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# Gender, Sexual, Ethnic, Color and Disability-related Epithets and Labels Across Languages: Evidence from Arabic Subtitling of English Movies and Series

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## Abstract

Labels and epithets relating to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, color, and disability have long been divided into acceptable and offensive categories. This paper examines how differences in culture and historical contexts can cause an issue when translating English media into Arabic by examining how they are subtitled in different contexts. Examples of dialogue that used offensive or inoffensive labels were extracted from different media for the purpose of this study, which included four movies, eight series, and one TV show. The films included *Passing*, *Perks of Being a Wallflower*, *Gook* and *The Fundamentals of Caring*; the series comprised *Atlanta*, *Breaking Bad*, *Fresh of the Boat*, *Derry Girls*, *I Am Not Okay With This*, *Dead End Paranormal Park*, *Feel Good*, and *Degrassi: Next Class*; and the TV show was *Atypical*. The examined translations were chosen with the least potential influence of ideological manipulation and censorship; therefore, they were either Netflix or fan translations. Comparing and contrasting the degree of offense in the source and target texts and analyzing the reasoning behind this, it was found that the English and Arabic terms may have similar components but lacked the same connotations for their language speakers. What makes certain labels positive or neutral and others negative is beyond their semantic components; instead, the weight comes from the background and usage of the terms. Direct translations or even keeping the term as it was originally failed at providing the Arabic-speaking audience the same impact as that of the ST since there is still a contextual gap. This also means that having the same referent does not mean that words have the same sense. This suggests that using target language terms that refer to the same group as the source text could result in inadequate translations. The study recommends that further studies be conducted on how translators may purposely manipulate texts for ideological purposes or to meet censorship criteria.

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**Keywords:** Subtitling; Epithets; Labels; Asian; Gender; Sexuality; Ethnicity; Disability; Arabic; English

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## Introduction

Translated content is prevalent to an unprecedented degree in the modern era, with the average human being surrounded by translations, especially in the form of audiovisual translation, which makes the consumption of foreign media easy and accessible to those who do not speak the language (Abu-Rayyash & Haider, 2023; Abulawi, Al Salman, & Haider, 2022; Haider & Alrousan, 2022). However, despite the globalization of audiovisual media, there still exist gaps that arise from both language and cultural disparities. Cronin (2010) emphasizes the intrinsic connection between translation and globalization, placing translators and their role in localization at the center of the concept of globalization, which many consider the key elements of modernity. An essential issue in translation is the reflection of the tenor of the source text (ST), and whether the translator chooses to maintain or change, it can reflect their own beliefs. In the case of audiovisual translation, the choices of the original wording are thought out and intentional to emphasize the context or the character and thus should be retained. The main concern of translation is not replacing words with exact equivalents but dealing with sense, meanings, and ideas. However, this does not mean that translation is not concerned with the deeper meanings and implications of the source text.

Translation is more than transferring the meanings of individual words but is rendering sense and implications naturally in the target language (Obeidat, Haider, & Weld-Ali, 2023). This is where the issue of tenor comes in, as it is necessary to maintain to achieve such a translation, as tenor, which includes the use of epithets, is a reflection of attitudes. Panou (2013) described translation as the transfer of not just language but culture as well and showed how different scholars developed various notions of translation. There are many cases where the translator may purposefully diverge from the source text for ideological goals (Al Saideen, Haider, & Al-Abbas, 2022). In fictional audiovisual media, manipulation of the source text is usually of minor concern unless censorship is involved. Since ideology is not the primary goal, and fictional dialogue is carefully crafted to represent the story and characters, the translator should retain all the information, including the tenor and certain word choices, equipping the proper equivalence strategy to their aid. Nonetheless, a perfect and exact translation is difficult to achieve, and cultural and linguistic differences may form a barrier (Al-Khalafat & Haider, 2022; Samha, Haider, & Hussein, 2023).

Historically, humans have classified and divided themselves into groups based on a number of qualities, such as gender, sexuality, race, color, and disability. Language has long been a powerful tool in creating and maintaining a racial hierarchy by empowering the white race while putting the rest down. Racial epithets, labels, and connotations are intrinsically connected to their history and the history of their people and those who use them. Since not all cultures share the same history, there are global differences with issues of race. Even if historical events were significant to a degree where they are known and have an impact globally, nuances and details might be lost. In films and series, dialogue is mostly scripted, and the choices of positive, neutral, or offensive terms are often deliberate and must be reflected in the translation.

In the growing field of audiovisual translation studies, few have focused on how labels and epithets related to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, color, and disability are rendered. Studies on subtitling often investigate the challenges that translators face in rendering culture-bound expressions and the translation strategies used to overcome such challenges (Abu-Rayyash, Haider, & Al-Adwan, 2023; Debbas & Haider, 2020; Haider & Hussein, 2022; Haider, Saideen, & Hussein, 2023). This study investigates the language choices made in the subtitling of several films and series with a special focus on the rendering of labels and epithets related to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, color, and disability. Media often contains diverse characters of multiple ethnicities, genders, and colors, and how these characters are represented and talked about in the source text and subtitles are essential. Rendering the labels and epithets from one language into another may pose a challenge to translators, who should convey the meaning of the source text while avoiding otherizing minority groups or reinforcing negative stereotypes.

This study also examined the choices made to subtitle labels related to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, color, and disability. This is due to the differing perceptions on these minority groups in the source and target cultures. For example, religion and the conservative nature of the Arab world negatively influence the perception of gender and sexuality minorities. Furthermore, more progress has been made in their acceptance in the English-speaking world. Historical factors also influence the perceptions of race, in addition to the more diverse nature of Western countries compared to the Middle East. The acceptance and understanding of disabilities is another area that differs among these cultures. Since language and, therefore, translation are social practices, these cultural differences inform the types of labels and descriptors used to refer to each minority group.

Language exists as a combination of linguistic formations like semantic, morphological, phonological, and syntactic structures and representational elements of the world and human experience. Words and expressions can gain meaning from being assigned to a referent, and lexical creation is possible through combining morphemes. The existence of different languages and even synonyms show that these linguistic signs are not innately connected. Still, it is the experience that gives language, what would otherwise be an abstract concept, sense. This allows attitudes to seep into the meaning of words that appear in labels and

epithets. Comparing similar epithets in the same context in two different languages with different cultures makes it apparent that what makes certain labels positive or neutral and others negative is beyond their semantic components.

Based on the aforesaid, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

- **RQ1:** How are gender, sexual, ethnic, color, and disability-related epithets and labels in English movies and series subtitled into Arabic?
- **RQ 2:** Is it semantics or context that determines positive and negative connotations of the epithets in English movies and series and their equivalence in Arabic?

## Literature Review

Tenor is considered a relevant issue in many translation fields. It is often associated with ideologies and political contexts and is also present in many other areas. Within the broader field of tenor, there is the issue of labels and their roles. Pan and Liao (2021) examined how changing labels in the translation of political texts could influence the target audience's perceptions. Outside the political field, Taylor Torsello (1992) suggested that translation through field, tenor, and mode should be expanded to literary works and other genres, including fiction. They emphasized that the approach is text-centered; thus, the meanings, themes, lexical choices, and interpretations would all come from and agree with the source text as well as the extratextual factors and contexts while relating the fictional contexts with the nonfictional. Puurtinen (1998) also emphasized the importance of tenors in fictional contexts and their role in building characters and their relations and producing effects like irony.

From the cultural angle, domestication and foreignization are two main translation strategies in point. Yang (2010) explains that domestication adapts the source text to minimize strangeness for the target audience stylistically and through assimilation. On the other hand, foreignization retains and maintains the linguistic and cultural stylings of the source text, but in the end, the priority of translation should be communication and understanding. Historically, humans have classified and divided themselves into groups based on several qualities such as race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, and sexuality. These categorizations have the ability to create community and a sense of belonging but, on the other hand, can separate into ingroups and outgroups instead. This creation of community or discrimination of outsiders who do not belong can be strengthened through the use of language and labels. Van Dijk (2017) highlighted the power of the creation of ingroups and outgroups in the field of politics with his "us vs. them" notion and ideological square.

Wodak (2008) connects the "us vs. them" notion with discrimination and marginalization, which are tools of power and can take form implicitly or explicitly through inclusion and exclusion. Hom (2008) described racial epithets as expressions or labels used with malice as they are derogatory and express hatred towards those they are used against. Their use can be explained through one of two theories, the semantic strategy, which suggests the epithets are inherently derogatory, and offense and insult cannot be separated from their meaning. Meanwhile, the pragmatic approach indicates that the derogatory elements come from the intention of the words' use.

Bonilla-Silva (2015) emphasized that racism is systemic and stems from power differences and imbalances. Racism is deeply ingrained in American history, and even language was used as a tool of oppression. The epithets white people used to refer to people of color significantly black people aided in their marginalization and discrimination against them. Smith (1992) quoted this as a reason why black people created new labels for themselves to separate their identities from racism and prejudice. Smith points out that this is why "correct" terms have changed with time. Solomon (2015) stated that all labels are socially constructed with the intention of distinction and found that changes in labels reflect and produce historical moments and attitudes. Labels can be placed on people or chosen by them regarding self-labeling. Cheon, Bayless, Wang, and Yip (2018) distinguished racial identity and group membership and then attributed the selection and development of self-labels to historical and modern contexts and the individual's perception and understanding of them.

These notions are not limited to race alone. Regarding ability and disability, the use of language can change with time, and terms that were once acceptable are deemed inappropriate. Even terms that were considered "official" can be acknowledged as offensive pejoratives. An example is the labeling of intellectual disabilities and Rosa's Law requiring the change from "mental retardation" to "intellectual disabilities" (Friedman, 2016). Similarly, Back, Keys, McMahan, and O'Neill (2016) studied the effects of labels on people with disabilities in the way language is used to refer to them and create identity.

Sexuality and gender are also characteristics that can be socially categorized and designate people as minority groups. Non-heterosexual people have been discriminated against due to multiple reasons. Religion is one of the most significant contributing factors in most cases and areas. Many religions condemned homosexuality. These include the Abrahamic religions, two of which are the most practiced religions

worldwide. In addition, such attitudes were spread with colonialism and lingered in some areas even after the influence of religion diminished. Since then, there has been a stigma attached to LGBTQIA+ identities. Prejudice against queerness and gender bias were also ways to maintain societal status and preserve social roles. Adams (2020) suggested that masculinity was traditionally believed to come and contrast all that was not “manly” and a rejection of epithets that diminish it. Masculinity was performed with the fear of failure to live up to it and consequently assigned effeminate labels associated with womanhood. These notions, though not as ubiquitous, still prevail to this day. Pascoe and Diefendorf (2019) argued that when expressing positive attitudes, men will use phrases like “no homo” to validate their masculinity.

Despite this, many queer individuals embrace their identities and choose and create labels they are comfortable and proud of. Porta, Gower, Brown, Wood, and Eisenberg (2020) found that many (around one-third of) LGBTQIA+ people and youth use nontraditional labels for their sexual and gender identities and state that their sexuality or gender does not change with the label, but instead, they find labels which they feel are more representative of what is inside.

Minority groups often choose labels that empower them in their identities, and in many cases, this is a result of having negative labels forcibly assigned to them. Typically, these groups would separate themselves from these stigmatized labels. Nevertheless, the opposite is occasionally done, and slurs are reclaimed. Popa-Wyatt (2020) describes slurs as an oppressive speech act used by in-power groups against the oppressed group, which would make reclamation a sociopolitical protest. Nunberg (2018) described the use or reclamation of slurs by those they meant to offend as a speech act that achieves irony and defiance, as if mocking those who would use them in a derogatory sense. Popa-Wyatt and Wyatt (2018) also argued that the reclamation or re-appropriation of slurs does not truly rid them of their derogatory connotations since this is only achieved if certain felicity conditions are met, such as being an ingroup member to which the slur applies to.

## Methodology

- *Sampling and research procedure*

For the purpose of this study, four movies, eight series, and one show about autism were selected. Examples were chosen based on the identities described, and films and series that used offensive and inoffensive labels. The examined translations were chosen with the least potential influence of ideological manipulation and censorship; therefore, they were either Netflix or fan translations. These included the films *Passing*, *Perks of Being a Wallflower*, *Gook* and *The Fundamentals of Caring*, and the series *Atlanta*, *Breaking Bad*, *Fresh of the Boat*, *Derry Girls*, *I Am Not Okay With This*, *Dead End Paranormal Park*, *Feel Good*, and *Degrassi: Next Class* in addition to the show *Atypical*, as Table 1 shows.

**Table 1.** *The investigated movies, series, and shows*

Category	Title	Year of production	Examined Subtitles
Movies	Passing	2021	Netflix
	Perks of Being a Wallflower	2012	Netflix
	Gook	2017	Fansubbers
	The Fundamentals of Caring	2016	Netflix
Series	Atlanta	2016	Netflix
	Breaking Bad	2008	Netflix
	Fresh of the Boat	2015	Fansubbers
	Derry Girls	2018	Netflix
	I Am Not Okay with This	2020	Netflix
	Dead End Paranormal Park	2022	Netflix
	Feel Good	2017	Netflix
	Degrassi: Next Class	2017	Netflix
Shows	Atypical	2017	Netflix

- *Data collection*

After identifying the sample of the study, data was collected in the form of examples of dialogue that used offensive or inoffensive labels and were compared to their translations. Examples were chosen based on the identities described, and films and series that used offensive and inoffensive labels. These included the films *Passing*, *the Fundamentals of Caring*, *Gook*, and *Perks of Being a Wallflower* and the series *Atlanta*, *Breaking Bad*, *Fresh of the Boat*, *Derry Girls*, *I Am Not Okay With This*, *Dead End Paranormal Park*, *Feel Good* and *Degrassi: Next Class* in addition to the show *Atypical*. The degree of offense was measured in each source text and target text, then the two were contrasted. The reasoning for this degree was analyzed to better understand the source of the associated connotations. These examples were chosen from media with different contexts, with the use of each label having a different degree of relevance to the characters and plot to show

the effect of the context on the translation choice. The examined translations were chosen with the least potential influence of ideological manipulation and censorship; therefore, they were either Netflix or fan translations.

- *Data analysis*

For the purpose of analysis section, data was divided into three main categories: racial identities, sexuality and gender identities, and disabilities. These were the factors that contributed to the marginalization of social groups historically and globally; however, the degree and the manner this discrimination took form varied from time to place as this was affected by historical contexts and culture. Therefore, this categorization aided in the understanding of the role of historical and cultural contexts on the degree of acceptability or offense of identity labels. For instance, the film *Passing* and the series *Atlanta* were chosen for labels related to black identities since these labels were used in abundance and in different contexts. *Passing* is a period piece that discusses racism, so the dialogue contains examples of offensive, inoffensive, and outdated terms. In contrast, *Atlanta* focuses on a black community where the majority of black characters reclaim offensive terms. Racism against Hispanic and Latin people is casually ever-present in the series *Breaking Bad* and a highlighted issue in an episode of the series *One Day at a Time*, which makes them suitable for examination.

The series *Fresh of the Boat* follows a Chinese family in a predominantly white neighborhood, with the first episode focusing on anti-Asian racism. Moving on to gender and sexuality epithets, films and series were chosen that contained self-identification in contrast to labels used by both homophobes and allies. The film *Perks of Being a Wallflower* has an out-and-proud gay teen as one of the main characters, and both inoffensive and offensive labels are used with different intentions in the film. The series *Derry Girls* has an episode focused on the coming-out of one of the main characters, and several labels are used to describe her lesbian identity. Finally, the series *I Am Not Okay with This* has a lesbian protagonist called a slur in the climax of the finale. The series *Dead End Paranormal Park* has an out trans protagonist, and the series *Feel Good* and *Degrassi: Next Class* has nonbinary coming-out storylines. *Feel Good* also contains a number of more nuanced self-identity labels compared to some broader umbrella terms. Another example of similar labels is present in a coming-out scene in the series *Madam Secretary*. Lastly, *Atypical* is essentially a show about autism, which provides many instances to describe autism and autistic people. In contrast, *The Fundamentals of Caring* focuses on a disabled teen who constantly uses offensive language.

The word choice in the English source text was examined in comparison with its near-synonyms, then the same was done for the word choice of the Arabic target text. Next, this chosen word and its rendition fell on the scale of a contrastive positive, neutral, or offensive language, as well as the range of the scale in each language. Furthermore, the linguistic components of the labels were broken down and compared. Moreover, the context was examined to determine how it informed the wording in both the source text and target text. Finally, the role of the social and historical views on each identity in influencing the use and perception of labels were also highlighted. This aided in the understanding of the variation of labels among one language through the variation of labels through different languages.

## Results and Discussion

This section examines the Arabic translation of the labels and epithets relating to gender, sexuality, race, color, and disability and how they were referred to in the investigated movies, series, and shows.

- *Subtitling Epithets and Labels Related to Gender and Sexuality*

Historically, queer people have been discriminated against in English-speaking countries and the Arab world. However, attitudes have changed more drastically in English-speaking countries like the US than they have in the Middle East, where attitudes are still mostly negative. Despite not all English speakers being open and accepting, there was still room for conversation and de-stigmatization. This led to the creation of labels that were more positive than others and even the reclamation of some slurs, such as the term queer itself, which was pejorative in the past but is now accepted by many, though not all, LGBTQIA+ individuals as a neutral umbrella label. Additionally, a more accepting environment allows for more exploration of identity, thus the creation of smaller, more nuanced identities and labels.

Trans identities have often been misunderstood and looked down on, with gender, presentation, and performance regularly being confused. Aside from pejorative epithets trans people have been given, there is also an issue with translating correct terms into Arabic since there is both a lack of awareness and respect for trans identities in the Arab world and since Arabic possesses grammatical gender, misgendering can be an issue as well. The term “transgender” is often rendered as “متحولة جنسية” despite many believing this is offensive language and equivalent to terms “tr\*nny” and “transsexual” with “عابرة” being the correct label.



This can be seen in the translation of *Dead-End Paranormal Park*, where *Barney* comes out as trans to *Norma*, and the subtitles say “متحول جنسي.” This term translates directly as “gender transformer” and does not reflect trans identities since they say their gender does not change or transform before and after coming out, even if, instead, it is their physical characteristics and presentation that might change.

Additionally, since Arabic differentiates between female and male nouns and adjectives, it uses different lexical terms for male and female individuals. Often, these words grammatically agree with the person’s assigned gender at birth instead of the gender they identify with. This includes non-binary people and is most prominent in translating their labels, dividing them again into the gender binary. Some examples include the series *Degrassi* and *Feel Good*, in which the assigned female at birth characters saying they might be transgender translated as the same offensive slur marked with the female gender marker. Similarly, homosexuality in the Arab world is still stigmatized, so negative connotations are often present regardless of the label. There are still labels that are more pejorative than others. Referring to homosexuality in Arabic, it is usually done with the following terms “mithli” “مثلي” and “shath” “شاذ” which can be literally translated as “homo/sexual” and “queer.” However, though these Arabic and English terms are semantically similar, “shath” is derogatory and can be seen as the equivalent of the slur “f\*ggot” while “mithli” is the closest thing to a neutral label.

In the film *Perks of Being a Wallflower*, the character *Patrick* is gay, and the terms “gay” and “f\*g” are used. *Patrick* describes gifts he received as “so gay...that I think I must have given them to myself.” This is translated as “هذه المجموعة من الهدايا مثلية جدًا” The use of “مثلية” (mithlia) is an accurate equivalent since both terms are neutral, but the term “f\*ggot” is also used in the film and is translated as “مثلي” (mithli) as well. In one instance, *Patrick* uses it to describe himself since he is reclaiming the slur, a concept not common in the Arabic language. Replacing it with a neutral term is acceptable. In a couple of scenes, the term is used with the intent to offend. At the beginning of the film, a bully calls the straight main character the slur, which is translated as “مثلي” (mithli), and in one of the scenes which is supposed to be one of the most emotionally packed scenes of the film, *Patrick’s* closeted ex-boyfriend calls him the slur in front of his jock friends and everyone in the cafeteria, the use of the slur was supposed to cut deep. However, *Patrick* was never ashamed of his sexuality, so the insult was never calling him gay or “مثلي” (mithli), and the subtitles do not reflect this.

In the award-winning film, *Moonlight*, the young *Chiron* is chased by bullies who call him “gay” and “f\*ggot.” Both are translated as “مثلي” (mithli). Still, later in the film, he asks his parental figure what the word “f\*ggot” means, to which he replies, “a word used to make gay people feel bad,” and says that being gay does not make a person a f\*ggot. This conversation shows that though the two words describe homosexual males, they do not mean the same thing, as one is a pejorative slur. Because of this, the translator had to find two different equivalents and settled on “mithli” and “مخنث” “mukhanath”. Although “mukhanath” is often used to insult queer people, trans women, and gay men in particular, it does not directly connote being a homosexual male and semantically refers to being between male and female or is sometimes translated as effeminate.

In many cases, lesbians in Arabic are referred to as “سحاقية,” a term that the queer Arab community deems offensive, while many cis het Arabs do not acknowledge it as such. This may be because homosexuality is seen as a negative by default, and many do not attempt to listen to queer people and steer away from language that offends them. The neutral term for lesbian would be “مثلية” (mithlia/ gayfem), but it is hardly ever used in subtitles.

In season 1, episode 6 of *Derry Girls*, the character *Clare* comes out as a lesbian, and a number of terms are used to describe her sexuality, including gay, lesbian, and even the slur “d\*ke” is used once (Table 2).

**Table 2.** Examples on sexuality retrieved from *Derry Girls*

Example	Source Text	Arabic Subtitle	Back Translation
1	Lesbians really do exist!	السحاقيات موجودات بالفعل!	D*kes do exist!
2	Read all about the wee dyke.	اقرأوا عن السحاقية الصغيرة. - لن نقرضوا علينا الرقابة!	Read about the little D*ke. They will not censor us!
3	I support gays, even though I myself am not actually gay.	أدعم المثليين! على الرغم من أنني لست مثلياً.	I support gays! Although I am not gay

As Table 2 shows, the term lesbian is constantly translated as “السحاقيات” in the episode, despite the English label being neutral and devoid of any negative connotations, with the Arabic term being a slur in the eyes of queer Arabs (example 1). Furthermore, this same term is used to translate the actual slur in example 2, which was used to show the irony in the characters’ actions as they are hypocrites who act as if they are spreading the word for gay rights but are simply seeking attention. The term gay in English can be used in a gender-neutral and encompasses male and female identities, so it also includes lesbians meaning the terms lesbian and gay can be used interchangeably to refer to homosexual women and female-aligned people. In the episode, the word gay(s) was used to refer to both lesbians and other gay people. The Arabic equivalent would be “mithli/a” (example 3). However, it was only translated as “mithli” (gay) and “mithliyin” (gays) when the

gender of the person was male/unknown when it referred to lesbians / female gays, the slur “سحاقية” was once again used.

In the series, *I Am Not Okay With This*, a bully finds the closeted lesbian main character's diary and discovers her sexuality and other secrets. He then goes and shares the diary's content in front of everyone at the school dance. During this, he calls her the slur “d\*ke.” He does this because he is a homophobe who thinks gayness is wrong (Table 3).

**Table 3.** Examples on sexuality retrieved from *I am not Okay with This*

Example	Source Text	Arabic Subtitle	Back Translation
4	Now, don't get me wrong, chicks get drunk, they make out sometimes, and I'm all for it, but... being a full-on <b>dyke</b> , that's a whole other ball game.	لا تسينوا فهمي، حين تثل الفتيات، يتبادلن القبلات أحياناً، ولا مانع لدي في ذلك، أما أن تكون مثلية متحرشة، فهذا أمر مختلف تماماً.	Don't misunderstand me. When girls get drunk, sometimes they kiss, and I don't mind, but being a <b>harassing lesbian</b> is something different entirely.

In example 4, the translator did not opt for the Arabic slur “سحاقية.” This could be because the term has been normalized and not understood to be a slur by some viewers. The chosen rendition is a potentially problematic one. The translator used the neutral term “mithlia” but used addition, making it “the gay(fem) harasser.” The original text does not go near the topic of harassment, but the translator inferred from the context that the name-calling was meant to be especially negative but failed to understand the character was a fetishizer who was fine with women being together for his pleasure but not their own or a case of actual homo/bisexuality. This addition falls back on harmful stereotypes, such as the “predatory lesbian” trope, that treat all LGBTQ+ people as sexually harassing and assaulting perverts. This could be acceptable to a degree in this case since the character is homophobic. However, it still relies on stereotypes that are prominent in the Arab world and actively affect queer individuals.

- *Subtitling Epithets and Labels Related to Ethnicity*

Asian people are another group that does not have a strong historical connection with the Middle East and North Africa, where Arabic is the native language of over 300 million speakers. Although anti-Asian racism is rampant, there are no dedicated terms and slurs relating to it (Table 4).

**Table 4.** Examples of Asian race retrieved from *Fresh of the Boat and Perks of Being a Wallflower*

Example	Source Text	Arabic Subtitle	Back Translation
5	It's my turn, <b>chink!</b>	أتى دوري أيها الصيني	My turn has come, you <b>Chinese</b> (person)
6	"You put down that prick punch. You go kill some <b>gooks.</b> "	إنه دوري، أيها الأفضس "اترك تلك الخرامة واذهب لقتل الآسيويين."	It's my turn you <b>snub/pug nose</b> You put down that prick punch and go kill some <b>Asians</b>

The series *Fresh off the Boat* is about a Taiwanese family who moves to a predominantly white neighborhood. In the first episode, the eldest son Eddie is bullied by racist discrimination. He is even called “Ying Ding,” mocking Chinese names and the language, which is transcribed in the subtitles, but he is also called an ethnic slur (example 5). This slur is not present in the Arabic language, nor has any near alternatives. One subtitler opted for “Chinese” as a translation, making the reference to race clear but removing the pejorative and insulting weight of the word itself, while another replaced the slur with a random insult. This retained the idea that the bully was using hurtful language but removed any racist connotations. The next scene, where Eddie's parents are upset by the use of a racial slur against their son in his school, highlights that both translation attempts were failures.

While Arabic has no well-known and used slurs against Asians, English has many. Example 6 is yet another case where the translator replaced an ethnic slur with a neutral referent like “Asians.” In this example, the use of the slur is not integral to the film in any way or degree, as it is part of a throwaway joke; thus, the replacement does not affect the viewer's understanding. This is not the case with the 2017 film “Gooks” where the slur is the title of the film itself. Due to the relevance of this one particular word in the film, the translator could not replace it or euphemize it without the loss of important context for the audience. So the translator, who in this case was a fansubber, resorted to the use of the translator's note as *كوك" هو كان يستخدم على الغالب من قبل الجيش الأمريكي خلال أيام الحرب، وخاصة خلال الحربين مصطلح مهين لوصف أناس أصولهم من الشرق وجنوب شرق آسيا الكورية وحرب فيتنام*. This is back translated as “*K\*ok is an offensive term used to describe people of East and Southeast Asian descent. The American Army often used it during the war, especially the Korean and Vietnamese wars.*” Such a note defines the word and explains its origins and use, after which the translator uses transliteration throughout the rest of the film.

- *Subtitling Epithets and Labels Related to Black People*

The 2021 film *Passing* is set in the 1920s. Throughout the film, black people are referred to with a number of labels and epithets by various characters, each with their own views of black people. This means that the language they used ranged from positive/neutral to negative with malice. The main character *Irene*, who is black and interested in the proper treatment of black people, uses the term “n\*gro” to refer to people of her own race. These days, the word “n\*gro” is considered offensive in American culture and is avoided. During the period the film takes place, this was the preferred term, along with the term “colored,” which, similarly today, is considered outdated and offensive. Both terms are neutrally used throughout the film by both black and white characters. This does not mean that language was never used to discriminate in the film. The character, *John*, who is a racist and prejudiced white man refers to black people with the n-word in a demeaning way.

In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), there are not as many terms to refer to black people, and no terms have changed connotation with time. The Arabic terms are limited to “blacks” or “black people” as neutral markers or “z\*nji” which is a pejorative. Table 5 shows examples that come from a conversation that takes place between a racist white man and his black wife and her black friend, whom he is unaware of their race.

**Table 5. Examples of labels for black people retrieved from *Passing***

Example	Source Text	Arabic Subtitle	Back Translation
7	<b>Nig</b>	زنجية	“z*njia”
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• But as the years go by, she seems to be getting <b>darker and darker</b>.</li> <li>• So I told her, "If you don't look out, you'll wake up one morning and find that you've turned into a <b>nigger</b>."</li> <li>• Yeah. She's been Nig ever since.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• لكن مع مرور الأيام، لا بدأ أن لونها يزداد سواداً.</li> <li>• فقلت لها، "إن لم تحترسي، فستتقطن ذات صباح لتجدي أنك تحولت إلى زنجية."</li> <li>• نعم، وكنت أناديها بلقب "زنجية" منذ ذلك الحين.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• But with the passing days, <b>her color is increasingly black</b></li> <li>• So I told her, "If you don't look out, you'll wake up one morning and find that you've turned into a <b>“z*njia”</b></li> <li>• Yeah. and I've been calling her the nickname <b>“z*njia”</b> since then.</li> </ul>
9	<p>a If you found out that I was 1 or 2% <b>colored</b>, hmm?</p> <p>b Well, you can turn as <b>black</b> as you please, as far as I'm concerned.</p> <p>c I know you're not <b>colored</b>.</p>	<p>إن اكتشفت أنني سوداء بنسبة واحد أو اثنين بالمانه؟</p> <p>يمكنك أن تزدادي سواداً كما تشائين من وجهة نظري.</p> <p>أعلم أنك لست سوداء.</p>	<p>If you found out I'm 1 or 2% <b>black</b>.</p> <p>You can increase in <b>blackness</b> as you please, in my opinion</p> <p>I know you are not <b>black</b>.</p>
10	So, you dislike <b>Negroes</b> , Mr. Bellew? Have you ever known any <b>Negroes</b> ?	أذاً، هل تمقت السود ياسيد "بيليو"؟ هل تعرفت على أشخاص سود من قبل؟	Do you dislike <b>“blacks,”</b> Mr. Bellew? Have you met any <b>black people</b> before?
11	Look at that precious little <b>pickaninny</b> one.	انظري إلى هذه الدمية السوداء الجميلة.	Look at that pretty <b>black doll</b> .

*John* is outwardly racist and makes jokes about calling people the n-word, as shown by the nickname “N\*g” which he uses to refer to his wife for having dark skin, as examples 7 and 8 show. In example 8, he claims she is turning into a black person and uses the n-word in its full form. These instances were all translated into Arabic as “z\*njia.” However, this word does not have the exact etymology and history as the n-word. Equivalence is achieved through this use of modulation since both words carry the same racist connotations. The translation of the example does not showcase how he created a pet name from a derogative term but still highlights the offense of the language used.

In examples 9a and 9c, the couple begin to refer to black people as “colored” though offensive today. It was proper in the past and is therefore translated as the inoffensive black. In example 3b, the context shows that the characters are discussing the shade of skin separate from race, which makes the term black here not a racial epithet but a descriptor and is hence translated with transposition as “blackness.”

In example 10, *Irene*, the black lead of the film, refers to black people as “n\*groes” as opposed to the n-word *John* used in the conversation. *Irene* is deliberately using what she considers a neutral term. Although “z\*nj” is a closer modern-day equivalent to the term “n\*gro,” the translator uses the context and arrives at the judgment that the proper rendition would be an inoffensive alternative, thus using the terms “blacks” and



“black people.” It must be noted that the term “blacks” in Arabic does not have the same dehumanizing connotation as the English use of the term “blacks” but is instead seen as an adjective for an implicit noun rather than a noun itself.

These examples showcase that despite a lack of counterparts for each English term, the translator can achieve a degree of equivalence based on the context of the original context and whether or not it is meant to have neutral or negative connotations and, on that basis, translate them into the neutral Arabic term “black” or slur “z\*nj.”

In a few cases, the term “colored person” was translated literally as “شخص ملون.” This phrase carries no connotations as it carries no meaning in the first place. This type of formal equivalence is insufficient as a translation, and the subtitler should have used a more familiar term like the aforementioned examples. Simply because a word was used nonchalantly in the past does not mean it was necessarily neutral or is neutralized by the context in a past setting. In example 11, the translator rendered *pickaninny* as *black*, and though this term was regularly used during the time setting of the film, like the n-word, it is a word that cannot be separated from its harmful connotations as it refers to a stereotype that was used to dehumanize black children. Therefore, a neutral translation is not suitable even if the word was not directed at anyone in particular with an intent to harm. The idea that the degree of acceptability or offense of a word depends on its user and context can be applied to the n-word, which is undeniably a slur.

The characters in Donald Glover’s 2016 series *Atlanta* regularly and casually call each other and others using the n-word as they are black and have the right to reclaim the slur (Table 6).

**Table 6.** Examples of color retrieved from *Atlanta*

Example	Source Text	Arabic Subtitle	Back Translation
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Nigga</b>, I'm trying to help you.</li> <li>• Man, <b>nigga</b>, I ain't seen or heard from you</li> <li>• Man, you know how <b>niggas</b> out here are. I mean, he usually charges a full safe.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• أحاول مساعدتك يا صاح</li> <li>• لم أرك ولم أتواصل معك منذ جنازة والدتي</li> <li>• تعلم طبيعة عمل الرفاق هنا أعني أنه يتقاضى المبلغ كاملاً</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I'm trying to help you, <b>mate</b></li> <li>• I haven't seen or contacted you since my mother's funeral</li> <li>• Learn the nature of the <b>mates'</b> work here. I mean that he receives the full amount</li> </ul>
13	So I calmly pull him aside. I was just like, "Really, <b>nigga</b> ?" - You actually said that? That guy ever say <b>nigger</b> around you?	لذا سحبتة على انفراد وقلت له حقاً أيها الزنجي - هل قلت ذلك بالفعل؟ هل قال لك ذلك الرجل "أيها الزنجي"؟	So I pulled him in private and said, "Really, <b>z*nji</b> ." - Did you already say that? Did that man say to you, " <b>z*nji</b> ?"
14	See, these <b>niggas</b> in the streets, man, they...	هل ترى هؤلاء الزنوج في الشوارع؟	Do you see these <b>z*njis</b> on the streets?

In the first episode, the strategy most used to translate this word is omission, as it is mainly used as a tag at the end of the characters' sentences. The translator found that it does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence nor necessarily its tone and thus found it fit to leave it out and reduce the length of the subtitle. In a few cases, the word was replaced with phrases like “my friend,” “dude,” or “man,” communicating the relation between characters without the need for expanding on the notion of reclaimed slurs. There was one instance where the word was used as a tag at the end of the sentence but rendered as “z\*nji” due to the character being white. The word was used 12 times in the first episode. It was translated three times, replaced with another word like “mate” twice, and omitted the remaining times (example 12). In example 13, the main character *Earnest*, a black man, is talking to a white acquaintance who casually tells Earnest that he used the n-word, which catches *Earn* off guard. He is clearly offended but does not confront the other man. The white character’s use of the n-word is similar to how the rest of the characters use it (example 14). Still, due to his race, it becomes inherently racist, and omission is no longer an option, as its use and racist connotations are now integral to the text.

Racism against black people and their enslavement is a deplorable part of the history of both English-speaking countries and Arabic-speaking countries. Of course, the two do not share an identical history, but the sentiment is one as black people were oppressed and discriminated against in America, Europe, and the Middle East. In America, many epithets were created and attached to black people, especially during and as a result of slavery and racial segregation. The most egregious being the “n-word” derived from the Spanish word for black. The word is highly offensive, and this is well known even among non-English speaking cultures. This, however, does not mean that the word has a direct translation in every language. For example, in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), translations of the word are often rendered as “z\*nji.” The etymology of

this word has no correlation with the English n-word but can be traced back to the slavery of Africans in the Middle East and then later has come to be used in a derogatory manner. This translation is done through the strategy of modulation, and though the terms are not exact equivalents, no meaning, direct or underlying, is lost. Aside from the n-word, many offensive terms are used against black people in America and other English-speaking countries, more so than in the Arabic language. Additionally, what is offensive and what is not depends on the context and speaker. For example, some terms which are unacceptable today were commonly used in the past as the unoffensive version. Furthermore, in the present day, many black Americans have begun “reclaiming” the n-word and using it amongst themselves without derogatory intentions or connotations.

- *Subtitling Epithets and Labels Related to Disabilities and Disorders*

Ablism, or harm or prejudice against disabled people, takes shape in many forms. This includes the use of language such as negative or even dehumanizing labels. Furthermore, labels that were once neutral scientific terms became derogatory with time and negative use and therefore replaced with new alternatives. However, some of these alternatives have begun to be rejected as well. Since these labels reflect societal views on disabilities and disabled people, the disabled community desire labels that accurately reflect their identities and disabilities, so the matter is often larger than whether the label is derogatory or not. Table 7 contains two labels describing disability, the slur “r\*tarded” and the neutral “disabled,” which many deem as the politically correct term, as many disabled people advocate for its use.

**Table 7.** Examples of disability labels extracted from the *Fundamentals of Caring*

Example	Source Text	Target Text	Back Translation
15	This guy thinks <b>retarded</b> people get upset by aftershave. That's brilliant.	يظن أن المتخلفين عقلياً تز عجم عطور ما بعد الحلاقة، هذا عبقري.	This guy thinks <b>mentally retarded</b> people get upset by aftershave. That's brilliant.
16	You're not <b>retarded</b> . And don't use that word.	لست متخلفاً عقلياً، ولا تستخدم هذا التعبير.	You're not <b>retarded</b> . And don't use that word.
17	You know, most <b>disabled</b> people don't just sit in their houses all day.	معظم المعاقين، لا يجلسون في بيوتهم طوال اليوم.	You know, most <b>disabled</b> don't just sit in their houses all day.

The film *The Fundamentals of Caring* follows a disabled teen and his caretaker as they connect on a road trip. The disabled teen, Trevor, has Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy and is, therefore, wheelchair-bound. Trevor often tries to shield himself through harsh and cruel language as it is the only power he can exert over others. Trevor weaponizes language and therefore uses terms that can even be used against people like himself. This is the case shown in example 15, with example 16 emphasizing that his wording is inappropriate. The rendition used in these examples of the slur “r\*tarded” has been used similarly by Arabic speakers, and the words even share similar semantic senses as one means “slow,” and the other means “delayed.” Therefore, it would seem the ST and TT are near exact equivalents; however, the use of addition makes the TT rendition too specific. Since the TT contains the adjective *mentally*, the first line in example 16 no longer focuses on the nature of the label but on the fact that it does not apply to the character who is physically disabled. This addition could result in the implication of the harmful stereotype that people with mental disabilities are lesser than able-minded people.

The descriptor used in the ST of example 17 is the term preferred by most disabled English speakers, although some prefer the person's first version of it. Additionally, it is the term typically used in official contexts. This term is rendered into Arabic as “hindered,” which is the official term used to describe disabled people. However, this term is not as neutral as its English equivalent, as many people began using it in a derogatory manner. This reflects the unfortunate state of the Arab world's views on disabilities. This highlights that real-world usage, or pragmatics, has a stronger influence on the connotations of words than their other linguistic components. This is further emphasized by the fact that otherwise, the term “hindered” would be an ideal label, as it reflects the state of disabled people and the challenges they face without blaming them for their condition. Finally, finding a neutral equivalent is currently difficult as one can only be properly chosen by the disabled community, and for that to be achieved, the Arab world must first progress to where their voices are heard and respected.

When referring to autism in English, the debate is often whether to use adjectives like “autistic” or “person with autism.” While similar to other disabilities, many prefer a person's first language as it is more “humanizing,” many autistic people prefer the adjective first approach as they find their autism a central part of who they are and how they interact with the world. Modern Standard Arabic seems to lean towards a person's first language when it comes to referring to autism, but there is still room for error (Table 8).

**Table 8.** Examples of ASD retrieved from Atypical

Example	Source Text	Arabic Subtitle	Back Translation
18	an autistic kid	طفلاً مصاباً بالتوحد	A kid inflicted with autism
19	adults with autism	البالغين المصابين بالتوحد	Adults inflicted with autism
20	People in the spectrum date, you know?	مرضى التوحد الطيفي يحصلون على مواعيد غرامية	Autism spectrum patients
21	autism spectrum disorder	اضطراب التوحد الطيفي	autism Spectrum disorder

As shown in Table 7, the sub-titler used the person's first language, but instead of using a verb like “have,” used “مصاب” (inflicted/infected), which collocates with diseases, and people with autism often advocate not to refer to autism as a disease (examples 18 and 19). Furthermore, the subtitler also used addition and described people with ASD as “مرضى” (ill people) or patients, as well as mistranslating ASD as “spectrum autism disorder” (examples 20 and 21)

## Conclusion

Translators, including sub-titlers, often attempt to find the best equivalent in the target language for their source text. Translators may purposely manipulate texts for ideological purposes or to meet censorship criteria, but this does not apply to the examined texts and translations. Translation scholars have long since determined that equivalence has many sides and forms, mainly formal, functional, and ideational, and found that translation is a sense-for-sense process instead of a word-for-word one. In addition to sense, tenor is an important element to preserve in translation to convey the whole of the source text properly.

Applying this logic to the translation of epithets highlights how the negative nature of pejoratives comes from past their semantic elements, as can be concluded from the examination above. When it comes to semantics and etymology, many examples show that having similar morphemes does not mean equivalence, such as labels regarding black people where the English “black” + the plural suffix “s” is offensive while the “black + plural” form in Arabic is a neutral term. The English and Arabic terms may have similar components but lack the same connotations for their language speakers. This is also evident in the terms “queer” and “homo,” where the terms with the same roots in English and Arabic have opposite connotations.

Borrowing, calque, and addition further show this idea, where giving direct translations or even keeping the term as it was originally failed at providing the Arabic-speaking audience the same impact as that of the ST since there is still a contextual gap. This also means that having the same referent does not mean that words have the same sense. This suggests that using target language terms that refer to the same group as the source text could result in inadequate translations. This is evident in the translations of queer labels, where many subtitlers did not take a level of pride or offense into consideration, and also with ethnicities, where they failed to find offensive labels in Arabic and resorted to general neutral terms instead.

Context is often what guides translators in their choices, and in a grand scheme, historical contexts which shape people's perceptions can differ drastically from location to location. The examples examined accentuate the role of history in the connotations of labels. This is the reason the subtitlers' attempts at translating slurs directed at ethnic groups that do not have a history in the Arab world were futile, aside from the case where a translator's note was added to explain the history of the word. Again, the translation of the labels of black people showcases the relevance of history over etymology in a semantic or morphological sense. Despite not having the same roots, the English n-word, and Arabic z-word come from similar histories of slavery and oppression, making them true equivalents.

Contexts such as the speaker, era, and intentions must be examined on a smaller scale. As such, some terms which are generally understood as offensive were translated into non-offensive terms in certain cases. Such as the outdated terms used in Passing being translated with neutral terms. Reclamation was also taken into consideration, and since the concept is not popular in the Arab world, the subtitlers instead replaced the reclaimed offensive terms with neutral ones. However, queer labels did not receive the same treatment, and all labels were used interchangeably. This could be explained as a result of differing views on sexuality and gender in the Arab world.

In addition, there are cases in translation where addition is necessary to achieve a coherent sentence in the target language. This poses an extra challenge for the translator as it adds an extra element that should match the tone of the source text. In several examples, the translators accidentally fell back on stereotypes to fill these grammatical gaps.

In the end, however, there is still an issue with nuance as the divide between positive and offensive language is not black and white, so translating on that basis can still result in some loss. Furthermore, epithets are defined from their context, with some of this context being the history engraved into them alongside their individual use, and this cannot always be reflected in translation.

Language and labels are constantly developing, and the range of alternatives is affected by the social status of the respective minority group. This means it is impossible to examine all labels in one paper. Additionally, the nuance in the use of labels cannot be captured from a few examples from fictional media. Furthermore, although examining subtitles free from ideological manipulation aids in understanding the nature of epithets, it does not aid in understanding the implications of choice between near-synonyms.

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