

An X-phemism Analysis of the Strategies Used in the Persian Translation of Taboo Language in the Novel *Atonement*

Faegheh Mirhosseini^{*1}, Samad Mirza-suzani²

¹Department of English, Faculty of Basic Sciences and Modern Technology, Islamic Azad University, E-Campus, Tehran, Iran

²Department of English, Marvdash Branch, Islamic Azad University, Marvdasht, Iran

Received: 25.01.2025 • Accepted: 05.04.2025 • Published: 09.03.2025 • Final Version: 09.04.2025

Abstract: Taboo language represents a linguistic variation employed by individuals to articulate their emotions, such as anger, disappointment, and dissatisfaction. This article examines the Persian translation of taboo words and expressions, particularly within the context of Iranian culture with its associated cultural prohibitions and restrictions. To achieve this, the Persian translations of taboo expressions from the novel ‘Atonement’ were collected and categorized into nine categories based on Jay’s model (2009). These categories include obscenity, profanity, vulgarity, epithets, blasphemy, cursing, slang, insults, and scatology. The analysis utilized Allan and Burridge’s (2006) triple framework for examining macro strategies, while Lovihandre et al.’s (2018) framework was applied to evaluate micro strategies. The findings indicated that the translator of ‘Atonement’ employed the macro strategy of dysphemism more dominantly, along with the micro strategies of taboo-for-taboo and substitution. This suggests that the translator did not conform to censorship practices, which is at odds with the prevailing cultural norms of the target society. Finally, a revised taxonomy of taboo translation micro strategies is proposed.

Keywords: dysphemism, euphemism, orthophemism, slang, taboo

1. Introduction

People may have specific ways of using language to expose their feelings in daily life. For example, people use bad language to show anger, disappointment, and frustration. Bad language is a term that people use in their daily lives when they use inappropriate language to communicate among themselves. Still, the term ‘bad language’ is considered taboo in linguistics, specifically in sociolinguistics. The term taboo is part of a culture and has special powers. Generally, a taboo is sacred and cannot be touched or spoken because it is considered taboo. In every culture, taboo actions should not be done and taboo words should not be said (Irwan, 2021). Taboo is a phenomenon that is widespread throughout the world; some words or sentences are now very sensitive to talk about (Nurcholish, 2023).

Allan and Burridge (2006) defined taboo language as language used to express emotions such as anger, disappointment, and dissatisfaction, and is considered dangerous and should be avoided. People use taboo words to convey their displeasure and capture the genuine attention of others. They discussed how taboo language serves as a linguistic variation for expressing emotions. Taboo words are a linguistic phenomenon that can create challenges for speakers and listeners from different cultural backgrounds. Various cultures have varying taboos, which can include references to the human body, crime, war, sexual activities, food, death, animals, politics, money, and religion. This underscores the cultural specificity of language and social norms (Almijrab, 2020). This complexity further complicates the translation process, as translation is influenced by the cultural, religious, political, and ideological beliefs and norms of the target culture. One of the most challenging aspects of translation is the translation of taboo language. In essence, translating what is deemed taboo is the most demanding and limiting task for translators. As taboos are translated, translators must consider specific ideological and

¹ Corresponding Author: f.mirhosseini97@gmail.com

cultural issues. Consequently, social, cultural, and ideological factors contribute to the problem of censorship in translating taboo expressions. Thus, the cultural, moral, and ideological inclinations and behaviors of the target audience influence the translation strategies adopted by translators. Therefore, translators handle taboo expressions by employing specific strategies like censorship (Güvendi Yalçın, 2020).

The present article explored the translation of taboo terms from English into Persian, particularly in the context of Iranian society, where taboo language is often censored or replaced. The study compared the English novel *Atonement* with its Persian translation, focusing on the macro and micro strategies used by the translator to handle taboo words while remaining loyal to the ethical and ideological norms of the target society and staying faithful to the original text. The study aimed to provide insights into the strategies involved in translating taboo terms in a culturally appropriate and accurate manner. Thus, the following research question was formulated: *What (macro and micro) strategies were used in the Persian translation of taboo terms in the novel 'Atonement' based on Allan and Burridge's X-phemism model?*

2. Literature review

2.1. Taboo

The term 'taboo' originates from the Tongan term 'tapu' which signifies 'forbidden' (Allan & Burridge, 2006). Taboo is a temporary prohibition on engaging with, entering, seeing, or touching certain things (Allan & Burridge, 2006). These are objects that are socially banned because they can "put the speaker at a moral risk" or lead to "social ostracism or mere disapproval" (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p.1). As Wardhaugh and Fuller (2021) pointed out, taboo language refers to words that are considered inappropriate to utter due to the potential to cause anxiety, embarrassment, or shame. Taboos cover a wide range of subjects, including bodily functions, sex, death, politics, and religion (Allan & Burridge, 2006; Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). People violate taboos to exercise their freedom of speech or to seek attention and be deliberately provocative. Another motivation for challenging taboos is to demonstrate their irrational and unwarranted nature (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021) or to express the speaker's emotions, especially anger and frustration (Pizarro Pedraza, 2022).

In specific crucial circumstances, using non-taboo language may not effectively convey the same emotions (Mercury, 1995). Furthermore, swearing depends on the context and factors such as the relationship between the speaker and listener, social status (Ávila-Cabrera, 2015), and age can impact the choice of words, categorizing them as taboo or non-taboo (Pizarro Pedraza, 2022). According to Ávila-Cabrera (2016), swear words are a form of offensive language that can be categorized into three groups: abusive expressions (like cursing and insults), expletives (such as exclamatory swear words), and invectives (like subtle insults). Therefore, swear words can be viewed as a type of taboo language.

Taboo topics differ across languages and change over time. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2021) explained that taboos encompass a wide range of topics, including bodily functions, sex, death, politics, and religion. According to Allan and Burridge (2006), taboo topics can be categorized into various groups, such as taking the name of God in vain, cursing and wishing desires for death or illness, disability or madness, discussing excretion and urination, as well as topics related to sex and race.

A word, action, or behavior considered taboo in one society may not be regarded as such in another society. This is evident in the societal changes we observe today, where what was once considered taboo decades ago is no longer so, and what was previously not taboo can become taboo after a certain period. For example, the use of 'damn' in *Gone with the Wind* was considered outrageous at the time when the film was made (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). But today, it is frequently used in many American films.

The use of language among young people to communicate taboo topics, particularly those related to sex, has sparked renewed interest in research. Young people are seen to be less affected by taboos (Ndhlovu & Botha, 2017), especially due to the increasing availability of communication platforms as a result of technological advancements (Rinaldi, 2020). While studies on euphemistic language use in multicultural settings have been conducted (Frentiu, 2020; Yildiz, 2021), there remains a need for research to explore the specific context in which euphemistic language strategies are employed to address taboo topics within multilingual and multicultural urban contexts.

Jay (2009) presented nine types of taboo words, which were also used to identify taboo words in the present study.

1. 'Obscenity' refers to the taboo items that are most offensive and rarely, if ever, are used in public places. Obscenities are sexual in nature and are indecent, for example, "mother fucker."

2. 'Profanity' is based on a religious distinction. To be profane means to be secular or behaving out and to be ignorant to the words in a religious belief that seeks not to denigrate God, religion, or holy affairs but would be based more on the ignorance of or indifference to these matters. Some examples are "Jesus Christ, I'm tired of this!"

3. 'Vulgarity' means the language of the common person, 'the person in the street', or the unsophisticated, un-socialized, under-educated; for example, "Kiss my ass!"

4. 'Epithets' are brief but forceful bursts of emotional language. They are more powerful in presentation (loudness or duration) and offensiveness than other type of cursing; for example, "Shit!" or "Damn!"

5. 'Blasphemy' is an attack on a religious doctrine that obtains scorn via the power of the church such that the greater the power of the institution of religion the more one could be punished for the use of blasphemous language. While 'profanity' is related to secular or indifferent (to religion), blasphemy aims directly at the church.

6. 'Cursing' are the words that invoke harm on another person through the use of certain words or phrases probably aiming it to happen in the future, for example: "I hope you broke your neck" or "God damn you!"

7. 'Slang' refers to a vocabulary that is developed in certain communities and sub-groups (teenagers, musicians, soldiers, drug users, or athletes) and serves to identify members of these sub-groups. Some examples of slang terms are: "pimp", "dweeb", and "cupcakes".

8. 'Insult and slur' are a verbal attack on other people. These words are spoken to harm another person by the word alone. Slurs may be facial, ethnic, or social in nature and may indicate stereotyping or prejudice of the speaker. Insult may denote the physical, mental, or psychological qualities of the target and are commonly heard on the school playground. They both function to hurt the person directly through a particular word or phrase. Some insults and slurs use animal imagery, for example pig, dog, and jackass. Some are based on social deviations, for example, whore, slut, bastard, homo, fag, or queer.

9. 'Scatological' terms refer to human waste products or processes. Such terms are among the early words that children hear and use when they are toilet trained. For example: Poo Poo, Poop, turd, crap, shit, shit ass, piss, piss off, and fart.

2.2. Taboo in translation

In every culture, some taboo words should not be said (Irwan, 2021). The taboo words are part of every culture. On the other hand, translation is concerned with culture and happens in a cultural context. Therefore, in translation, one cultural aspect that should be considered is the taboo language. One feature of taboo language is its instability. According to Kaya (2015), taboo can change depending on the context, so something that is considered taboo in one culture might not be taboo in another. They are specific to "a specifiable community of people, for a specified context, at a given place and time" (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p.27). Therefore, in the context of translation, content that is not considered taboo in the source culture might be seen as taboo in the target culture, and vice versa (Kaya, 2015). Another feature of taboo language is untranslatability. Catford (1964, as cited in Mohammadi & Keshavarz, 2016) claimed that cultural untranslatability takes place when a situational feature, functionally relevant to the SL text, is completely absent from the culture of which the TL is a part. He also claimed that cultural untranslatability is not as 'absolute' as linguistic untranslatability. On the other hand, linguistic untranslatability occurs when a suitable equivalent for the SL item cannot be found in the TL. This lack of translation is solely due to differences between language systems (Catford, 1964 as cited in Mohammadi & Keshavarz, 2016). Most of the taboo words fall in the category of cultural untranslatability, i.e. what is said in one culture cannot be accepted in the other and vice versa. For instance, the *showing of a thump up* in English culture is a sign of success, peace, and friendliness whereas in Persian culture it is taboo and gives the opposite meaning, i.e. related to sex (Davoodi, 2009).

Kusumaningsih (2019) argued that the use of taboo language is not allowed in a society because it goes against religious or cultural norms, and it also reflects the social norms, educational background, and identity of the speakers. In light of this, Allan and Burridge (2006) mentioned that to avoid negative stereotypes, individuals are conscious of censoring their language to promote well-being for themselves and others. In summary, as the use of taboo language can lead to negative stereotypes, people are now more mindful of refining their language to be less offensive and more polite or indirect.

Translators can use different macro and micro strategies for translating taboo terms based on the context and culture into which they translate. Some of the most prominent macro and micro strategies widely used by researchers follow:

Lovihandrie et al. (2018) developed a mixed model for classifying taboo words based on Brownlie (2007), Robinson (2006), and Davoodi (2009). This model includes six micro-strategies for translating taboo expressions:

1. *Omission*: The translator removes certain parts of the source text while transferring it to the target language. This is done to eliminate the taboo nature of the source text, as the words may be too vulgar for the target audience.

2. *Substitution*: The taboo term is replaced with another term in the target language. This is done to ensure that the target audience understands the meaning of the text without being offended.

3. *Taboo for taboo*: The taboo expression in the source language is translated into a taboo expression in the target language that has the same expressive and propositional meaning. This strategy is only used when the two languages are extremely similar in cultural terms.

4. *Borrowing*: The word is taken from the source language with fewer changes made to the spoken rules in the target language. This strategy is divided into two categories: pure and naturalized borrowing.

5. *Generalization*: The taboo expressions are translated using expressions in the target language that cover the same meaning as those found in the source text.

6. *Euphemism*: Offensive expressions are replaced with more polite and acceptable expressions to protect the readers or audience from possible offense.

Schjoldager et al. (2010) utilized a model of analysis that consists of twelve strategies that translators can use while translating. According to them, there are two main categories: a) macro strategies and b) micro strategies and each category works on a specific level of translation. The twelve micro-strategies manifest themselves in the following: “direct transfer, calque, direct translation, oblique translation, explication, paraphrase, condensation, adaptation, addition, and substitution” (Schjoldager et al., 2010, p.89).

Allan and Burridge (2006) mentioned that when discussing taboo and language censorship, it is common to also discuss politeness, and impoliteness, and how they relate to three strategies: euphemism (sweet talking), dysphemism (offensive talking), and orthophemism (straight talking). They also introduced the term X-phemism to encompass euphemisms, orthophemisms, and dysphemisms. Dysphemism refers to a word or phrase with offensive connotations towards either the denoted subject or the people addressed or overhearing the utterance. In contrast, orthophemisms and euphemisms are considered alternative expressions that are preferred over taboo expressions. Essentially, orthophemistic and euphemistic language usage is chosen over taboo expressions. Therefore, dysphemistic expressions can be perceived as impolite when compared to the use of euphemisms and orthophemisms. Allan and Burridge (2006) also highlight the more direct and formal nature of orthophemism and the more indirect and colloquial nature of euphemisms. They emphasize that both choices result from self-censoring, whether consciously or unconsciously. It is important to consider that the perception of these three language choices can vary depending on the context in which they are used.

2.3. Empirical studies

Using Baker’s translation strategies, Lestari and Sutrisno (2023) employed a qualitative descriptive method to examine the strategies for translating taboo words with euphemistic meanings in the *Big Little Lies* series. They found 5 types of strategies from 145 collected data: (1) omission (50), (2) less expressive (38), (3) paraphrase translation strategy with related words (29), (4) borrowing (23), and (5) using more common words (14). They concluded that employing these strategies has implications such as reducing the emotional impact of the SL, preserving the dignity of the audience, and facilitating the acceptance of taboo words in the TL’s culture.

Nurcholish et al. (2023) examined taboo language in the film *The Wolf of Wall Street* to identify its types and describe its functions. They concluded with four types of taboo language, i.e. profanity, (51.25%), obscenity (18.75%), epithets (17.5%), and vulgarity language (12.5%), respectively. They further identified four functions, i.e. drawing attention (48.84%), followed by provocation (27.13%), contempt (20.15%), and authority mockery (3.87%). Dewi et al. (2022) conducted a study to discover the translation strategies of taboo words from English into Indonesian in the 'Beautiful Bastard novel' using Davoodi's (2009) model of translation strategies. They found four taboo translation strategies taboo for taboo, censorship, substitution, and applying euphemism, respectively. They concluded that the translator prefers to maintain the taboo expression in the translated novel rather than changing it into a more agreeable or inoffensive word. Zagood et al. (2022) analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively the strategies used for translating taboo words in Alnabhan's Arabic translation of Manson's (2016) *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck* using Almihrab's (2020) classification of the appropriate translation strategies. They found that applying euphemism is the widely used strategy in dealing with taboos followed by 'taboo for taboo.' Putranti et al. (2017) conducted a study on the translation of sexual language from an English novel into Indonesian. They focused on euphemism (sweet talking), orthophemism (straight talking), and dysphemism (offensive talking). Using Molina and Albier's translation techniques, they found that many words, phrases, and clauses were categorized as orthophemism, dysphemism (by translating them using generalization or modulation and transposition, i.e. shifting the focus of the phrase/sentence), and euphemism (by using softening strategies). They also discovered that the translator practiced self-censorship by employing generalization, reduction, and deletion when encountering direct or offensive words that were too vulgar or taboo. Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021) analyzed the methods used to translate English words/expressions into Arabic, as well as an evaluation of the quality of subtitling for these expressions. Their study revealed that the two most frequently used strategies were euphemistic translation and omission. In terms of the quality of the subtitles, they were determined to be of a high standard.

Numerous studies have been conducted in Iran on the translation of taboo language from a variety of perspectives. Samir and Ghyasi Hashemzadeh (2023) asserted that the translation of taboo words poses a significant challenge for translators involved in subtitling and dubbing movies. They emphasized the importance of handling such translations with care to avoid violating the norms of the target society. In their study, they utilized a corpus-based approach to identify the specific strategies employed by Iranian translators when dubbing and subtitling taboo words, such as the F-word, from American English drama crime television series into Persian, based on Davoodi's (2009) model. Their research revealed that the primary strategy utilized by Iranian translators for dubbing and subtitling the F-word was Substitution, followed by Euphemism.

Bigdeloo (2022) carried out a research study to find out the most frequently utilized methods for translating taboos in the 1390s/2010s. Four Persian translations of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* which were published during this timeframe, were chosen for analysis. Furthermore, the sole pre-Islamic Revolution translation of the novel was also examined for comparison purposes. He employed a mixed theoretical framework to identify taboo elements and examine the translation methods used. The findings indicated a broad array of translation strategies, indicating that translators' individual choices may have had a greater impact than norm-based decisions when it came to translating taboo elements.

Haddadi et al. (2021) identified the techniques used in the translation of the *Mokhtarnameh* series in a qualitative and descriptive-analytical method. They evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of the translation by criticizing and examining the inputs of Persian taboos in the Arabic dubbing of the TV series. They defined, formatted, and recognized the translation of the taboos used in the TV series by the most important linguistic strategies in constructing euphemism, including semantic implication, semantic expansion, permissible, omission, reduction, duplication, contradiction, and literal or semantic translations. They further concluded that using the method of reduction and contradiction, respectively, has been the most frequent and least frequent strategies in translating the studied TV series.

Beizaee and Mirza-suzani (2019) conducted a qualitative research study on English euphemisms and their translation into Persian to explore how Warren's (1992) semantic categories of euphemisms are handled in the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Emma*. They utilized Newmark's translation approaches to assess the translation of euphemistic expressions. They scrutinized the translation of euphemistic metaphors, metonymies, overstatements, understatements as well as reversals (antonyms).

Their findings showed that Persian equivalents are not necessarily metonymical and metaphorical, and are not always euphemistic. However, the translations can be highly communicative when specific strategies are employed. The study also concluded that the translator has the flexibility to translate formally and maintain the same intensity as in the overstatement, understatement, and reversal. Similarly, the translator has the liberty to translate in a non-euphemistic manner. Nazari Robati, et al. (2018) conducted a study on translating taboo terms. Their study showed that the translator used four strategies based on Davoodi's (2009) strategies to translate the taboo terms from English into Persian, which were substitution, taboo for taboo, censorship, and euphemism, respectively.

Overall, Iranian researchers have widely addressed taboo language translation. However, few, if any, have conducted the analyses from macro and micro perspectives, employing Allan and Burridge's (2006) X-phemism model for the former and Lovihandrie et al.'s (2018) model for the latter perspective to tackle taboo language. Furthermore, many of the studies conducted in Iran focused on taboo words in the audiovisual translation field. Therefore, it was determined in this study to focus on the Persian translation of taboo terms in *Atonement* from macro and micro perspectives.

3. Methods

3.1. Design and corpus

For this study, a descriptive design was used. It is descriptive because the researcher focused on observing and describing the occurrence of taboo words and the translator's choice of macro and micro-strategies in the product. The corpus of the study consisted of the English metafictional novel *Atonement* by Ian McEwan (published in 2001 in the USA, 371 pages) and its Persian translation by Mostafa Mofidi (published in 2012, Niloofar Publications, Tehran, 437 pages). As one of McEwan's best works, *Atonement* was the winner of the 2001 Booker Prize for fiction. The Persian translation chosen for the study was the one by Mostafa Mofidi. He is an Iranian linguist and translator who translated the novel in 2012.

3.2. Data analysis

The analysis of data was mainly textual, and the unit of analysis was 'sentence'. To answer the research question (analysis of X-phemism macro and micro strategies used in the translation of taboo terms), a sample of 139 cases were classified, described, and interpreted based on Allan and Burridge's (2006) model to mark the translation macro strategies used by the translator. To present a more reliable analysis and interpretations of the taboo terms and their denotative and connotative meanings, the monolingual English dictionary (online Cambridge Dictionary) and the bilingual English-Persian dictionaries (*Farhang-e Moaser Pooya Dictionary* by Mohammad Reza Bateni (2020), *Farhang-e Moaser Hezareh [Millennium]* by Ali Mohammad Haghshenas (2022) and the online *Abadis* dictionary) were consulted. In so doing, it was determined if the translator had chosen to use 'straight talk', 'sweet talk', or 'offensive talk'. The extent of the strategies was also calculated based on the frequency and percentage of the analyzed strategies. Then, the sample of 139 cases was classified into nine micro strategies based on Lovihandrie et al.'s (2018) model determining the translation micro strategies for each case, again seeking help from the mentioned dictionaries, and then the number of macro and micro strategies was counted.

4. Results

4.1. Analysis of macro strategies

A total number of 139 taboo terms were identified and analyzed. Figure 1 presents the results of the macro strategies adopted in translating the taboo terms to answer the research question.

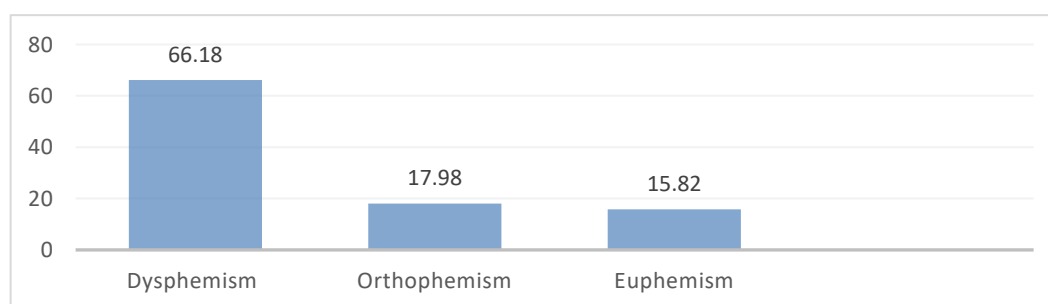


Figure 1. Macro Strategies Used in the Translation of Taboo Terms

Based on Figure 1, the most frequent strategy used in the translation of the taboo terms and words was ‘dysphemism’ (66.18%), followed by ‘orthophemism’ (17.98%) and the least frequent strategy was ‘euphemism’ (15.82%). This indicates that the translator of this novel preferred not to reduce the rude and offensive load of the taboo terms of the text.

4.2. Analysis of micro strategies

Figure 2 shows the results of the micro strategies used by the translator to translate the taboo terms in the novel.

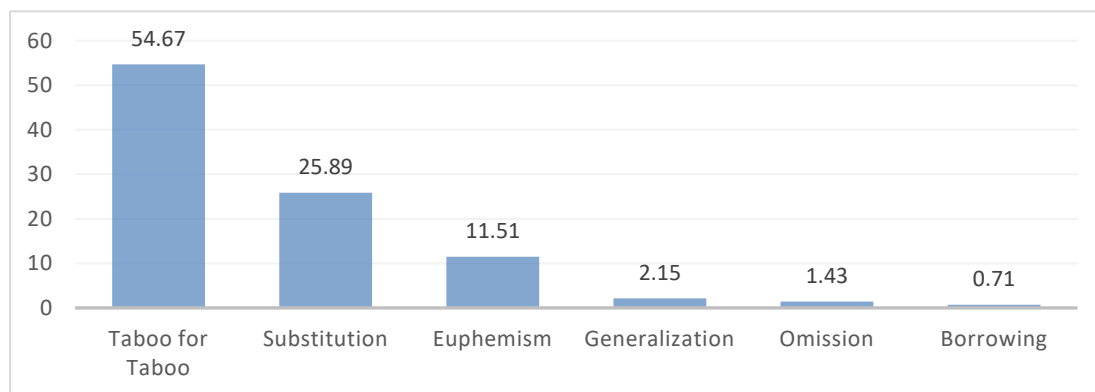


Figure 2. Micro Strategies Used in the Translation of Taboo Terms

As Figure 2 shows, the most frequent micro strategy used in the translation of the taboo terms and words was ‘taboo for taboo’ (54.67%), followed by ‘substitution’ (26.61%), ‘euphemism’ (11.51%), and ‘generalization’ (2.15%). The least frequent strategies were ‘omission’ (1.43%) and ‘borrowing’ (0.71%). This indicates that the translator of the novel preferred more dominantly to render the taboo terms with taboo and also with substitutions.

In the following section, several examples of the textual analysis including the ST, the type of the taboo term, the TT, and the employed macro and micro strategies are presented, followed by descriptions of each. The remaining examples are presented in the Appendix.

Example 1:

...through the open windows came the faint leathery scent of cow dung (P. 19)

از پنجره‌های باز بوی خفیف و نافذ تاپاله گاو به درون می آمد.

This example illustrates that the phrase ‘dung’ is categorized as the taboo category of ‘slang’ based on Jay’s (2009) classification of taboo words, as it refers to the ‘solid waste from animals, especially cattle and horses’ (Cambridge online dictionary) and is commonly used by stockbreeders and farmers (the formal term is ‘excrement’). The translation macro strategy employed for this taboo word is orthophemism, as the expression used (تاپاله گاو) is neither euphemized nor dysphemized (more obscene words such as ‘پهن گاو’ could have been used). Regarding the translation micro strategy, a taboo word in TT is replaced by a taboo word in the ST, making use of the ‘taboo for taboo’ micro strategy.

Example 2:

I went out for a slash. (P. 193)

برای ادرار کردن بیرون

رفتم

In the above example, the word ‘a slash’ is considered a taboo word and falls into the category of ‘slang’. In UK English, ‘slash’ means “the act of going to the toilet and urinating” (Cambridge online dictionary). However, in translation, the translator has replaced it with a more straightforward word ‘ادرار کردن’ [Lit.: urinating] which is a rather formal and polite word. Therefore, the macro strategy adopted by the translator is ‘orthophemism’ and the micro strategy used to realize it is ‘euphemism’.

Example: 3

...a good wedding was an unacknowledged representation of the as yet unthinkable - sexual bliss. (P. 9)

یک ازدواج نیالوده به گناه هم آغوشی سعادت باری را نوید می داد که هنوز قدرش شناخته نشده بود.

This example contains the phrase ‘sexual bliss’ which means “having perfect happiness because of sex” (Cambridge online dictionary). As it is concerned with ‘sexual affairs’, it falls into the taboo category of ‘obscenity’. However, in Persian, the translator has replaced it with a more neutral phrase ‘هم آغوشی سعادت بار’ [Lit.: happy co-bedding] which, of course, implies ‘having sex’. Thus, the translator has adopted the macro strategy of ‘euphemism’ along with the micro strategy of ‘generalization’.

Example: 4

Has he had the spanking? (P. 26)

کتکش را

خورد؟

The word 'spanking' in the above example falls into the taboo category of 'slang' because it is "the act of hitting someone [or animals] with the hand, usually several times on the bottom as a punishment or for sexual pleasure" (Cambridge online dictionary). However, the translator has avoided rendering the exact features of 'spanking' into Persian and has replaced it with the general word 'کتکش' [Lit.: strike] which is a different word and could be any type of physical punishment. Thus, the translation macro strategy used is 'euphemism', and 'generalization' is the micro strategy used to translate it.

Example: 5

In my dreams I kiss your cunt, your sweet wet cunt in my thoughts I make love to you all day long. (P. 63)

شب ها در خواب قله زهره ات، قله زهره مرطوبت را می بوسم. و در عالم خیال سراسر روز با تو عشق بازی می کنم.

In this example, the word 'cunt' is used twice. This word is a very vulgar rude word for 'vagina' (the sexual organ of women) (Cambridge online dictionary). Thus, it falls into the taboo category of 'obscenity'. However, the translator has replaced the two words with euphemistic words 'قله زهره' [Lit.: Zohre peak] to mitigate the degree of its rudeness. As such, the translator has adopted a 'euphemism' macro strategy along with the 'substitution' micro strategy. The expression 'make love' is also used in the above example which has a taboo connotation "to have sex" (Cambridge online dictionary). Therefore, it goes into the taboo category of 'obscenity'. However, the translator has replaced it with 'عشق بازی' [Lit.: playing love] as a more general euphemistic word which in Persian does not necessarily refer to 'having sex'. Thus, the macro strategy adopted is 'euphemism' and the micro strategy applied is 'generalization'.

Example: 6

... so that he could throw up or crap he, didn't know which (P. 139)

می خواست جلوتر خارج از دید باشد، تا بتواند بالا بیاورد یا مدفوعش را تخلیه کند، نمی دانست کدامیک.

In this example, the rude word 'crap' is used which goes into the taboo category of 'scatological'. The taboo word 'crap' is "a rude word for solid waste" (Cambridge online dictionary) of a human or animal. However, the translator has refrained from using an offensive word in Persian and has replaced it with the euphemistic word 'تخلیه کردن مدفوع' [Lit.: to defecate]. As such, the macro strategy adopted by the translator is 'euphemism' and the micro strategy applied is 'euphemism'.

Example 7:

You idiot! look what you've done.

ابله! ببین چه کار

کرده ای!

In this example, the taboo word 'ابله' [Lit.: stupid] falls into the category of 'epithet' because a person is calling (insulting) another loudly with a taboo word. The macro strategy used by the translator is dysphemism because the word 'ابله' [Lit.: stupid] is not socially acceptable and obscene word to call someone. As both words in ST and TT are uncommonly taboo, it can be said that the micro strategy used to translate this taboo word is 'taboo for taboo'.

Example 8:

...an embroidered flower, a simple daisy, sewn between the cups of her bra. Her breasts were wide apart and small.

گلی، گل مینا، دوخته شده در میان دو کاسه پستان بندش. پستان هوایی کوچک و دو از هم.

This example contains the words 'cups of her bra' which, as is concerned with women's underwear as their private clothing, falls into the taboo category of 'obscenity'. The translator has not refrained from using the same offensive words, thus has adopted a dysphemism macro strategy and as the same words (کاسه for 'cups' and پستان بند for 'bra') are directly used in the Persian translation, it can be stated that the micro strategy used is 'taboo for taboo'.

Example: 9

"A fucking shambles," she heard them mutter. "Fucking RAF." (P.231)

شنید که زیر لب می گویند: «افتضاح، کثافت. نیروی هوایی سلطنتی گند زده.»

In the above example, the offensive word 'fucking' is used twice as adjectives before 'shambles' and 'RAF'. In both cases, they fall into the taboo category of 'insult and slur' "used to emphasize a statement, especially an angry one" (Cambridge online dictionary). The translator has substituted them with the rude adjective 'افتضاح کثافت' [Lit.: awful] and the verb 'گند زدن' [Lit.: mess up; fuck up]. Therefore, in

both cases, the macro strategy adopted is ‘dysphemism’ because the translator has used taboo words, and the micro strategy used is ‘substitution’. It is noticeable that in the second case, ‘transposition’ has occurred because the adjective has changed into a verb.

Example 10:

“Fuck!”

«وای! مادر»

«قبحه!»

The word ‘Fuck’ in the above example falls into the taboo category of ‘insult and slur’. As mentioned in previous examples, it is “used to emphasize a statement, especially an angry one” (Cambridge online dictionary). However, the Persian translator has substituted it with the vulgar insulting phrase ‘مادر قبحه’ [Lit.: mother fucker] which is an offensive expression, not used in public. Hence, the macro strategy adopted to deal with this offensive word is ‘dysphemism’ and the micro strategy used is ‘substitution’.

Example 11:

“Bloody ‘ell. I mean, excuse me, Nurse...” (P.217)

منظورم، لعنتی کثافت.

بیخشید....

The very informal idiom ‘bloody hell’ in the above example falls into the taboo category of ‘cursing’. It is “a rude way of expressing great anger” (Cambridge online dictionary). In translation, the translator has substituted it with two cursing adjectives ‘کثافت لعنتی’ commonly used by Persian speakers when angry. Thus, the macro strategy adopted is dysphemism and the micro strategy applied is ‘substitution’. Figure 3 shows the overall results of the six micro strategies distributed under each of the three macro strategies in taboo translation.

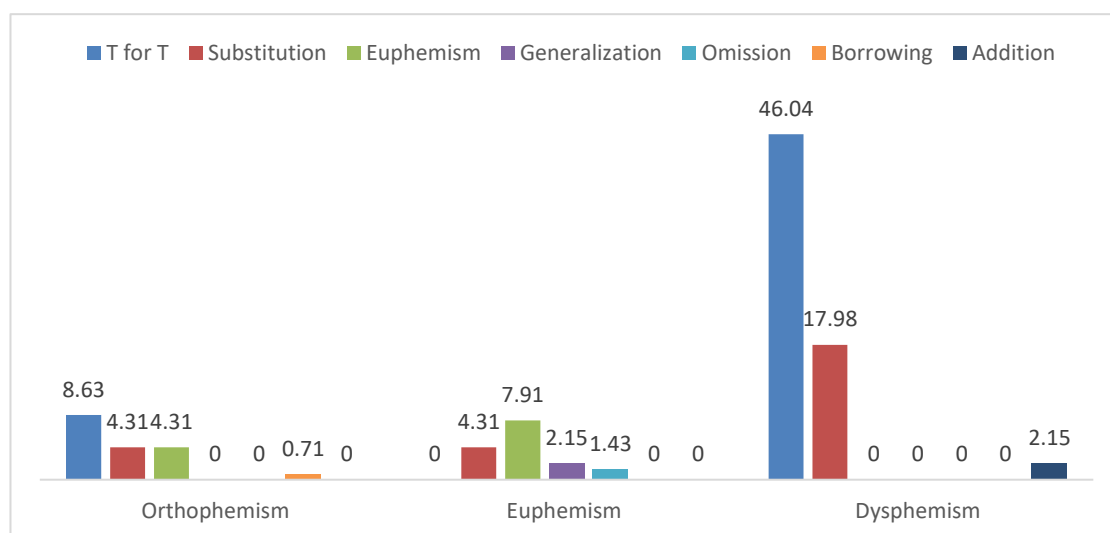


Figure 3. Results of Micro Strategies under Each Macro Strategy

As shown above, the most frequent micro strategy used by the translator to realize the orthophemism macro strategy was ‘taboo for taboo’, followed by ‘substitution’, ‘euphemism’, and ‘borrowing’. The least frequent micro strategy was ‘generalization’ (0%) and ‘omission’ (0%). Regarding the macro strategy of euphemism, the most frequent micro strategy was ‘euphemism’ (7.91%), followed by ‘substitution’, and ‘omission’. The least frequent micro strategies were ‘taboo for taboo’ (0%) and ‘borrowing’ (0%). Regarding the dysphemism macro strategy, the most frequent micro strategy was ‘taboo for taboo’ (64.04%) followed by ‘substitution’ (17.98%). The other micro strategies were the least frequent ones (0%).

5. Discussion

The findings demonstrate that the translator of the novel *Atonement* predominantly employed dysphemistic strategies in her translation, suggesting a reluctance to shy away from non-taboo or non-offensive terminology. This choice may stem from a desire to preserve the original narrative tone as intended by the author, as any avoidance of such language could potentially dilute or alter the story’s intended impact. The incorporation of taboo language is integral to the stylistic choices of certain authors, often conveying a sense of informality. This observation aligns with the research conducted by

Putranti et al. (2017), which analyzed the translation of sexual language from an English novel into Indonesian and similarly identified a predominance of dysphemistic expressions, followed by euphemistic ones. The findings further support that ‘taboo-for-taboo’ and ‘substitution’ emerged as the two predominant micro strategies employed by the translator of the novel in addressing taboo terminology. This inclination suggests that the translator aimed to maintain the novel’s occasional offensive and taboo-laden atmosphere primarily through the ‘taboo-for-taboo’ approach. This was subsequently supported by the use of substitution and euphemism to temper the story’s more offensive elements.

The findings also support those of Bigdeloo (2022), who analyzed translation strategies for taboos in four Persian renditions of *The Catcher in the Rye*. His research identified a diverse set of translation techniques, suggesting that individual translator choices exert a more significant influence than adherence to normative practices when dealing with taboo content. The context of Iran, marked by extensive prohibitions and cultural taboos, necessitates compliance with specific societal norms and regulations, especially for writers and translators. In the realm of translation, one guiding principle is the mitigation and censorship of taboo language, aligning with the established norms of the profession. However, the translation of *Atonement* reveals that the translator diverged from strict normativity, favoring the strategy of dysphemism and employing the ‘taboo for taboo’ technique more prominently than other methods. Furthermore, the findings are consistent with the conclusions of Beizae and Mirza Suzani (2019) regarding the translation of Jane Austen’s ‘Emma,’ indicating that translators possess the flexibility to execute formal translations while preserving the intensity of euphemistic metaphors, metonymies, exaggerations, mitigations, and antonyms. Similarly, the current translator exhibited a degree of autonomy in choosing whether to euphemize in her translation, demonstrating the nuanced decision-making involved in the translation of taboo elements.

These findings partially align with the research conducted by Samir Ghiyasi and Hashemzadeh (2023), who, employing a corpus-based methodology, identified specific strategies utilized by Iranian translators in the realms of dubbing and subtitling taboo words. Their findings indicated that substitution was the predominant strategy, with euphemism following closely behind. This partial controversy might be due to the corpus-based methodology employed. The findings partially support those of Dewi et al. (2022), who examined taboo word translation from English to Indonesian in the novel *Beautiful Bastard* using Davoodi’s (2009) framework for translation strategies. Their research highlighted the prevalence of taboo-for-taboo, censorship, substitution, and euphemism in descending order of frequency. Notably, this partial divergence lies in the role of censorship; while it ranks as the second most common strategy in Dewi et al.’s study, it stands fifth in the present research. It may also stem from the translator’s intent to either maintain or alter the offensive tone present in the source text, alongside the extent of that preservation.

The findings, however, do not align with those of Putranti et al. (2017) concerning micro strategies. In particular, within the dysphemism framework, this research identifies ‘taboo for taboo’ and ‘substitution’ as the most commonly used micro strategies. Conversely, the research by Putranti et al. (2017) demonstrated that various terms, phrases, and clauses were translated utilizing techniques like generalization, modulation, and transposition, according to Molina and Albier’s (2002) classification of translation techniques. Moreover, the findings of the current study also contradict those found under the euphemism strategy. It suggests that the euphemism strategy is represented through the micro strategies of ‘euphemism’ and ‘substitution,’ while Putranti et al. (2017) concluded that this strategy primarily relies on softening techniques. These inconsistencies are likely attributable to the specific analytical models employed in both studies. The findings do not correspond with those of Zagood et al. (2022), who analyzed the strategies used in Alnabhan’s Arabic translation of Manson’s *The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck*. Utilizing Almihrab’s (2020) classification of translation strategies, they found that euphemism primarily addresses taboo language, with “taboo for taboo” being the second most common method. In contrast, this study classified “taboo for taboo” as the primary strategy, ranking euphemism in third. This variation may be due to the stricter observance of cultural norms and translation protocols that are common in the respective target cultures. It seems that the Arab cultural setting shows less tolerance for taboo equivalents compared to the Persian context, which allows for more flexibility. Additionally, the context of the translations within each culture could also play a role in these discrepancies, as attitudes towards authorship and translation can greatly differ based on the political environment. The findings also contradict those of Abdelaal and Sarhani (2021), who

investigated the translation methods used for English swearwords and taboo expressions into Arabic. They found that euphemistic translation and omission were the two leading strategies. In contrast, this study positions euphemistic translation and omission as the third and fifth micro-strategies, respectively, among the six strategies identified. This difference may stem from the varying contexts of the studies: Abdelaal and Sarhani concentrated on audiovisual translation, which is influenced by temporal and spatial restrictions, while the current analysis focuses on written translation. While the outcomes of the present research are consistent with those of Nazari Robati et al. (2018) regarding the main strategies for translating taboo terms, they do not reflect the same hierarchy or frequency of these strategies. Nazari Robati et al. (2018) categorized the strategies in this order: substitution, taboo for taboo, censorship, and euphemism. On the other hand, this study ranks them as taboo for taboo, substitution, euphemism, generalization, and censorship (omission).

6. Concluding remarks

The research draws several conclusions. From a macro perspective, it is concluded that the novel *Atonement* is filled with different types of taboo words including slang, obscenity, vulgarity, epithet, cursing, insult/slur as well as scatological. These taboo words characterize the register and genre of the novel. The novel is predominantly translated using the ‘dysphemism’ strategy, meaning that the translator has preferred to maintain the taboo and offensive tone of the original novel. The novel is rich in taboo terms and governed by an offensive atmosphere, and although Iran is a society with abundant taboos and prohibitions, the translator has preserved the slang, profane, obscene, vulgar, informal, offensive, cursing, and/or insulting tone of the original plot.

The translator has worked in a relatively more open situation with fewer censorship and manipulations being practiced in the field of translation at the time of its publication in Iran. Technically speaking, for the translator, fidelity to the source text precedes fidelity to the target norms or target culture. The second most used strategy is ‘orthophemism’, where the offensive and taboo items are conveyed directly, without euphemizing or dysphemizing. This means that the translator of the *Atonement* did not euphemize the taboo and offensive words, preferring to keep the emotional impact of the original text intact. Applying euphemistic strategies to replace offensive items with clean and non-taboo ones stands in the translator’s mind’s final position.

From a micro perspective, it can be concluded that the translator of the *Atonement* preferred the micro strategies of ‘taboo for taboo’ (using a similar category taboo) and ‘substitution’ (using a different category taboo) to realize the macro strategy of dysphemism. Applying these two micro strategies prepares the ground for the translator to dysphemize the taboo items by not interfering, altering, or omitting but rather preserving the terms as they are in the original terms. These two micro strategies are followed by euphemism, generalization, omission, and borrowing, which somehow euphemize taboo and offensive items. The study also revealed the distribution of different taboo translation micro strategies in each of the three macro strategies. It can be said that under orthophemism, slang, obscenity, and profanity are more common types of taboos, respectively. Under euphemism, obscenity, slang, and scatological items are more common, and finally under dysphemism, slang, obscenity, and insult are more common. This tentative categorization may help future researchers. In conclusion, translating taboos is difficult, so translators use specific strategies based on their limitations. Translation is similar to other forms of writing and is also influenced by ideology. Translated works are a valuable resource for studying the representation of ideologies in the text. Therefore, analyzing the strategies used by translators allows us to see how translation can be affected by censorship and ideological publishing policies. Consequently, it can be argued that the translation of taboos is closely connected to censorship, norms, ideologies, and power dynamics. Further research into this interconnectedness can provide more insight into taboo translation, which deserves special attention.

A marginal conclusion of this study is the occasional observation of the technique ‘addition’ (3 cases) among the analyzed data which does not exist in Lovihandrie et al.’s (2018) category of micro strategies. For example, in the sentence “She wedged lavatory paper into the heel of her shoe.” (P. 240), the translator has added the phrase ‘مثل گوه’ [Lit.: like shit] in the translation which does not exist in the source text. [کاغذ توالت را مثل گوه در پاشنه کفشش فرو کرد.] This is used to dysphemize where the original writer has not used a taboo item but the translator has employed one to present an offensive atmosphere or to intensify it.

Based on the discovery of ‘addition’ and the results obtained (the relationship between Allan and Burridge’s (2006) macro strategies and Lovihandrie et al.’s (2018) micro strategies, a nuanced classification of macro and micro strategies is tentatively proposed for handling taboo items in more faithful translations. This category may not work for translating taboo language in contexts where being faithful to the norms of the target culture is superior to being faithful to the original text, and where translators and publishers are under strict control and censorship by cultural authorities.

Table 1. A Proposed Taxonomy of the Taboo Word Translation Micro Strategies

Macro strategies	Micro strategies
Dysphemism	Taboo for taboo
	Substitution
	Euphemism
	Borrowing
	Addition
Euphemism	Substitution
	Euphemism
	Generalization
	Omission
Orthophemism	Taboo for taboo
	Substitution
	Euphemism

As Table 1 shows, ‘taboo for taboo’, ‘substitution’, ‘borrowing’, and ‘addition’ are dysphemistic, ‘substitution’, ‘euphemism’, ‘generalization’, and ‘omission’ are euphemistic, and ‘taboo for taboo’, ‘substitution’, and ‘euphemism’ are orthophemistic.

The findings of this research have several pedagogical implications for different groups of experts. For example, translators are one of the target groups that can benefit from the findings of this study. In societies with lots of social, ideological, political, and religious prohibitions and taboos such as Iran, translators have always faced the challenge of how to translate texts that contain taboo or offensive language. On the one hand, they would be criticized for being unfaithful, on the other hand, they are at least restricted by authorities in the field of content production and translation. The findings of this research inform at least novice translators how and through what strategies to tackle the taboo language, or how to stay balanced. Another group of experts that may benefit from this research’s findings is translation teachers and translator trainers. Translating the taboo language with all its difficulties as presented in this research can be a good topic for class discussions and probably class projects. Translation students can certainly benefit from the findings of this research. They can model this translator and view this study as a good source of learning how a well-established and experienced translator handles the challenges of translating taboo language. Material designers can also use the findings of this research as a topic for training, practice, and assessment in their would-be resources for translation courses. Finally, yet importantly, translation critics may find the results of this research useful. They are often invited by official authorities or publishers to review and evaluate the translated texts, especially for censorship purposes if necessary.

Taking into consideration the limitations and delimitations of the study, several suggestions are given for future research and further investigations. The corpus of the study containing taboo items can be expanded to provide more reliable analyses and draw more generalizable conclusions. Future researchers can make use of genres other than literary fiction to investigate how different the findings would be in terms of taboo language. Comparative studies can be conducted on studying taboo language to compare if there are differences in tackling taboo items across different genres. The reverse direction in the translation of taboo items can be adopted, that is, from Persian into English to compare how languages deal with them. The same research can be conducted in the context of audiovisual translation to explore if there are any particularities in the subtitling or dubbing of taboo language that cannot be practiced in written translation. Future studies can manage participant-based studies by employing a few bilingual individuals as assessors of the impact of the equivalents of the taboo and offensive

language in the target language. In future studies, the researchers can employ other models and frameworks for identifying both taboo language and translation macro and micro strategies.

Conflict of Interest: The authors state no conflict of interest.

Sources of Funding: No funds, grants, or other support was received

References

- [1] Abdelaal, N. M., & Al-Sarhani, A. (2021). Subtitling strategies of swear words and taboo expressions in the movie "Training Day". *Heliyon*, 7(7).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07351>
- [2] Allan, K., & Burridge, K. (2006). *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*. Cambridge University Press.
- [3] Almihrab, R. A. (2020). Strategies used in translating English taboo expressions into Arabic. *African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Research*, 3(1), 22-30.
- [4] Ávila-Cabrera, J. J. (2016). The subtitling of offensive and taboo language into Spanish of Inglourious Basterds: A case study. *Revue Internationale de la Traduction*, 62(2), 211-232.
- [5] Bateni, M.R. (2020). *Farhang-e Moaser Pooya English-Persian dictionary*. Farhang-e Moaser Publications.
- [6] Batistella, E. L. (2005). *Bad language: Are some words better than others?* Oxford University Press.
- [7] Beizae, M., & Mirza Suzani, S. (2019). A semantic study of English euphemistic expressions and their Persian translations in Jane Austen's novel "Emma". *International Academic Journal of Humanities*, 6(1), 81-93.
- [8] Bigdeloo, M. (2022). Translating taboo language in the 1390s: The case of "The Catcher in the Rye". *Iranian Journal of Translation Studies*, 19(76), 75-90.
- [9] Brownlie, S. (2007). Examining self-censorship: Zola's Nana in English translation. In F. Billiani (Ed.) *Modes of censorship and translation: National contexts and diverse media* (pp.205-34). St. Jerome Publishing.
- [10] Davoodi, Z. (2009). On the translation of the taboos. *Translation Studies*, 21,130-137.
- [11] Dewi, N. P. T. R., Puspani, I. A. M., & Mulyawan, I. W. (2022). Translation strategies of taboo words in Christina Lauren's "Beautiful Bastard" novel from English into Indonesian. *Udayana Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 6(2), 69-76.
- [12] Frentiu, L. (2020). Translating euphemisms in an audio-visual medium: The case of stand-up comedy. *Romanian Journal of English Studies*, 17(1), 63-73.
- [13] Güvendi Yalçın, E. (2020). Taboos as cultural constraints in translation: a comparative analysis on Stephen King's Salem Lot. *International Journal of Languages Education and Teaching*, 8(3), 50-67.
- [14] Haddadi, M., Najafi Ivaki, A., & Seifi, M. (2021). Review of Strategies Used in Translating the Taboos of the *Mokhtarnameh* TV Series. *Translation Researches in the Arabic Language And Literature*, 11(24), 217-241.
<http://doi.org/10.22054/rctall.2021.61862.1571>
- [15] Haghshenas, A.M. (2022). *Farhang Moaser Hezareh [Millennium] English - Persian dictionary*. Farhang-e Moaser Publications.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2015.1031675>
- [16] Irwan, Z. (2021). Taboo words expressed in "Get Hard Movie". *ELS Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 4(3), 303-306.
- [17] Jay, T. (2009). The utility and ubiquity of taboo words. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4(2), 153-161.
- [18] Pizarro Pedraza, A. (2022). Sociolinguistic factors in the preference for direct and indirect expression of sexual concepts1. In *The Routledge Handbook of Variationist Approaches to Spanish* (pp. 582-595). Routledge.
- [19] Kaya, M. T. (2015). *Translation of taboo language: the strategies employed in three Turkish translations of Lady Chatterley's Lover* [Master's thesis, Hacettepe University, Turkey].
- [20] Kusumaningsih, D. G. Y. (2019). Taboo words in "21 Jump Street Movie". *Retorika: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa*, 5(1), 23-31.

-
- [21] Lestari, R., & Sutrisno, A. (2023). Euphemism of taboo translation in the *Big Little Lies* Series. *Diglosia: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, 6(3), 711-722.
- [22] Lovihandrie, H., Mujiyanto, J., & Sutopo, D. (2018). Translation strategies used by Lingliana in translating taboo words in "Sylvia Days' Bared to You." *Universitas Negeri Semarang*, 8(2), 208-220.
<https://10.15294/EEJ.V8I3.21949>
- [23] McEwan, I. (2001). *Atonement*. Random House.
- [24] Mercury, R. E. (1995). Swearing: A. *TESL Canada Journal*, 13(1), 28-36.
- [25] Mofidi, M. (2012). *Taawan [Atonement]*. Niloofar Publications.
- [26] Mohammadi, B. & Keshavarzi, A. (2016). Cultural translatability and untranslatability: A case study of translation of "Rostam and Sohrab". *Journal of Global Research in Education and Social Science*, 6(3), 138-147.
- [27] Molina, L., & Hurtado Albir, A. (2002). Translation techniques revisited: A dynamic and functionalist approach. *Meta*, 47(4), 498-512.
- [28] Nazari Robati, F., & Zand, F. (2018). Translation of taboos: The absolutely true diary of a part-time Indian. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 7(3), 35-40.
<http://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.7n.3p.35>.
- [29] Ndhlovu, K., & Botha, R. (2017). Euphemism vs explicitness: A corpus-based analysis of translated taboo words from English to Zimbabwean Ndebele. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 37(2), 235-243.
- [30] Nurcholish, M., Taufik, M., & Syurganda, A. (2023). Analysis of taboo language used in the "Wolf of Wall Street" movie. *Ashlition: Ash-Shahabah English Literature, Linguistics, & Education*, 1(2), 24-33.
<https://doi.org/10.59638/ashlition.v1i2.631>
- [31] Putranti, S., Nababan, M. R., & Tarjana, S. (2017). Euphemism, orthophemism, and dysphemism in the translation of sexual languages. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 158, Proceedings of the International Conference on Teacher Training and Education.
- [32] Rinaldi, F. (2020). *Beyond modernity and tradition: Digital spaces for sexuality education in Kenya*, [Master's thesis, Dalarna University].
- [33] Robinson, D. (2006). *Translation and taboo*. Northern Illinois University Press.
- [34] Samir, A., & Ghiyasi Hashemizadeh, A. (2023). Rendering taboos in subtitling and dubbing: A case study of the Persian translation of the American drama television series. *Journal of Research in Techno-based Language Education*, 3(1), 18-35.
- [35] Schjoldager, A., Gottlieb, H., & Klitgard, I. (2010). *Understanding translation*: Academica.
- [36] Wardhaugh, R., & Fuller, J. M. (2021). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. John Wiley & Sons.
- [37] Warren, B. C. (1992). What euphemisms tell us about the interpretation of words. *Studia Linguistica*, 46(2), 128-172.
- [38] Yildiz, F. (2021). Use of euphemisms in youth language. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 17(2), 1117-1128.
- [39] Zagood, M.J., Almazrouei, A.H., Alnaqbi, M.S., Almheiri, F.A. (2022). Translating taboos: An analysis of the Arabic translation of Manson's 'The Subtle Art of Not Giving a F*ck'. In: B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, M. Trojszczak, (Eds.) *Concepts, discourses, and translations* (pp.299-223). Springer.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-96099-5_16