

Types and Functions of Linguistic Taboos in Iranian Movies

Narges Rahmani¹

Behzad Rahbar*²

Mohammad Reza Oroji³

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Abstract

The present study explored the linguistic taboos in the Iranian cinema. Twenty Iranian movies in a period of twenty years—1998 to 2018—comprised the main corpus of this study. The descriptive method was used in this sociolinguistic study to describe the conditions in the Iranian movies. To answer the research questions and analyze the data obtained on the types of taboo words, the framework provided by Andersson and Trudgill (1990) was first modified slightly and then applied to this research. All the three types of categories presented by Andersson and Trudgill, i.e., sex and bodily functions, sanctity, and animals with the absence of sex type were used in this research. Besides, the traces of five other types of death, morality, physical/mental problems, relatives, and unpleasant concepts were also found in the Iranian cinema. Moreover, in order to study the functions of the taboo words, a revised classification

¹ PhD candidate, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Education and Psychology, Islamic Azad University, Zanjan branch, Zanjan, Iran; rahmani@alumni.znu.ac.ir

² Assistant professor, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Persian Literature and Foreign Languages, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran (Corresponding Author); behzadrahbar@atu.ac.ir

³ Assistant professor, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Education and Psychology, Islamic Azad University, Zanjan branch, Zanjan, Iran; mohammadreza.oroji@iauz.ac.ir

developed by Wardhaugh (2006) was utilized. Based on the findings, among the components of Wardhaugh's classification, attention and provocation were observed in the Iranian cinema as well. A total number of 1262 taboos were detected in the data collected for this research. According to the findings, unpleasant concepts with the frequency of 49.45% proved to be the most commonly uttered type of taboo terms. Regarding the function of taboos, providing catharsis, with a frequency of 48.73%, was placed in the first rank. The findings lent us a helping hand in better understanding the spoken aspects in the informal usage of Persian; they also revealed the explicit and implicit reflections of emotions in dialogical contexts.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, Taboo, Persian Movies, Function of Taboo, Type of Taboo.

Introduction

Sociolinguistics admits the interconnection between language and the society. It is believed that the way of speaking can be an indicator of the speaker's social background, and one of the linguists' task is analyzing people's various manners of speaking in various social contexts (Holmes, 2013). Accordingly, it can be perceived that educated people may mostly make use of more sophisticated vocabularies, whereas the naive may feel a must to stick to simple terms in verbal interactions.

People usually use the same language with different variations and there are also words that form a language variation, but not all the people use them in a conversation so often. Different societies may value certain concepts in different ways; however, almost all of the societies in the world categorize good and bad language in a comparable way. Good language usually refers to when someone speaks properly and politely in the context. On the other hand, bad language, with the subcategories of blasphemy, expletives, slang, and taboo, is considered to be nonstandard and wrongly used, which sometimes results in annoyance of the addressee. Even though bad language is undoubtedly a part of any culture, and individuals at certain circumstances in their lives would, for one reason or another, find it the best to grasp, there is little research on this issue due to its sensitive nature.

Taboo terms are publicized and take various forms as cursing and swearing or in general, bad language (Jay, 1992). While, due to their offensive nature, taboos are not allowed in formal conversation, and people know that using them in the society is banned, they are still used in daily communications among friends and seem to be quite common in the daily dialogues nowadays.

The term taboo was derived from the word *tabu* in Tongan language in the late 18th century, meaning forbidden (Wardhaugh, 2006). Taboo, concerning verbal language, is associated with topics that are forbidden due to the norms in the society and, once pronounced, provoke surprise and embarrassment (Liedlich, 1973). In other words, the term taboo refers to socially-prohibited expressions that have been banned and accordingly considered as offensive by

a group, culture or society (Khan & Parvaiz, 2010). Qanbar (2011), in her study, described a linguistic taboo as any concept that can lead to shame and shock once practiced in the public. The use of such a word, phrase or topic can be attacking to a hearer's sensibilities or beliefs.

Wardhaugh (2006) believes that a society expresses its disapproval of unpleasant behaviors through taboo words, even though they do harm to its members because of either supernatural reasons or violation of moral rules. By means of taboo words, the dos and don'ts of a society are revealed and people's attitude towards certain issues within a particular society becomes clear. Taboos, thus, act as a reflection of a community's culture, religion, metaphysical beliefs and political system (Hongxu & Guisen, 2009). When it comes to taboo usage, societies use a variety of norms. According to Trudgill (1974), taboo words may be quite offcast and unwanted in some cases due to their negative connotations. Taboos pass through generations and never expire (Sedighi & Tabrizi, 2012) and this is the procedure that happens at deep unconscious levels of our behavior (Robinson, 1996). The present study aimed at analyzing taboo types and functions in the Iranian movies which are representations of human's life in society and mirror informal situations. There seems to be no research conducted on the type and function of taboo words in the Iranian movies simultaneously. On the other hand, there are types and functions such as sex and mocking authority that are absent in the Iranian movies. Thus, as an effort to fill the gap, this research aimed to study the verbal taboos practiced in twenty Iranian movies in a period of twenty years —1376 to 1396— to identify the types and functions of taboo words uttered by the characters.

The present study sought to find answers to two main questions. As the first step, the researchers were interested to trace the types of taboo expressions in the Iranian movies; this, in turn, led to an investigation of motivations behind such breaches of norms; thus, beside detecting different types of taboo terms, analyzing various functions shaped the second step to take.

Review of Literature

People may apply taboos for numerous purposes. Studying the causes of taboo usage, Liedlich (1973) has come up with several reasons some of which are listed in the following: attracting attention through applying a strong language that can evoke the addressees' instant response, creating strong interpersonal identification through saying words that others prefer not to utter to make clear what the real identity of the speaker is, discrediting the addressee through destroying the public image of the him who lacks the speaker's support and respect, catching catharsis by releasing inner flame, and finally provoking a violent confrontation through words aimed to inflame the hearer as well as feeding his fire.

In an attempt to bring the linguistic taboos into focus, Hongxu and Guisen (2009) discussed the creation, observance, and socio-cultural influences of taboo expressions. They viewed taboos as a socio-cultural phenomenon associated with superstition, custom, and hierarchical power. They classified taboo

words in four categories: sanctity, sex, bodily functions, and unpleasant matters. Chen (1993) indicated four characteristics of taboos: being ancient and barbaric, mystical, customary, and a social trend. Originally, taboos were shaped by people in ancient slavery and feudal societies to avoid supernatural revenges such as poor harvest of crops.

Al-Khatib (1995) investigated the relationship between taboos and the social context and the socio-cultural factors of topic, setting, education, and age. The study concluded that there are socio-cultural factors with a determining role for the use of taboo words or their euphemistic equivalents. In another study, Mbaya (2002) came across a custom in avoiding the mention of the names of the ones who are relatives by marriage. The study analyzed the taboo words and described the mechanisms used for finding substitutes.

Making basic generalizations regarding the linguistic taboos in the American society, Seifried (2006) carried out an investigation by drawing comparisons between verbal taboos of the past and their modern counterparts in a variety of cultures, claiming that the modern Americans use taboos more freely than ever before, and such terms have become part of their everyday life, which casts a shadow on the euphemisms use.

Since homophonic taboo words are a socio-linguistic phenomenon in Chinese culture, Andrew (2011) conducted a study to investigate the Chinese attitudes towards homophonic taboo words. To this end, he focused on questions related to number 4 that is phonologically linked to the meaning of 'death' in the Chinese culture. Qanbar (2011) investigated linguistic taboos in terms of their relationship with the social context in which they are used and the socio-cultural factors affecting their use. Believing in the influential role of the cultural and religious norms of the society, she was interested to discover the strategies adopted by the population to replace the taboo categories with acceptable words.

In another study, Habibovic (2011) studied the attitude of Swedish-speaking students of English in Swedish high school towards taboos in English. Based on the investigation conducted on two specifically chosen classes, it was revealed that females not only swear more than males but also show a better understanding of taboos. To explain the cause behind regarding certain words as taboos in the society and replacing them with particular conventionally-fixed words, Ahmad et al. (2013) discussed different kinds of taboos. The study comes up with a great deal of similarities among the societies having Islam as their prevailing religion. Another study on the type of taboo words and the purpose of using them was conducted by Trulyfiona (2014). The paper reported that bodily function and religious-concerned terms were the most uttered taboos by African-Americans.

Nowadays, movies play the role of a popular entertainment for a good number of individuals and a means to deliver messages to the spectators who benefit from the visual effects as well. As small scales of the society, movies may contain taboos in their bodies. In movies, taboo words are used to support the plot of the story and show the characters' characteristics. Jay (1992) believed that

taboo words are inevitable components of everyday language and are indeed a psychological phenomenon. Taboos, however, can create problems for many people in the case of misunderstanding their meanings and functions. Jay also stated that the media, including television, can be blamed for the spread of such prohibited expressions. In a study on the use of taboos in movies, Wati (2002) analyzed taboo words produced by the characters in a movie produced in 1999. She focused on the kinds of taboo word and how they were linked to certain subjects. She aimed at investigating the intentions of the male and female characters of the movie of using the taboo words. Another study conducted by Gutama (2010) was focused on the abusive language used in a movie produced in 2001. The manner of abusive language formation, its meaning and also its function were the main interests of Gutama in her study.

Beseghi (2016) studied censorship associated with the use of strong language and swear words in the translation of the contemporary American TV series to Italian. By focusing on two TV series characterized by the use of strong language and taboo subjects, this study considered the different translation choices applied in dubbing and fansubbing. More recently, Bednarek (2019) used a corpus containing dialogues from 66 US television series to evaluate the use of taboo words in the media. This investigation surveyed how taboo words are used in TV series and suggest a novel taxonomy of nine different linguistic practices.

To determine the most and least frequent strategies used in the subtitling procedure, Marashi and Poursoltani (2009) explored the common strategies employed in subtitling from Farsi into English. The result of their study indicated that transfer and deletion were the most and the least frequent ones, respectively. Talebniya (2014) studied the strategies adopted to translate taboos while dubbing action movies in Iran. The findings revealed that addition, attenuation, deletion, and substitution were the main strategies used by Iranian video companies in this respect. In a similar vein, an investigation of the strategies used by Iranian audiovisual (AV) translators for taboo translation in American crime movies was carried out by Khoshsaligheh and Ameri (2014). They concluded that AV translators show a tendency to follow the target culture norms and the most frequently used strategy was weakening the source culture taboo terms. In another attempt to identify the strategies of Iranian fansubbers for taboo rendition, Khoshsaligheh et al. (2016) came up with a different conclusion. The results revealed that fansubbers prefer to be loyal to the norms of the source rather than weakening the force of taboo language, and thus try to deviate from the current official translation norms in Iran. Yet, in another study, Khoshsaligheh et al. (2018) investigated the translation of taboo language in English language films subtitled into Persian by Iranian fansubbers. They drew this conclusion that the fansubbers' strategies towards taboo language translation included maintaining, deleting, mitigating, replacing, and amplifying. In this respect, the impact of local cultural norms and the policies followed by the translators' hiring institutions on the audiovisual translators' decisions in case of taboo translation was studied by Rezvani Sichani and Afrouz (2018). The results indicated that taboo translation represents the two extremes of an ideo-

logical spectrum. Strategies applied in rendering taboos from English to Persian were the main interests of Hashemian et al. (2019). They explored the adopted strategies in dubbing 10 Hollywood action movies by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting. Based on the findings, Iranian audiovisual translators tended to localize or domesticate taboo expressions while dubbing.

Research Method

Based on the nature of this study that was designed to describe the existing taboo terms in the selected movies, the research could be conducted by employing verbal and nonverbal data; while the former may be found in verbal messages uttered by the speakers, the latter may be seen through nonverbal messages like gestures (Bousfield, 2008). However, due to the linguistic focus of this study, the characters' utterances provided the verbal data of this research.

The main step to start the process of data collection seemed to be just watching the movies, while pausing on the related episodes and going through the detailed descriptions of the fishy phrases shaped the second. Since the researcher was supposed to stick to accurate data, the second step gained its own necessity besides.

In the course of collecting the data, the selected taboo expressions and dialogues, from twenty Iranian movies in a period of twenty years (Appendix A) were submitted into the data sheets. At this phase, each expression was analyzed and categorized following on a multidimensional procedure; the taboo-contained dialogues were supposed to be categorized based on type and function. Two separate data sheets for two categories of type and function were prepared for every single movie. To shed more light on the issue, a single dialogue selected from one of the analyzed movies, i.e., "Separation", a drama directed by Asghar Farhadi, is illustrated in the following Table.

Table 1.
Sample data sheet of types and functions of taboo words

Persian Dialogue	-	/hojjat: baččeye to faqat baččeye ?âdame? baččehâye mâ <i>baččeye heyvun, tuleye sagan</i> ? (jodâi nâder az simin; 57:41)							
English Translation	-	Hojjat: Just your child is a kiddie? Ours are <i>offsprings of animals, whelps?</i> (Separation; 57:41)							
TYPE OF TABOO WORDS		Anmls	BdFnc	Dth	Mrlty	Ph/M Prblm	Rltvs	Snctty	UnCncpt
		√							
FUNCTION OF TABOO WORDS		Afct	Atn	Bltlmnt	Cthr	Emphs	Fr	Prvcn	
					√				

Type Categories:

Anmls: Animals; BdFnc: Bodily Functions; Dth: Death; Mrlty: Morality; Ph/M Prblm: Physical/Mental Problems; Rltvs: Relatives; Snctty: Sanctity; UnCncpts: Unpleasant Concepts

Functions Categories:

Afct: Affection; Atn: Attention; Bltlmnt: Belittlement; Cthr: Catharsis; Emphs: Emphasis; Fr: Fear; Prvcn: Provocation

The analysis of the data was based on the classifications on data sheets. As Table 1 reveals, the data sheets included dialogues containing taboo words. Each data sheet was in the form of a table for presenting the two factors that were the objectives of the study, i.e., the type of taboo words and their function.

Classification of Types and Functions of Taboo Words

Types of Taboo Words

According to Andersson and Trudgill (1990), there are three major categories in the discussion of taboo subjects: sex and bodily functions, sanctity- related concepts, and calling people under the name of an animal. However, as shown in Table 1, due to the nature of the Iranian social culture, the Sex category was ignored; In the Iranian culture, the other classifications, i.e., Animals, Bodily Functions, and Sanctity are considered as sensitive topics and seem to be in line with the Iranian society as well. Meanwhile, five more categories, i.e., Death, Morality, Physical/Mental Problems, Relatives, and Unpleasant Concepts were added to the final revised type list.

To shed light on the implemented methods, a sample of each type selected from various movies is presented below in details:

A. Animals

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /yusef: ?axlâqe sage mano ke miduni; hamin ?alân miri xodâhâfezi mikoni mirim xune/.(?âtašbas; 34:08)	- Yousef: You know that I'm <i>like a bear with a sore head</i> ; go and bid them bye to go home. (Cease Fire)

B. Bodily Functions

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /nazar: ?aslan man <i>goh</i> xordam ?âšeq šodam/. (raqs dar qobâr; 06:59)	- Nazar: <i>Shit</i> on me for falling in love. (Dancing in the Dust)

C. Death

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- ruhi: <i>mordešureto bebaran</i> ; kojâ ro dâri negâh mikoni to in ?aks/? (čâhâršanbesuri; 00:28)	- Rouhi: <i>Drat you</i> ; where the hell are you gazing at this photo? (Fireworks Wednesday)

D. Morality

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /âqhâye Ghafuri: mâ ham bad az čand sâl sar o kalle zadan bâ <i>lât o lutâi</i> mesle to nemifahmim či tu kallate?/ (šahre zibâ; 09:04)	- Mr Ghafouri: After wrestling with you <i>yobs</i> for many years, you think we aren't aware of what you think of? (Beautiful City)

E. Physical/Mental Problems

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /feresšte: mixây vaqti <i>divune</i> šodam biyây divunexune barâm gol biyâri/? (vâkoneše panjom; 45:49)	- Fereshteh: You want to come to the funny farm and bring me flowers once I went <i>crazy</i> ? (The Fifth Reaction)

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /kârgar: boro ?in jâ vâynastâ; <i>mizanam dahanmahaneto servis mikonam/</i> . (ta?ame gilâs; 07:01)	Worker: Get out of my sight; I may kick your butt off. (Taste of Cherry)
Taboo Function	Explanation
Attention	In this conversation the worker says the expression <i>kick your butt off</i> to attract the addressee's close attention to leave that place.

C. Belittlement. Taboo words can sometimes play the role of wiping the floor with the addressee's face. Here is an example in a conversation.

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- / zibâ: ye negâ be dor o baretun bendâzin; be in <i>âşqâlâye tâze be dorân reside /</i> . (tasviye hesâb; 50:02)	Ziba: Have a look around yourselves; to those trashes who have come from rags to riches. (Pay back)
Taboo Function	Explanation
Belittlement	In this conversation, Ziba's belief in belittlement of the people around them is highlighted by the terms <i>trashes who have come from rags to riches</i> .

D. Catharsis. Catharsis helps the speaker to release his/her anger and passion. The explanation below illustrates how a taboo word provokes catharsis.

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /mâdare sârâ: ?âxe ?in ye zarre <i>zahremâri</i> be ?in hame badbaxti mi?arze/? (xunbâzi; 19:49)	Sara's mother: Does this hell dust pinch deserve such adversity? (Mainline)
Taboo Function	Explanation
Catharsis	In this conversation Sara's mother utters the expression of <i>hell dust</i> as a means of catharsis.

E. Emphasis. In some cases, common expressions do not convey the individual's purpose and sometimes emphasis can be expressed through implications of taboo words. An example can shed more light on this.

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /?ali: vâse çi rafti ?az ?un jâvide ?avazi pul gerefti? ?âdam qaht bud? mage nemi-fahmi man ?azeş badam miyâd? çerâ ?az ?un? (santuri; 33:57)	Ali: Why the hell did you ask that dirtbag Javid for money? No one else left on the earth? I hate his guts. Why him? (Santouri; 33:57)
Taboo Function	Explanation
Emphasis	In this conversation, Ali calls Javid <i>ditbag</i> to emphasize his feeling of hatred.

F. Fear. Some taboo expressions tend to display the speaker's inner fear. The example below reflects the speaker's fear.

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- /malihe: <i>xâk bar saram</i> ; nari mâ ro tu ?in hotel tanhâ bezâri/. (jorm; 1:11:22)	Maliheh: Dirt on my head; don't even think about going and leaving us high and dry in the hotel. (Crime)
Taboo Function	Explanation
Fear	In this conversation, Maliheh shows her fear of being left alone by the expression <i>dirt on my head</i> .

G. Provocation. Taboo words can sometimes provoke certain instant responses such as violation or anger in the audience as well. Taboo words, of course, can be considered successful just in the case where the response is in line with the speaker's expectation. This could be further displayed in the following conversation:

Persian Dialogue	English Translation
- / pedare Nima: ?un moqe zabunam mu dar ?avord <i>hâlit našod</i> /. (his! doxtarhâ faryâd nemizanand; 08:57)	Nima's father: I kept taking till I was blue in the face, but you didn't bend an eyelash. (Hush! Girls Don't Scream)
Taboo Function	Explanation
Provocation	In this conversation, Nima's father provokes his son by <i>you didn't bend an eyelash</i> .

Findings and Discussion

The results of the research are presented in details in this section. Based on the analysis process, the findings are as follows.

As can be concluded from Figure 1 on types of taboo expressions, unpleasant concepts with the average of 40% is placed in the first position; although animals' names and morality with respectively 12% and 10% have been ranked as the second and third, their frequency is significantly less than that of unpleasant concepts at the top. Physical/Mental problems, bodily functions, death, sanctity, and relatives all count for less than 10%.

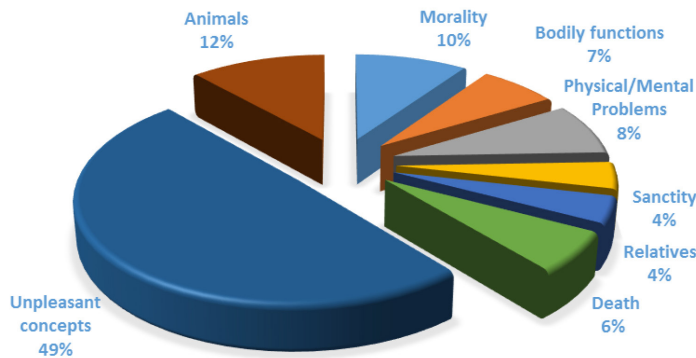


Figure 1. The percentage of taboo types in the selected movies

In the classification of taboo functions, like the classification of taboo types, there was a sharp difference in the frequency of the items at the top and the subsequent items. Another similarity between the type and function classifications is related to the sameness of percentages of the items ranked at the top in both categories; catharsis in the first rank of function classification has the same frequency as the holder of the first rank in the type classification. In other words, the frequency of the items in the first rank in both classifications, i.e.,

unpleasant concepts in type and catharsis in function, is 49 percent. Belittlement was ranked as the second item, which is far from the first rank; yet another item with a frequency higher than 10% is attention. Other items were affection, provocation, fear, and emphasis.

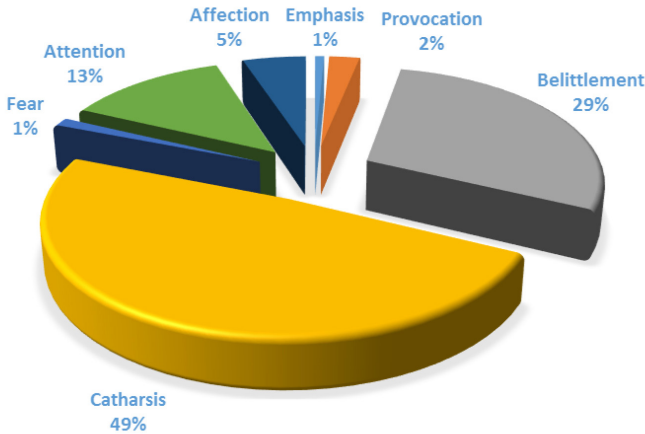


Figure 2. Percentage of taboo functions in the selected movies

The total data collected in this research proved to be 1262 taboos as displayed in Table 2. This table shows the occurrence frequency of types and functions of taboo words in the characters' dialogues.

According to Table 2, among eight types of taboo words, i.e., those related to animals, bodily functions, death, morality, physical/mental problems, relatives, sanctity, and unpleasant concepts, all were used. However, each had a different frequency. According to this table, it can be noticed that the most dominant type used by the characters is unpleasant concepts with the frequency of 624 times (49.45%); while the least frequency is shared between relatives and sanctity that appeared 52 times (4.12%).

Table 2 also reveals that there were instances of all functions of taboo words, i.e., affection, attention, belittlement, emphasis, fear, catharsis, and provocation in the movie. The most frequent function of taboo words is catharsis that appeared 615 times (48.73%). Emphasis occupies the last position with the occurrence of only 9 times (0.71%).

Analyzing types of taboo words in association with their functions indicates that unpleasant concepts which were uttered 624 times and were the most frequent and accordingly the most effective type, were occurred 309 times with the function of catharsis. This, however, reduced to 175 times in the second rank which is mainly directed to ruin other people's pride, i.e., belittlement. Other functions of taboos under the type category of unpleasant concepts have emerged with the following frequencies: attention (79 times), affection (31 times), provocation (14 times), fear (10 times), and emphasizing (6 times).

Table 2.
Frequency of Occurrence of Types and Functions of Taboo Words

Types Category	Functions Category							TOTAL	PERCENT-AGE (%)
	Affec- tion	Atten- tion	Belit- tment	Cathar- sis	Em- pha- sis	Fear	Prov- oca- tion		
Animals	11	15	54	59	0	0	8	147	11.65
Bodily functions	0	6	22	54	0	2	1	85	6.74
Death	10	13	6	45	0	3	2	79	6.26
Morality	1	11	57	48	2	0	3	122	9.67
Physi- cal/Mental Problems	4	19	41	35	0	0	2	101	8.00
Relatives	7	16	7	20	1	0	1	52	4.12
Sanctity	0	3	4	45	0	0	0	52	4.12
Unpleasant concepts	31	79	175	309	6	10	14	624	49.45
TOTAL	64	162	366	615	9	15	31	1262	
PERCENT- AGE (%)	5.07	12.84	29.00	48.73	0.71	1.19	2.46		

Investigating functions of taboo words in association with their types, on the other hand, illustrated that 309 items uttered with the most dominant function i.e., catharsis are classified under the type of unpleasant concepts. The second type related to this function, is the animals' names with a significant decrease. The remaining types of taboos with the function of catharsis are as follow: bodily functions (54 times), morality (48 times), death and sanctity (45 times), physical/mental problems (35 times), and relatives (20 times).

Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussions, several conclusions can be drawn as follows. As discussed, the number of taboo expressions has proved to be different in different subcategories of type and function. Based on the analyses, it can be concluded that in the case of dealing with the types of taboos, the characters make use of a less troublesome and more general topic, i.e., unpleasant concepts that has been placed at the top with a frequency of 49%. This finding can be explained based on the nature of the Iranian cinema in which the movies must follow the Islamic rules. Even the tabooest words used in the movies that highlight the immorality in the society are classified under unpleasant concepts.

Regarding the functions, the most dominant intention behind the use of taboos has proved to be the catharsis. In this sense, it seems that catharsis, among the adopted seven functions, can play the role of the most society-friendly and efficient function to let off steam and unload the speaker's heart.

The last section of this paper centers on the inevitable shortcomings of the research. In this context, two type-related and function-related limitations can be mentioned. Regarding the taboo types, since the corpus was supposed to be only related to the Persian language and the Iranian culture, in the phase of translation, the researcher might have faced with some English equivalents that

are not considered as taboo in a non-Persian language and non-Iranian culture. On the other hand, it should also be noted that distinguishing between different functions of the study proved to be more complicated than what meets the eye and the exact choice needed a close attention and several checkings; as an example, a taboo word under the function of affection can fall under the category of attention as well. Yet, it may also provide provocation. That is to say, it can be compared with the perfume pyramid of cologne which changes in top, middle, and base notes!

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Appendix

List of the Analyzed Movies

Movies	Release Date	Screenplays	Directors
Ta'me Gilas (Taste of Cherry)	1997	A. Kiarostami	A. Kiarostami
Do Zan (Two Women)	1999	T. Milani	T. Milani
Sag Koshi (Killing Mad Dogs)	2001	B. Beyzai	B. Beyzai
Vakoneshe Panjom (The Fifth Reaction)	2002	M. Khorsand	T. Milani
Raghs Dar Ghoobar (Dancing in the Dust)	2003	A. Farhadi, A. R. Bazrafshan, M. R. Fazeli	A. Farhadi
Shahre Ziba (Beautiful City)	2004	A. Farhadi	A. Farhadi
Atash Bas (Cease Fire)	2006	T. Milani	T. Milani
Chaharshanbe Souri (Fireworks Wednesday)	2006	A. Farhadi, M. Haghghi	A. Farhadi
Khoun Bazi (Mainline)	2006	R. Banietemad, M. Abdolvahab, F. Mostafavi, N. Samini	R. Banietemad
Santouri (Santouri)	2007	D. Mehrjoui, V. Mohammadifar	D. Mehrjoui
Tasviye Hesab (Pay Back)	2007	T. Milani	T. Milani
Darbare Elly (About Elly)	2009	A. Farhadi	A. Farhadi
Jorm (Crime)	2010	M. Kimiai	M. Kimiai
Yeki Az Ma Do Nafar (One of Us Two)	2010	T. Milani	T. Milani
Jodai Nader Az Simin (A Separation)	2011	A. Farhadi	A. Farhadi
Ghesseha (Tales)	2011	R. Banietemad, F. Mostafavi	R. Banietemad
His! Dokhtarha Faryad Nemizanand (Hush! Girls Don't Scream)	2013	P. Derakhshandeh, M. Bahrami	P. Derakhshandeh
Foroushandeh (The Salesman)	2016	A. Farhadi	A. Farhadi
Zire Saghfe Doudi (Under the Smokey Roof)	2016	P. Derakhshandeh	P. Derakhshandeh
Mali Va Rahhaye Narafteash (Untaken Paths)	2017	T. Milani	T. Milani