophone productions.

Moving to the third research question, several routine formulae can be observed in dubbed Italian dialogues with different degrees of variation over time and across forms. The close renderings of *bloody*, *fucking* and (*god*)*damn* exhibit considerable hybridity, combining source-oriented calques and target-oriented expressions.

English lexico-grammar shines through in the Italian pre-modifying adjectives *dannat** 'damn', *fottut** 'fucked', *maledett** 'damn', *schifos** 'disgusting', *stramaledett** 'very damn', *terribile* 'terrible'. These translations convey the emphatic meaning of the original terms but, with the exception of *fottut**, lead to a weakening or complete loss of the swearing component. More frequent in dubbing are target-oriented patterns, which are especially productive for *bloody* and *fucking* and only to a lesser extent for (*god*)*damn*. The repertoire of expressions includes established vulgar constructions such as *cazzo di* 'dick of' + noun, noun + *del cazzo* 'of the dick', *merda di* 'shit of' + noun, noun + *di merda* 'of shit', *stronz** di* 'bitch/prick of' + noun, but also more creative offensive combinations like *rompicoglioni di* 'ball-breaker of' + noun, noun + *dei miei coglioni* 'of my balls', *mostro di* 'monster of' + noun, *carogne di* 'carrions of' + noun. Other target-language strategies only maintain the intensifying component of the original dialogues by means of pre-modification (*bell** 'beautiful' + noun, *brutt** 'ugly' + noun), suffixation (diminutive and pejorative suffixes), adverbs

(*proprio* 'really', *molto* 'very', *tutto* 'all'), fixed collocations (*freddo cane* 'very cold', lit. 'cold dog', *duro come pietra* 'as hard as a stone'), demonstratives (*quest** 'this/these', *quell** 'that/those').

Diachronically, the abovementioned lexical and syntactic calques gradually disappear and only *maledett** 'damn' is recorded with a relevant frequency in the last decade to translate the milder expletives *bloody* and (*god*)*damn*. Incidentally, combinations with *maledett** are also found in several original Italian films from the comparable component of the PCFD (*maledetta ricevuta* 'damn receipt', *maledetto imbroglio* 'damn fraud', *maledetto toscano* 'damn Tuscan', *maledetta bastarda* 'damn bastard'), which testifies to the vitality of this expletive in translated and non-translated Italian film dialogue alike. In contrast, target-oriented constructions show greater vigour, increasing in both frequency and structural complexity in later dubbing productions, especially in the translation of *fucking*. More recent translational routines often combine and recombine recurrent emphasising and vulgar elements typical of Italian (Table 3), which preserve the strong offensive and aggressive connotation of the original expletive.

TABLE 3
Sample of translational routines in PCFD_2

English dialogue	Italian dubbing	Literal back translation
you **fucking** lazy cunt	**brutto** *fannullone di merda*	Ugly lazybones of shit
some **fucking** football game	**una cazzo di** *partita di merda*	a dick of match of shit
a **fucking** joke	**proprio** *uno scherzo di merda*	really a joke of shit
someone's **fucking** hand	*la man**ina del cazzo***	the little hand of the dick
the **fucking** Hungarians	*quegli ungheresi **del cazzo***	those Hungarians of the dick
one little **fucking** mistake	*un **solo** piccolo errore **del cazzo***	one single little mistake of the dick
(they wouldn't hold) a **fucking** kitten's fart	*(non reggeranno)* **proprio un bel cazzo di niente**	(they wouldn't hold) really a beautiful dick of nothing

As far as *the fuck* and *the hell* are concerned, stable translational routines are observed without much diachronic variation. Opposite distinctive patterns can be described for the two expletives. *The fuck* is regularly rendered with the Italian pragmatic equivalent *cazzo* 'dick', following a target language model which is widespread also in the original Italian films of the PCFD. Conversely, the dubbing of *the hell* moves in the opposite direction and transfers the milder swearing connotation of the English term by means of the source-oriented expression *diavolo* 'devil', a semantic calque that qualifies as a distinctive trait of dubbed Italian dialogue and is virtually non-existent in the comparable subcorpus of original Italian films.

Two main considerations stem from these translation trends. First of all, the dubbing of taboo intensifiers is an extremely dynamic area, characterised by great variability and hybridity in the choice of translation strategies, which oscillate between source and target language orientations. In the sample, hybridity is not only evident across different intensifiers, but also within individual expletive forms. While still showing source language interference, *bloody* and *fucking* seem to be progressively moving towards target language models, hence suggesting an interaction between time and hybridisation. In other words, the balance between source and target-orientation is far from a static phenomenon and may shift over the years. By contrast, not all expletives show the same degree of hybridity and the same orientation to both source and target models alike. This is the case of *the hell* and *the fuck*, which behave in opposite, complementary ways. Whereas the former pairs with the well-established calque *diavolo* 'diavolo', the latter transfers the original vulgar force by means of the target expression *cazzo* 'dick', which qualifies as one of the most pervasive and dynamic Italian expletives in the PCFD. As a trend, hybridity may be also partially linked to the heterogeneity of intensifying expletives as a linguistic category and to the domain of taboo language in general. The combination of source language models and target linguacultural norms has in fact been observed in the translation of insults, serving as a bridge between different communicative practices (Pavesi and Formentelli 2019). While often modelled on English, dubbed intensifying expletives still evoke common Italian linguistic patterns also found in national film productions.

A second observation concerns the tendency for many forms to generate clusters of patterns in translation, which originate from a limited set of source language expletives and involve the use of recurring target language expressions. This trend is consistent with the conceptualisation of translational routines as prototype categories that activate multiple realisations bearing family resemblance to one another and including both core renderings as well as peripheral forms (Pavesi 2018: 18ff). Similarly, the same routinised pattern can overextend to different source terms, so that no one-to-one set equivalents can be isolated. Rather, many-to-one and one-to-many relationships emerge (the translations of *bloody* and *fucking* are clear examples), where the same target form corresponds to a variety of source expressions or conversely the same expletive triggers multiple translational routines (p. 22). A few examples are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Many-to-one and one-to-many relationships in translational routines

English dialogue	Italian dubbing	Literal back translation
bloody number	***cazzo di*** *numero*	dick of number
fucking movie	***cazzo di*** *film*	dick of film
get **the fuck** outta the car	*scendi da questa* ***cazzo di*** *auto*	get out of this dick of car
bloody graduate	*laureati* ***del cazzo***	graduates of the dick
fucking ice-cream	*gelato* ***del cazzo***	ice-cream of the dick
bloody nuisance	***bella*** *seccatura*	beautiful nuisance
fucking room service	***bel*** *servizio in camera*	beautiful room service
fucking kisses	***bei*** *baci*	beautiful kisses
dopey **fucking** Chinaman	*stupido cinese* ***di merda***	stupid Chinese of shit
goddamn hippie	*hippie* ***di merda***	hippie of shit
your **bloody** sister	*quella* ***stronza di*** *tua sorella*	that bitch of your sister
my **fucking** dad	*quello* ***stronzo di*** *mio padre*	that prick of my father

As a result of their dynamic nature, translational routines have been seen to change diachronically and to show a progressive shift

towards target language use in our corpus. As mentioned above, a case in point is the gradual reduction in recent dubbed films of the syntactic/semantic calques *fottut*/dannat*/benedett** 'fucked/damn/blessed' + noun and *schifosamente/pazzamente* 'disgustingly/madly' + adjective in favour of more frequent pre- and post-modification patterns typical of spoken Italian, such as *bell*/brutt** + noun, *cazzo di/merda di/stronz* di* 'dick of/shit of/bitch of/prick of' + noun and noun + *del cazzo/di merda* 'of the dick/of shit'.

6. Conclusion

In the context of verbal abuse, intensifying expletives are a fluid and heterogeneous category which has proved to be crucial in the codification of emotionality on screen. Our findings show a dramatic increase of intensifying expletives and vulgar stock phrases in recent Anglophone films, fuelled in particular by selected forms within the wider repertoire available in the language. Conversely, the growing deletion and mitigation of expletives in dubbed Italian confirms the persistent role of (self)censorship in audiovisual translation and hints at the intrinsically complex and language-specific nature of these taboo expressions. When intensifying expletives do survive in translation, their high dynamicity manifests itself as a typifying trait over time. In dubbed Italian dialogues, routinised translations take on new shapes, extend to new contexts and intermingle with target language uses. Dubbing thus resorts to its own combinations of different linguistic devices to transfer the emotional and pragmatic force of the original dialogues.

The vitality of intensifying expletives on screen makes them fertile ground for audiovisual translation research. Further studies are needed to assess which factors lead to the reduction of some expletives over time and in relation to others, and to explore the complex and multifaceted interaction between hybridisation and diachronic change.

References

Ae Fond Kiss, Dir. Ken Loach. Icon Film Distribution, United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, 2004.

ALFONZETTI, GIOVANNA, 2009, "Gli insulti: alcuni criteri di categorizzazione", in S. C. Trovato (ed.), *Studi linguistici in memoria di Giovanni Tropea*, vol. 1, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria, pp. 67-78.

ALLAN, KEITH and BURRIDGE, KATE, 2006, *Forbidden Words. Taboo and the Censoring of Language*, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge.

ANDERSSON, LARS and TRUDGILL, PETER, 1990, *Bad Language*, Penguin Books Ltd, London.

AZZARO, GABRIELE, 2005, *Four-Letter Films. Taboo Language in Movies*, Aracne, Rome.

AZZARO, GABRIELE, 2018, "Taboo Language in Books, Films, and the Media", in K. Allan (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Taboo Words and Language*, O.U.P., Oxford, pp. 285-310.

BAÑOS, ROCÍO, 2013, "'That Is So Cool': Investigating the Translation of Adverbial Intensifiers in English-Spanish Dubbing through a Parallel Corpus of Sitcoms", *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 21 (4), pp. 526-542.

BEDNAREK, MONIKA, 2019, "The Multifunctionality of Swear/Taboo Words in Television Series", in J. L. Mackenzie and L. Alba-Juez (eds), *Emotion in Discourse*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, pp. 29-54.

BISCETTI, STEFANIA, 2004, "Using Corpus Techniques to Study Pragmatic Meaning: The Case of Bloody", in A. Partington, J. Morley and L. Haarman (eds), *Corpora and Discourse*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 285-301.

BISCETTI, STEFANIA, 2008, "The Diachronic Development of the Intensifier Bloody: A Case Study in Historical Pragmatics", in R. Dury, M. Gotti and M. Dossena (eds), *English Historical Linguistics 2006. Vol. 2: Lexical and Semantic Change. Selected Papers from the Fourteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL, 14), Bergamo, 21-25 August 2006*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, pp. 53-74.

Boyhood, Dir. Richard Linklater. IFC Productions, Detour Filmproduction, Cinetic Media, IFC Films, Universal Pictures, USA, 2014.

BRUTI, SILVIA, 2009, "Translating Compliments and Insults in the Pavia Corpus of Filmic Speech: Two Sides of the Same Coin?", in M. Freddi and M. Pavesi (eds), *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue. Linguistic and Translational Insights*, CLUEB, Bologna, pp. 143-147.

CANOBBIO, SABINA, 2010, "Insulti", in R. Simone (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'italiano, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome, pp. 665-666.

CHIARO, DELIA, 2007, "Not in front of the Children, an Analysis of Sex on Screen in Italy", *Linguistica Antverpiensa* 6, pp. 255-76.

CIMAGLIA, RICCARDO, 2010, "Intensificatori", in R. Simone (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'italiano, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome, pp. 666-667.

CULPEPER, JONATHAN, 2011, *Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence.* Cambridge U.P., Cambridge.

DEAN, TREVOR, 2004, "Gender and Insult in an Italian City: Bologna in the Later Middle Ages", *Social History* 29 (2), pp. 217-231.

DI CRISTOFARO, MATTEO and MCENERY, TONY, 2017, "Swearing in Italian: A Redefinition of the Notions of Dysphemism and Euphemism", in K. Beers Fägersten and K. Stapleton (eds), *Advances in Swearing: New languages, New Contexts*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, pp. 183-212.

DOLIANA, AARON, 2016, "Agree and Minimality in the DP: The Challenge from the Cazzo-of-N Construction in Italian", in K. Bellamy, E. Karvovskaya and G. Saad (eds), *Proceedings of the 24th Conference of the Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe*. Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, Leiden, pp. 88-111.

DYNEL, MARTA, 2012, "Setting our House in Order: The Workings of Impoliteness in Multi-Party Film Discourse", *Journal of Politeness Research* 8, pp. 161-194.

FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ, MARÍA JESÚS, 2009, "The Translation of Swearing in the Dubbing of the Film South Park into Spanish", in J. Díaz-Cintas (ed.), *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*, Multilingual Matters, Bristol-Buffalo-Toronto, pp. 201-225.

FORCHINI, PIERFRANCA, 2012, *Movie Language Revisited. Evidence from Multi-Dimensional Analysis and Corpora*, Peter Lang, Bern.

FORMENTELLI, MAICOL, 2014, "Vocatives Galore in Audiovisual Dialogue: Evidence from a Corpus of American and British Films", *English Text Construction* 7 (1), pp. 53-83.

FORMENTELLI, MAICOL, 2019, "What's in a Vocative? Address(ing) Creativity in English Film Dialogue", *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 48 (1), pp. 27-49.

FORMENTELLI, MAICOL and MONTI, SILVIA, 2014, "Translating Slanguage in British and American Films", in M. Pavesi, M. Formentelli and E. Ghia (eds), *The Languages of Dubbing. Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 169-195.

FREDDI, MARIA, 2011, "A Phraseological Approach to Film Dialogue: Film Stylistics Revisited", *Yearbook of Phraseology* 2, pp. 137-163.

FREDDI, MARIA and PAVESI, MARIA, 2009, "The Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue: Research rationale and methodology, in M. Freddi and M. Pavesi (eds), *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue: Linguistic and Translational Insights*, CLUEB, Bologna, pp. 95-100.

FUCHS, ROBERT, 2017, "Do women (still) use more intensifiers than men? Recent change in the sociolinguistics of intensifiers in British English", *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 22 (3), pp. 345-374.

GHIA, ELISA, 2014, "'That is the Question': Direct Interrogatives in English Film Dialogue and Dubbed Italian", in M. Pavesi, M. Formentelli and

E. Ghia (eds), *The Languages of Dubbing. Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 57-88.

GHIA, ELISA, 2019, "(Dis)aligning across Different Linguacultures: Pragmatic Questions from Original to Dubbed Film Dialogue", *Multilingua* 38 (5), 583-600.

GRANDI, NICOLA, 2017, "Intensification Processes in Italian", in M. Napoli and M. Ravetto (eds), *Exploring Intensification. Synchronic, Diachronic and Cross-Linguistic Perspectives*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, pp. 55-77.

HOEKSEMA, JACK and NAPOLI, DONNA JO, 2008, "Just for the Hell of it: A Comparison of Two Taboo-Term Constructions", *Journal of Linguistics* 44 (2), pp. 347-378.

I, Daniel Blake, Dir. Ken Loach. Sixteen Films, eOne Films, Why Not Productions, Wild Bunch, BBC Films, BFI, Le Pacte, UK, France, 2016.

JAKOBSON, ROMAN, 1960, "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics", in T. A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge (MA), pp. 350-377.

JAY, TIMOTHY, 1992, *Cursing in America. A Psycholinguistic Study of the Use of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyears and on the Streets*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia.

LJUNG, MAGNUS, 2011, *Swearing. A Cross-Cultural Linguistic Study*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke.

Locke, Dir. Steven Knight. Shoebox Films, IM Global, A24, UK, USA, 2013.

McENERY, TONY and LOVE, ROBBIE, 2018, "Bad Language", in J. Culpeper, P. Kerswill, R. Wodak, T. McEnery and F. Katamba (eds), *English Language: Description, Variation and Context* (2nd ed.), Palgrave, London.

McENERY, TONY, 2006, *Swearing in English: Bad Language, Purity and Power from 1586 to the Present*, Routledge, Abingdon.

MEREU KEATING, CARLA, 2014, "The Translation of Ethnonyms and Racial Slurs in Films: American Blackness in Italian Dubbing and Subtitling", *European Journal of English Studies* 18 (3), pp. 295-315.

MONTAGU, ASHLEY, 1967, *The Anatomy of Swearing*, Macmillan and Collier, London-New York.

PAVESI, MARIA, 2005, *La traduzione filmica. Aspetti del parlato doppiato dall'inglese all'italiano*, Carocci, Rome.

PAVESI, MARIA, 2012, "The Enriching Functions of Address Shift in Film Translation", in A. Remael, P. Orero and M. Carroll (eds), *Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility at the Crossroads*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, pp. 335-356.

Pavesi, Maria, 2014, "The Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue: A Means to Several Ends", in M. Pavesi, M. Formentelli and E. Ghia (eds), *The Languages of Dubbing. Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 29-55.

Pavesi, Maria, 2018, "Translational Routines in Dubbing: Taking Stock and Moving Forwards", in I. Ranzato and S. Zanotti (eds), *Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation*, Routledge, New York-London, pp. 11-30.

Pavesi, Maria and Formentelli, Maicol, 2019, "Comparing Insults across Languages in Films: Dubbing as Cross-Cultural Mediation", *Multilingua* 38 (5), pp. 563-582.

Pavesi, Maria and Malinverno, Anna Lisa, 2000, "Sul turpiloquio nella traduzione filmica", in C. Taylor (ed.), *Tradurre il cinema*, Dipartimento di scienze del linguaggio, dell'interpretazione e della traduzione, Trieste, pp. 75-90.

Quaglio, Paulo, 2009, *Television Dialogue: The Sitcom Friends vs. Natural Conversation*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam-Philadelphia.

Rossi, Fabio, 2011, "Parole oscene", in R. Simone (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'italiano, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome, pp. 1060-1062.

Sabatini, Federico, 2016, "Languaging gender and gendering language. Euphemism and dysphemism in dubbing", *Lingue e Linguaggi* 17, pp. 195-244.

Sabatini, Francesco and Coletti, Vittorio, 2007, *Il Sabatini Coletti: Dizionario della lingua italiana*. Rizzoli Larousse, Milan.

Sliding Doors, Dir. Peter Howitt. Intermedia, Mirage Enterprises, Miramax Films, Paramount Pictures, UK, USA, 1998.

Valdeón, Roberto A., 2020, "Swearing and the Vulgarization Hypothesis in Spanish Audiovisual Translation", *Journal of Pragmatics* 155, pp. 261-272.