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Taboo Expressions in English and Spanish

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## ANOTAČNÍ LIST

Bakalářská práce se zabývá tabuizovanými výrazy, především věnuje pozornost angličtině, španělštině a jejich vzájemnému srovnání. V úvodu je popsán materiál analýzy, vymezují se cíle práce a stanovuje se hypotéza. Samotná studie je rozdělena do tří částí. První část se zaměřuje na univerzální tabuizovaná témata, historické pozadí, provázanost společnosti a jazyka. Podle přítomnost či nepřítomnost zdvořilosti jsou výrazy roztříděny do tří x-femismů. Druhá část popisující citoslovce a expresivitu připravuje půdu pro analýzu v následující části. Ta se zabývá autorem shromážděnými výrazy, které vyjadřují určité emoce. V každé kategorii emocí je kontrastován výskyt a distribuce anglických a španělských výrazů, které mají nějakou spojitost s tabuizovanými tématy (sex, náboženství, defekace a ostatní tělesné výměšky, smrt). V závěru práce jsou zmíněny problémové oblasti a návrhy na zlepšení analýzy.

The thesis deals with taboo expressions, primarily focuses on English and Spanish and their comparison. The introduction describes material, sets the aims and hypothesis proposal. The study contains into three parts. The first part looks into the universal taboo topics, historical background, the interconnection between the language and the society. According to the lack or the presence of politeness, the expressions are divided into three x-phemisms. The second part exploring interjections and expressivity prepares the ground for the analysis in the following part, which deals with the expressions conveying some emotions. In each category of emotions, the author contrasts the occurrence and the distribution of English and Spanish phrases, which are connected to tabooed topics (sex, religion, defecation and other bodily effluvia, death). The conclusion mentions problematic areas and suggestions for the improvement of the analysis.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with so-called forbidden words, which are often subjects of censoring. It especially pays attention to English and Spanish. Besides tabooed expressions, the study looks closer at their origin, which arose "out of social constraints on the individual's behavior where it could cause discomfort, harm or injury". Not only does our study describe these expressions, it also aims at drawing a comparison between two mentioned languages; first and foremost, contrasts will be pointed out.

The work is divided into three major parts; all of them contain volumes of English and Spanish examples. We are aware of some differences in varieties of languages (such as British, Irish, American, and Australian English; or, Spanish of Spain and Latin American Spanish). In our thesis, we will not distinguish among these varieties, since we believe the general tendencies of both languages will be still sufficiently demonstrated.

With few exceptions, which will be pointed out, we will only discuss mainstream English and Spanish. Because of the enormous quantity and the diversity of vocabularies, comprise all the language (such as the non-mainstream African American slang) would be complicated and almost impossible with our limited sources and time; and again we only want to show general tendencies of the two languages.

The expressions given in the study are taken from various sources. Besides drawing from our own linguistic knowledge, we have consulted several acquaintances – native speakers (from Mexico, Spain, United Stated, and England). In addition, we have collected examples from printed, internet, and electronic dictionaries and publications. Any expression used in the analysis was mentioned at least in two sources. Since it would be rather tedious (both for us and for readers of the thesis) to mention the source of every single phrase or word, we decided to only list the sources in the bibliography section at the end of the work.

Some examples have a literal translation added in italics (e.g. ime cago en los cojones! *I defecate on the testicles*). The work is written in English, so we naturally expect our readers to have a good command of this language, therefore, the literal translation of an English expression is mentioned only if its meaning might be unclear or if we want to "discompose" an idiom. Only some of the readers of the thesis speak Spanish, so we will always give

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> see Keith Allan, and Kate Burridge, *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 1.

English translations of the expressions' literal meaning; nevertheless, if we mention an English equivalent (= (a) corresponding word(s) in the language) no English translation of the Spanish literal meaning might be given.

The first part defines and focuses on the universal taboo topics, on their historical and cultural background; in addition, the close association of the language and the society is discussed.

When talking about taboos and the censoring of languages, one association, which probably comes to our minds, is politeness; and therefore, we will look closer at three groups of words (x-phemisms: dysphemisms, euphemisms, and orthophemisms) differing from each other in the lack or the excess of offensiveness. We will also explain why some previously polite or inoffensive expressions degenerate into the impolite and why this almost never happens the other way around. Next, will be explored swearing and cursing, which were both originally associated only with religion; and insults.

Other chapters of the first part deal with a major source of taboo words – tabooed bodily functions: sex, urination and defecation; effluvia and the tabooed organs. We will also mention the strong association between food and sex; and afterwards, the language of food and the language of sex (alimentary metaphors are often used to describe euphemistically sexual organs and sexual activities). The last chapter focuses on some of less happy aspects of our lives – diseases, death and killings – and the vocabulary associated with it.

The second part slightly digresses from the topic of taboo as it deals with expressivity and interjections. We have decided to include these sections since we felt the need to create a context for the following part, which concerns emotions.

The final, the most extensive part of our thesis, analyses taboo expressions conveying some emotions (or attitudes). Bohdan Ulašin's chapter about expressivity from his dissertation thesis – "Súčasná hovorová európska španielčtina" – inspired us to focus here on five groups of emotions: 1. Anger directed against individuals; 2. Anger, disgust, and annoyance; 3. Disagreement and disbelief; 4. Surprise and amazement; 5. Indifference. In every group, there will be contrasted the occurrence and the distribution of English and Spanish taboo phrases (related to four "forbidden" topics: Sex; Religion; Defecation and other bodily effluvia; and Death). In addition, some groups will be further divided into several subgroups, so that more discrepancies can be demonstrated.

We believe two languages vary in the occurrence and the distribution of tabooed topics; this thesis will point out these differences, and thus show the tendencies in the use of

taboo expressions. Moreover, we expect the results of the analysis to show, at least to some degree, social dissimilarities of Spanish and English cultures.

### PART I: TABOO AND TABOOED EXPRESSIONS

## 1. TABOO

English word "taboo" originated in Polynesian "tabu" and could be translated as sacred, untouchable, or prohibited. "Taboos arise out of social constraints on the individual's behavior where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury." These forbidden topics generally include following fields:

- naming, addressing, touching and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects and places
- organs and acts of sex, urination and defecation;
- bodily effluvia

(sweat, nasal mucus, feces, urine, menstrual blood, semen, pubic hair, spittle, etc.)

- diseases, death and killing
- food gathering, preparation and consumption<sup>3</sup>

People avoided taboo topics, since they believed them to be evil, ominous of somehow offensive to supernatural powers. Taboos became prohibited by the society for a reason, their infraction could bring about discomfort and physical or metaphysical injury. This potential threat applied not only to the violator of the forbidden topic but also possibly to his family, friends or even community. Therefore, the transgression of taboo might also lead to society severely punishing the violator, since he could be putting everybody at a risk. Of course, various societies vary in different times, they also vary with respect to taboos and their intolerance when breaking them; in the past, burning at the stake, hanging, corporal punishment, imprisonment or at least social ostracism and disapproval was not rare. In Britain, burning was possible penalty for blasphemy (taking the Lord's name in vain), until the end of the 17th century.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Allan 1.

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see Keith Brown, et al., eds., " Taboo words, " *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, 2nd ed. Vol. 12 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006) 452.

There is a strong relationship of the society and language, they both influence each other (study of this relation belongs to the objectives of sociolinguistics and sociology of language), that connection means that also taboos are reflected in the speech. Since societies vary, also taboo words are different in every community; we could say that the cultural meanings, system of values, and society beliefs are expressed and reflected in the particular language.<sup>5</sup>

For instance, we can notice, there are more taboo words related to the religion in very religious countries (and also generally more taboos in the catholic rather than the protestant country). On the other hand, in societies where homosexuality is not a subject of their taboo language, it clearly shows the acceptance of same sex relationships.

The violation of tabu does no always involve a danger as we mentioned above. Contemporary Western cultures involve taboos on bad or distasteful behavior, which is, if nothing else, considered impolite in a particular context. And so, in a modern society, taboo expressions (words contaminated by the taboo topics) are avoided not for the fear of injury or harm but because the violator does not want to offend the sensibilities of the audience. Besides, the violator himself could also feel uncomfortable uttering these forbidden words due to their ugly and obnoxious nature. In this case, using euphemism, a more courteous and respectful or at least less offensive expression, is a good alternative to "not pulling one's punches."

Euphemisms are based on semantic shift of existing expressions, borrowing from other languages or e.g. phonological change of the tabooed word. In both Spanish and English, there are large numbers of synonyms for bodily effluvia, the organs and acts of sex, urination and defecation. Expressions related to tabooed topics are usually not as much censored in the informal speech, as they tend to be in a more formal speech.

Language is ceaselessly a subject to censoring, especially public and formal address. Individual speakers consciously or unconsciously self-censor their speech in order not to offend, scandalize, etc. They avoid using homonyms of the taboo terms since they do not want to appear to be even alluding to this impolite area when not intended. For instance, in 19th century England, people from the polished society would no use word "breast", even when referring to "white meat" of a cooked fowl, because of other dirty reference, "female bust".

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> see Dagmar Scheu Lottgen, and Juan Hernández Campy, "An Analysis of Sociocultural Miscommunication: English, Spanish and German," International Journal of Intercultural Relations 22.4. (1998): 390.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> see Brown, "Taboo Words" 452.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> see Brown, "Taboo, Euphemism and Political Correctness" 461.

## 2. POLITENESS AND IMPOLITENESS

When talking about taboo and censoring the language, one association that probably comes to our minds is politeness. In general, social interaction in Western culture involves courteous, respectful, or at least not insulting behavior; and of course, also the speech of same qualities.<sup>8</sup> Participants of the communicative act need to consider what impression they want to make on their audience and also the context, place and time.

The language used among equals, such as people who feel comfortable around each other, is more informal with more tabooed words. Therefore, when the employer swears with his employees, it is a sign of a good, almost equal attitude toward the hierarchically nondominant speaker (the employees). Nevertheless, when the stronger participant of the conversation (the employer) swears at the weaker one (the employees), it is, the other way round, a sign of inequality. In addition, what some social groups find amusing other might find highly offensive. British sense of humor is known to be quite different, perhaps more developed from the American. In Spain, Southerners, unlike Northerners, are the Spaniards with a greater appreciation of the funny and ability to express the humorous. Besides, Spanish is quite peculiar when it comes to taboos and swearing, since these forbidden expressions are very often used humorously (as apposed to English where swearing tends to be taken more seriously.)9

The most tabooed word in English is generally said to be "cunt" which literally refers to female genitals. It is the most offensive epithet for a woman (one who is thoroughly disliked). Nonetheless, in other languages like Spanish, the word "coño" having the same literal meaning and origin as English "cunt" is employed less dysphemistically. Spanish has typically more playful approach, such using "coño" as a nickname for the Spaniards of South America (Latinos).<sup>10</sup>

Issue of politeness, offensiveness and impoliteness is associated with three terms, Xphemisms, mentioned below:

"euphemism (sweet talking), dysphemism (speaking offensively) and orthophemism (straight talking). The term *euphemism* (Greek *eu* 'good, well' and *pheme* 'speaking')

<sup>8</sup> see Brown, "Taboo, Euphemism and Political Correctness" 455.
9 see Scheu Lottgen 391-392.

<sup>10</sup> see Allan 52.

is well known; but its counterpart dysphemism (Greek dys- 'bad, unfavorable') rarely appears in ordinary language. Orthophemism (Greek ortho- 'proper, straight, normal', cf. orthodox) is a term we have coined in order to account for direct or neutral expressions that are not sweet-sounding, evasive or overly polite (euphemistic), nor harsh, blunt or offensive (dysphemistic)."11

That which offends is impolite and that which is polite, if nothing else, does not offend, at best pleases, the audience. We can see here, impoliteness is more clearly determined than politeness. 12 For that reason, we will look first at the concept of dysphemism.

## 3. DYSPHEMISM

Unlike its counterpart, (euphemism) raw dysphemism is rarely heard in ordinary language. It is tabooed as impolite choice, thus, involves offensive, abusive speaking and verbal resources for giving vent to our feelings. Usual reasons for using dysphemism are disapproval, frustration, anger, hatred, contempt; these can be directed at things or people that we wish to wound and degrade. Therefore, dysphemisms are typical for various social groups when talking about their opponents or enemies, e.g. pupils discussing strict teachers, employees commenting on their employer, etc. In order to speak offensively we employ curses, name-calling; or exclamatory swearwords (expletives used to let of steam). Dysphemism uses same strategies as euphemism, both interact with style. However, the former tends to employ a blunt, more specific, and part-for-whole strategy, whereas the latter rather vague and whole-for-part strategy. 13 Following examples express surprise:

English: DYSPHEMISM: "My God!" "My Lord Almighty!"; EUPHEMISM: "My!" (very vague)

Spanish: DYSPHEMISM: "¡Coño!" cunt (female genitals) "¡Coño de madre!" mother's cunt (mother's genitals); EUPHEMISM: "¡Concha!" cunt (literally: shell; metaphor, transfer is based on similar appearance of shell and female genitals)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Allan 29. <sup>12</sup> see Allan 31-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> see Brown, "Taboo, Euphemism and Political Correctness" 457.

Speaking in more linguistic terms, a dysphemism is an expression with connotations that can either be offensive about the denotation and/or to the audience. A majority of words has both denotation and connotation, some of them have just the former, "basic" meaning. Denotation is the surface of the literal meaning, the semantic nucleus. On the other hand, connotation includes nuances of semantic meaning that help to give more precision to denotation, such as stylistic value or emotional coloring different from what the word literally refers to. 14

Synonyms have generally very close meaning. They share same denotation but differ in their connotations. If the synonyms share all the connotations (so we can switch them in any context without the meaning being changed) they are identical synonym (as opposed to not exactly matching partial synonyms). However, identical synonyms are very rare.

As we have already mentioned above, alternative polite words to dysphemism (or, their partial synonyms) are orthophemism and euphemism, both will be mentioned in the following chapter.

## 4. EUPHEMISM AND ORTHOPHEMISM

Expressions, which are neither excessively polite, sweet, vague nor impolite and offensive, are referred to as orthophemisms. As apposed to more colloquial and figurative euphemism (and dysphemism), these "neuter" words are generally more formal and more literal. In official language, orthophemisms are highly preferred. Compare following examples, be also aware of the fact that the context is again deciding factor in placing the expression or phrase. However, we will apply the "middle-class politeness criterion" here. That is, we will describe words without making reference to the context of their use.

	Orthophemism	Euphemism	Dysphemism
English	male genitalia;	person;	dick, cock, pecker;
Spanish equivalent	pene	pito	carajo, polla, verga
English	feces;	poo;	shit, crap, turd;
Spanish equivalent	excremento	caca,	mierda
		miércoles Wednesday	

see Allan 31. see Allan 36.

English	Jesus;	Lord;	Jesus! (blasphemy);
Spanish equivalent	Jesús	Señor	Jesús! (blasphemy)

Generally, particular context establishes the X-phemistic a (orthophemism/euphemism/dysphemism) value of an expression. For instance, a dysphemistic blasphemy (= taking the Lord's name in vain) "Jesus Christ!" can be uttered when swearing to alleviate our frustration, anger or show how surprised we are. Nevertheless, when we address Jesus Christ in prayer, the expression is clearly orthophemistic. <sup>16</sup> Similarly, adult person can use euphemistic "poo" to refer to orthophemistic feces; but, if a little child employs such an expression, it is orthophemism. In Spanish which is known for employing humorously or teasingly swear words, taboo expression such as "cabrón" (an equivalent for English "bastard"; literally *goat*) could be used euphemistically e.g. among certain individuals.

Avoidance and evasive language is characteristic for euphemism. We use it to escape disapproval and prevent wounding and/or offending our audience or ourselves, as we might feel uncomfortable about uttering raw taboo term. However, not all euphemisms arise in response to harsh expressions (dysphemisms). Since orthophemism often lack emotional charge, they can be replaced by a warmer word in order to add more positive connotations (maybe even humor) to the denotatum. In this case, there are no real dysphemistic counterparts. 17

In the following chapter, we will discuss some main sources of euphemisms.

## 5. TYPES OF EUPHEMISMS

In both Spanish and English, there are numerous ways how to form the euphemistic word or phrase. This new euphemism tries to disguise an expression that is tabooed and thus less preferred in many contexts. The objective is to keep the referent but avoid the negative connotations, which could offend. The methods mentioned below are not mutually exclusive and can be combined.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> see Allan 37.
<sup>17</sup> see Brown, "Taboo, Euphemism and Political Correctness" 456.

#### Shortening

#### Clippings and Omission/Ellipsis

English: "Jee!", "Jeez!", "Gee!" (for "Jesus!"), "Oh my!" (for "Oh my God/Lord"), "Oh dear!" (for "Oh dear God!"), "Shove it!" (for "Shove it up your ass/arse!)"

Spanish: "¡ño!" (for "¡Coño!" *cunt*) "¡Jo!", "¡Joé!", "¡Jope!", "¡Jopé!" (for "¡Joder!" *fuck*), "¡Uta, mano!" (for "¡Puta madre!" *mother bitch*), "¡ñeta!" (for "¡puñeta!")

#### **Abbreviations**

English: "S.O.B" (for "son of a bitch"), "f" (for "fuck"), "s" (for "shit!"), "Eff off!" (for "Fuck off!"; "ef" is the name of the initial letter of "fuck")

<u>Spanish</u>: "¡Vete a la eme!" (for "¡Vete a la mierda!" *go away to shit*; "eme" the name of letter represents here, the beginning of the word "mierda" *shit*) "¡Nica!" (for "¡Ni cagando!" *not even shitting*)

#### • Circumlocution/Periphrasis

Original expression is replaced by a longer one. Often, componential analysis is employed.

<u>English</u>: "human kidney fluid" (for "excrements/feces"), "make love to a person" or " sleep with somebody" (for "have intercourse")

<u>Spanish</u>: "bajo vientre" *under the abdomen* (for "órganos genitales" *genitals*) "donde la espalda pierde su nombre" *where the back loses its name* (for "¡trasero!" *buttocks*)

#### • Remodeling

In this verbal play, sound of the expression is altered to cover up something offensive.

#### Phonological distortion

English: "Darn!" (for "Damn!"), "Feck!", "Flip!", "Fook!" (for "Fuck!"), "Crickey!", "Crust!", "Crud!", "Cripes!" (for "Christ!"), "Heck!" (for "Hell!")

Spanish: "¡Ostras!" oysters (for "¡Hostía!"consecrated wafer), "¡Corcho!" cork (for "¡Coño!" cunt), "¡Diez!" number ten (for "¡Dios!" God), "¡Pardiez!" (for "¡Por Dios!" for God)

#### **Blending**

English: "Drat!" (for "God rot!"), "Tarnation!" (for "eternal damnation")

Spanish: "¡Nica!" (for "¡Ni cagando!" not even shitting)

#### **Rhyming**

Use of rhyme for euphemizing taboos is very typical for dialectal British English. Most famous is Cockney rhyming slang. The taboo word is replaced with a rhyming phrase consisting of rhyming and unrhyming word, after that, the rhyming word is left out. For an unfamiliar person, the meaning of the newly-emerged expression can be very hard to deduce. Examples for Cockney rhyming slang:

"Cobblers!" from "Cobblers Awls" which rhymes with "Balls!"

"Berkeley!" from "Berkeley Hunt!" which rhymes with "cunt"

"Pony!" from "Pony and trap!" which rhymes with "Crap!"

"khyber" from "Khyber Pass" which rhymes with "arse"

"bristols" from "Bristol city" which rhymes with "titty" breasts

#### • Semantic Change

#### **Metaphor**

Euphemism is very often drawn from a metaphor, which is a transfer of meaning based on similarity. Two things seem to be very unlikely, but yet, they have some exterior feature in common (such as shape, size, function, color, location, smell) on which the transfer is based. For instance, metaphorically employed Spanish "zanahoria" *carrot* is employed for "pene" *penis*, because of their similar feature (length). To achieve euphemism, newly used expression has usually pleasurable notion.

English: "balls", "nuts", "rocks" (for "testicles"), "banana", (for "penis"), "box", "flower" (for "vagina")

<u>Spanish</u>: "zanahoria" *carrot* (for "pene" *penis*), "pelotas" *balls* (for "testículos" *testicles*), "concha" *shell* (for "coño" *cunt*)

#### <u>Metonymy</u>

In metonymy, instead of the taboo expression, we use name of something closely associated with it. For example, to euphemize rather formal verb "defecate" we say "drop" (when we feel the call of nature and use the toilet, we "drop" excrements). Typically, because of the previously mentioned characteristic of euphemistic words, specific (hyponym) is replaced by more general (possibly by a hypernym) or more abstract and vague expression.

English: "do it" (for "having sex"), "drop", "dump" (for "defecate"), "piece", "member", "person" (for "penis")

Spanish: "aparato" apparatus (for "pene" penis) "hacércelo" do it (for "realizar acto sexual" have intercourse), "irse" go away (for "defecar" defecate), "plasta" paste (for "excremento blando" *soft excrement*)

#### • External Borrowing

This method employs expressions taken from other languages. Such as English words "defecate", "feces" (for "shit") or "fellatio" (for "blowjob") which all originated from Latin. <sup>18</sup>

### 6. DEGENERATION OF EUPHEMISM INTO DYSPHEMISM

Unlike dysphemisms, which are tainted by the taboo topics, euphemisms are not, or at least not yet, tainted. Formerly uncontaminated, euphemistic word usually degenerates into a dysphemism, even if so vague, because of its connection to the forbidden and sacred topic. That is, the euphemistic form reflects the fundamental nature of the taboo topic, which the word indicates. Moreover, if there is an ambiguity between the taboo sense and the non-taboo sense in the language expression, the former will be most probably chosen as the only option. This occurrence is referred to as a pejoration or deterioration of the meaning. Since, the taboo sense usually wins over or smothers the non-taboo sense, the dysphemistic speech is frequently called a strong language. 19

Good example of the narrowing of the meaning (in this case the deterioration) is English word "gay". While there were originally used two meanings, "homosexual" and "promoting a feeling of cheer", the non-tabooed sense is not used anymore. English expression "coney" dropped its non-taboo meaning "rabbit" for the taboo homonym "cunt". Similarly, in Latin American Spanish, non-tabooed meaning of verb "coger" ("agarrar, tomar" take) is avoided, because of its other tabooed, stronger meaning "joder" fuck, which is taking over the whole meaning of the word.

In addition, euphemistic expression can turn into a neutral orthophemism (such as once euphemistic "going to the toilet" fading into orthophemism). As for taboo terms, they almost never elevate into euphemism. The exception happens when once contaminated (by taboo topic connection) euphemism loses its taboo sense, and later re-entered the lexicon. For instance, once euphemistic verb "occupy" meant "copulate", then the taboo topic connotation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> see Brown, "Taboo, Euphemism and Political Correctness " 456-457. <sup>19</sup> see Allan 43-44.

lapsed; presently the verb's meaning "inhabit, take up" is not used dysphemistically anymore.  $^{20}$ 

It seems like the triumph of the impolite over the polite, the offensive over the inoffensive, but for the well-being of the society, we generally do censor our language to avoid tabooed topics.

### 7. SWEARING AND CURSING

The root of swearing in many languages is, curiously enough, religion. Originally, verb "swear" meant "promise, make a solemn declaration, take an oath" (usually in the reference to deity, a holy object). Oaths (act of swearing) include e.g. "I swear by God", "As God is my witness", "God strike me dead if..." meaning "I ensure you what I am telling you is not a lie". If the swearer, that is, a person who swears, is being untruthful or noncompliant, the great danger of divine penalties is indicated. Even though, this early interpretation of "swear" is still used, there is a new one related to dysphemisms and violating taboos. The dysphemistic sense of the verb, referred to as "profane swearing", became dominant in contexts that are not marked (we are not making an orthophemistic declaration of veracity). Besides, when we "swear at" somebody or something, we typically insult and disparage the object of our rage. Profane swearing comprises, firstly, of expressions from both blasphemous (religious), evil words disrespecting the sacred and deity, and secondly, profane (irreligious) words.<sup>21</sup>

Today, in both English and Spanish the blasphemous swearing barely scandalizes, of course with the exception of extremely puritan people. It is a clear consequence of religion losing its influence. As the secularization made blasphemy swear word less powerful, the new expressions, according to the contemporaneous taboo topics, started to be employed among speakers. In addition, some very creative methods have been used. The gradual changeover has been realized from religious blasphemy to irreligious swearing (often with sexual and scatological topics). An excellent example is the phrase "Fuck you!", as nobody is sure what the expression exactly means (it could mean e.g. "fuck yourself" or "get fucked"). However, the most probable explanation is that it took its confusing syntax and semantics from the religious, blasphemous swearing "Damn you!" Other transitional swearing include "Holy shit!", "Holy fuck!" from the original "Holy Mary!" or "For fuck's sake!", "For fuck's sake!"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> see Allan 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> see Allan 76.

instead of "For God's sake!"<sup>22</sup> Spanish language shows similar method in some exclamations: irreligious "¡Al carajo contigo!" to the penis with you (religious "¡Al diablo contigo!" to the devil with you, "¡Al infierno contigo!" to hell with you).

As for two sexes, men and women use obscenities differently. Generally, males use stronger dirty words and swear more often than females who tend to opt for the gentler euphemisms. Both sexes are more likely to swear in the same sex environment.<sup>23</sup>

The original meaning of another term - "Cursing" - was "appealing to some supernatural power to inflict evil on someone". The latter, additional meaning is associated with dysphemistic swearing. "Cussing" is the colloquial alternative to cursing. A "cuss word" is often used as the synonym for a "swear word". <sup>24</sup> Below are listed some of the examples of exclamations imprecating malevolent fate (used as a means to emotively express our anger, rejection etc.)

English	<u>Spanish</u>
A curse on you! Curses!	¡Maldita sea! be damned
To the devil with you!	¡Al diablo/demonio contigo! to the devil/demon with you
Damn you (to hell)!	¡Al infierno contigo! to hell with you

Some might say there is nothing good about cursing/swearing. Nevertheless, others believe, "one positive aspect of cursing is that it replaces more primitive physical aggression. Most would agree that it is better to yell at people than to hit them on the head as they naturally feel more comfortable in it."<sup>25</sup>

## 8. INSULTS

Everyone knows how to insult, or how to use the language as a weapon. A verbal insult is often addressed directly at something or someone. It typically aims for degrading, demeaning and wounding its target, therefore, insults are essentially dysphemistic and thus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> see Pinker Steven, "Why we curse. What the F\*\*\*?" The New Republic 3 Oct. 2007, 24 Dec. 2010 <a href="http://pinker.wjh.harvard.edu/books/stuff/media">http://pinker.wjh.harvard.edu/books/stuff/media</a> articles/TNR%20Online%20%20What%20the%20F%20(1%2) 0of%203)%20(print).htm>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> see Allan 76. <sup>24</sup> see Allan 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> see Allan 89.

tabooed. However, insults can also be employed teasingly or humorously, e.g. among friends, some race or group. The target for the insult can be appearance, intelligence, behavior, religion, social and economic status, race, age, etc. The aggressor (a person using an insult to assault the target) might, for instance, pick on somebody's supposed weight (too fat "whale", to skinny "scrag"), intelligence (too intelligent, not fitting into society – "nerd"; too stupid – "moron"). Dysphemistic expressions for insulting include, among others, groups mentioned below (the groups were taken from Allan's *Forbidden Words*<sup>27</sup>)

# • Using metaphorically the name of the animal with conventionally attributed negative characteristic, which is shared by the animal and the insulted target.

English: "pussy" (effeminate male), "bull" (big and clumsy man), "chicken" (a coward), "pig" (someone rude), "parasite" (a person who lives on others), "cow" (a large unpleasant woman), "jackass" (someone stupid), "pest" (a persistently annoying person), "goat" (a dirty man), "rat" (a despicable or contemptible person), "snake" (someone deceitful or treacherous)

Spanish: "besugo" a type of purple bird (a stupid person), "puerco" pig (someone rude or dirty), "gallina" hen "cabrón" goat (a coward), "burro" donkey (someone stupid), "buitre" vulture (someone who attack for his gain), "zorra" fox (a prostitute), "erizo" hedgehog (an unpleasant, grumpy person), "ballena" whale (a big/fat person), "mariposa" butterfly (gay), "cerdo" pig (a person with bad manners), "mosca" fly (someone irritating)

# • Words used for insulting derived from: tabooed bodily organs, bodily waste (sweat, snot, feces, urine) and acts of urination, defecation and sex.

#### 1. Tabooed bodily organs

(especially organs used for sexual activity and/or defecation and urination)

<u>English</u>: "asshole/arsehole", "prick", "cunt", "dick", "ass/arse", "prat" *ass*, "twat" *cunt*, "dickhead", "shit for brains"

Spanish: "culero" asshole, "huevón" (from "huevos" testicles), "pendejo" pubic hair

#### 2. Bodily waste + urination and defecation

English: "piece of shit", "piece of crap", "pain in the ass", "shithead"

Spanish: "mierda" shit, "plasta" shit

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> see Allan 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> see Allan 79-82

#### 3. Sexual behaviour

<u>English</u>: "motherfucker", "whore", "cock-sucker", "arse-licker", "dipshit", "fucker", "slut", "bugger" *sodomist*, "wanker", "sucker", "sod"

<u>Spanish</u>: "puta" *slut*, "zorra" *slut*, "calientapollas" *cock teaser*, "mamapichas" and "soplapollas" *someone who performs oral sex on a man*, "mamador" *cocksucker* 

# • Imprecations and epithets evoking the lack of intelellectual acuity/intelligence or derangement.

English: "dickhead", "fuckwit", "fuckhead", "shithead", "fool", "stupid", "moron", "idiot", "airhead", "retard", "cretin", "kook", "loony", "nincompoop", "ninny", "halfwit", "nitwit", "blockhead", "douche bag", "jackass", "ass", "twit", "jerk"

Spanish: "gilipollas", "gilipuertas", "gilitonto", "inflapollas", "panoli", "soplapollas", "idiota", "imbécil", "tonto", "lelo", "zoquete", "bobales", "bobo", "bobalicón", "burro", "capullo", "caraculo", "ciruelo", "imbécil", "papamoscas", "lerdo"

We noticed that some of English insults share the common structure; they are composed of a tabooed word + head ("fuck" + "head" = "fuckhead")

Now, it is convenient to mention that as an insult employed literally, slang term (such as "wanker") is certainly more vivid and usually also more effective then the regular, non-slang term (such as "masturbator", *a person who practices masturbation*). Nevertheless, the latter one, more orthophemistic equivalent, can also be used, especially as a more polite euphemistic dysphemism. However, when an insult is intended figuratively ("wanker" meaning *despised and ineffective*), the mild alternative ("masturbator") is inappropriate.<sup>28</sup>

## • -IST dysphemism including sexist, racist (ethnicist and nationalist), ageist, classist, etc. insults.

#### Racist insults....

The negative, insulting meaning of an expression can be based on the past negative experience or prejudice towards the certain group of people. Again, it is essential to keep in mind the context in which we use the expression. For instance, racist terms are no always dysphemistic ("black" used for African American is not necessarily more offensive than "white" for Caucasian person). Besides, when employed among African Americans, expression "nigger" rather than being dysphemistic is used as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> see Allan 82.

demonstration of identity and solidarity.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, only a "black" can call another "black" a "nigger" without being abusive. Below are listed some of examples of racist insults.

English: "kike", "yid" (a Jew), "jap", "nip" (a Japanese), "black", "nigger", "coon", "iigaboo", "jungle bunnies" (an African American), "slant eves", "UFO" uglv fucking oriental, "RGB" rice gobbling bastard, "slope" (person from south-east Asia), "honkey", "whitey" (Caucasian person), "wetback" (a Mexican), "spic" (a Spaniard), "wop" (an Italian), "chink" (a Chinese), "mick", "paddy" (an Irish), "frog" (a French), "kraut", "hun" (a German), "towel head", "dune coon", "camel jockey" (an Arab), "chief", "Hiawatha", "Geronimo" (male Native American)

Spanish: "gabacho" (a French), "gringo" (a person from the USA), "garrufo", "galufo" (an Arab), "pies negros", "tábano" (a gypsy), "polaco" (a Catalan); In the following examples Spanish used sufixes or the fonetic deformation to add the negative meaning: "anglicón" (an English), "franchute" (a French), "catalino", "catatufo" (a Catalan), "calorro", "calentito" (a gypsy), "italianini" (an Italian), "moraco" (an Arab), "morata" (a Moor), "morube" (a Moroccan), "sudaca" (a person from South America), "negrata" (an African American or a person with a darker complexion)<sup>30</sup>

## 9. SEX AND BODILY EFFLUVIA

This chapter looks closer into a major source of taboo words, which are subjects to censoring. We will examine tabooed bodily functions: sex, urination and defecation; effluvia and the tabooed organs.

Bodily effluvia (including feces, urine, semen, menstrual fluid, pubic hair, sweat, nasal mucus, spittle, etc.) just as bodily parts and activities related to them, are constrained on mentioning in the language. Unlike sex-associated taboos, everybody without exception produces some kind of bodily waste, apart from sex related semen and female menstrual fluid. The fear of effluvia is based on distaste and concerns about pollution, and of course, this held concern is a good reason for keeping human discharge at a distance.<sup>31</sup> Menstruation fluid and

see Allan 83-84.

30 see Bohdan Ulašin, "Súčasná hovorová európska španielčtina," Diss, Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2006: 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> see Allan 162.

menstruating females have been a taboo in most cultures, partly because women having a period have been seen as unclean by the society.

By-products of our bodies are normally repulsive to the public, which makes them a possible cause of embarrassment (for the person who is the source of obnoxious waste). If we fail to meet the expectations of our culture, we may stir the verbal insults. These attacks are often taken from the terms associated with excrements and urine; insult based on excrements are more often, maybe because of the stronger smell and solid, more resistant substance to remove. Menstrual fluid is more strongly tabooed than feces or urine, however, it is rarely used as an insult. Exceptions could be English epithets "bloody", "bleeding" which might be connected with menstruation.<sup>32</sup> We have not found any Spanish equivalents. For examples of insulting dysphemism related to bodily effluvia, see the list below.

#### • Exclamations expressing a strong emotion

#### English:

ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUALS: "Go piss up the rope!", "Kiss my ass/arse", "Piss off", "Shove it up your ass/arse!"

ANGER, DISGUST, AND ANNOYANCE: "Shit!", "Shit a brick!"

CONTEMPT, DISRESPECT, SUPERIORITY: "I give a shit about it!"

#### Spanish:

ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUALS: "¡Vete a la mierda!" go to the shit, "¡Vete a cagar!" go take a shit "¡Vete a la ñinga!" go to the shit

ANGER, DISGUST, AND ANNOYANCE: "¡Mierda!" shit, "¡Me cago en su padre/en los cojones/en la puta/ etc.!" *I take a shit on his father/on the testicles/on the bitch,* "¡Mierda para tí!" *shit for you* 

CONTEMPT, DISRESPECT, SUPERIORITY: "¡No vale una mierda!" it is not even worth a shit, "¡Me importa un culo!" it is as important as the butt, "¡Me lo paso por el culo!" I pass it through my butt, "¡Otra pena pa mi culo!" another pity for my butt

#### • Insults

English: "shithead", "butthead", "shitface", "shitbrain", "craphead", "pooface", "shit for brains", "dipshit", "asshole/arsehole", "dumbass", "asshat", "pain in the ass", "piece of shit"

Spanish: "culero" (derived from "culo" ass), "mierdica" (derived from "mierda" shit)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> see Allan 173.

Quite surprisingly, when searching for insulting epithets, we were unable to find many Spanish terms associated with the effluvia.

Beside bodily waste connected vocabulary, the language associated with sexual activity provides a great amount of verbal play and figurative expression. As we have seen in previous sections dealing with swearing, cursing and insults can be used humorously; or, it can be a source of terms for very offensive insults. This dates back to time, when all sex was unholy, with the exception of marital sex aiming to procreate.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, since the 1960's many modern people have found these sexual taboo words laughable, mainly because of the stigma and shame attributed to it, as they see sex as a natural pleasure for both males and females and a basic human need. However even nowadays, when people are in general having sex more liberally then in the past, the topic is not, most certainly, free of taboo. 34 For a long time, there have been many hazards connected to sex, which left their mark on the society, on our emotions and feelings. These risks comprise among others sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy, incest, jealousy, spousal abuse, child abuse or rape. Besides, we see another possible problem, since women and men usually approach to sex differently;<sup>35</sup> as seen from the evolutionary point of view, males try to impregnate/have sex with as many females as possible; on the other hand, the females tend to attach to the man so that he could provide for the potential offspring.

In addition, even though, all sex language is tabooed, some taboos are stronger than others (male homosexuality is more tabooed than the heterosexual relations); also masturbation, oral sex, anal sex, incest and pedophilia is strongly censored.

In order to show the language associated with sex, we listed below several examples of insults. Again, these insults such as Spanish "gilipollas" can be taken literally, meaning cocksucker, somebody who performs fellatio or, figuratively/metaphorically meaning a person with a low intelligence and obnoxious behavior. In the following Spanish examples, the literally translations are given in italics.

see Allan 144. see Pinker.

#### Insults

#### 1. Tabooed bodily organs

<u>English</u>: MALES: "prick", "dick", "dickhead"; FEMALES: "cunt" (for many, the most offensive word in English), "pussy", "twat"

Spanish: "pendejo" *pubic hair*; MALES: "huevón" (derived from "heuvos" *eggs*, *testicles*), "capullo" *penis glands*; FEMALES: "coñazo" *a giant vagina* 

#### 2. Sexual behaviour

English: "motherfucker", "whore", "cocksucker", "fucker", "slut", "bugger" *sodomist*, "wanker", "sucker", "sod", "cocksucker, "whore", "motherfucker", "faggot", "fuckwit", "dicksucker", "fuckface", "fuckhead", "jerk off", "fuck"

<u>Spanish</u>: "puta" *slut* (*short for* "prostituta" *prostitute*), "zorra" *slut*, "calientapollas" *cock teaser*; "mamapichas", "gilipolla/agilipollado", "soplapollas", "inflapollas", *cock sucker*, "mamador" *cock sucker*, "puto/putón" *male whore*, "maricón" *gay* (it comes from "Marica" diminutive of "María", a very common female name), "hijo de puta (madre)" *son of a whore (mother)* 

## 10. FOOD AND SEX

There is a strong association between the language of food and the language of sex; alimentary metaphors are often used to describe euphemistically the sexual organs and sexual activities. The link of these two fields could be that food is quite frequently a prelude to sex, both can be a source of pleasure for us; both can include bodily sensations (touch, taste, smell, sight). <sup>36</sup> To support this, we can notice that the connectedness have been commercially used in selling food and beverage.

Even in everyday, ordinary speech, the alimentary and the sexual meet, for instance, you can desire for a bar of chocolate, or, you can desire a man/woman because you are attracted to them. In addition, mouth through which food is taken tends to be the first point of sexual activity, so it is also a sexual organ. In many languages, eating is used as an euphemism for sexual intercourse, and occasionally also for oral sex. Expressions referring to intimacy, such as English "I could eat you up" or Spanish "Este chico está para comérselo" *I could just eat up this guy*, when taken literally, as if the person was something edible, seem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> see Allan 190-192.

quite cannibalistic.<sup>37</sup> Next, we will list examples of slang metaphors linking the sexual and the alimentary in English and Spanish.

#### • Males: genitalia (penis)

English: SWEET (something to lick/suck): "sugarstick", "lollipop", "creamstick"; FRUITS AND VEGETABLES: "banana", "carrot", "cucumber"; MEAT: "beef", "sausage", "beef bayonet", "mutton dagger", "pork", "gristle", "hambone", "tubesteak", "white" (for a white man), "dark meat" (for a black man), "raw/sweet meat", "joint", "marrowbone", "marrow pudding", "live sausage", "butcher" (the instrument of deflowering)

Spanish: "pelao", "pelado" something peeled (e.g. banana), "fideo" noodle; SWEET: "bollo" sweet bread roll, "pirulín/pirulí" hard candy; FRUITS AND VEGETABLES: "nabo" turnip, "banana" banana, "chile" chili pepper", "zanahoria" carrot, "camote" sweet potatoe, "pepino" cucumber, "plátano" banana, "callampa/champiñón/seta" mushroom; MEAT: "moronga" blood sausage, "carne en barra" meat on the stick, "chorizo/salchicha/salchichón/morcillón" sausage, "longaniza" long sausage, "hueso" bone

#### • Males: testicles

English: "eggs", "seeds", "oysters", "tea bags", "cods", "raisins"; FRUITS AND VEGETABLES: "fruits", "potatoes", "apples", "berries", "beans", "onions", "grapes", "plums"; SWEET: "donuts", "skittles", "creamballs"; NUTS: "nuts", "nutmegs", "peanuts", "chestnuts"

<u>Spanish</u>: "huevos" eggs, "albóndigas" *meat balls*, "aceitunas" *olives*, "pasas" *raisins*; FRUITS AND VEGETABLES: "aguacates" *avocados*, "guisantes" *peas*, "cerezas" *cherries*; NUTS: "nueces" *nuts*, "avellanas" *hazel nuts*, "almendras" *almonds*, "cocos" *coconuts*, "castañas" *chestnuts*, "cacahuetes" *peanuts* 

#### • Females: genitalia (vagina)

English: SWEETS AND DESERTS: "cake", "crumpet", "pancake", "jelly roll", "muffin", "cookie", "bit of jam", "golden doughnut, "sweet potato pie", "hair/fur pie",; FRUITS AND VEGETABLES: "apple", "split apricot", "fig", "split fig", "plum", "cabbage", "cabbage patch", "cabbage garden/field", "cauliflower", "mushroom";

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> see Allan 194.

MEAT: "cat's meat", "bacon sandwich", "hairburger", "fuzzburger", "furburger", "butcher's shot" (butcher – penis), "butcher's window"; "gravy giver", "gravy maker", "tuna taco"; CONTAINERS OF FOOD: "lunchbox", "oven", "jelly box", "honey pot", "jampot", "sugar basin", "saltceller", "juice box"

Spanish: "arepa" corn pancake, "panocha" pancake made of maize and cheese; SWEETS AND DESERTS: "bollo/bollito" sweet bread roll; FRUITS AND VEGETABLES: "papaya" papaya, "pepa" fruit pip; MEAT AND SEAFOOD: "almeja/almejita/almejón/almejilla" clam, "bacalao" codfish, "choro" mussel (a type of water animal), "empanada" meat pie, "pascadito" a small fish, "besugo" sea bream (a type of marine fish)

#### • Females: breasts

English: "butter bags", "chestnuts", "cream jugs", "dinner", "nuts", "meatballs", SWEETS AND DESERTS: "cupcakes", "marshmallows", "muffins", FRUITS: "grapefruits", "grapes", "melons", "lemons", "oranges", "peaches", "watermelons", "apples", "mangoes"

Spanish: "alimentos" food, "cocos" coconuts; FRUITS: "melones/meloncillos" melons, "peras/peritas" pears, "limones" lemons, "melocotones" peaches, "albaricoques" apricots, "ciruelas" plums, "mandarinas" tangerines, "naranjas" oranges, "uvas" grapes, "sandías" melons, "pomelos" grapefruit or pomelo, "piñas" pineapple, "manzanas" apples, "fresones/fresitas" strawberries, VEGETABLES: "berzas" cabbages, "cebollas" onions, "berenjenas" eggplants, "lechugas" lettuces

#### • Sexual activity

English: INTERCOURSE: "have a bit of curly greens"(for males), "have a bun in the oven" (for males), "have a bit of sugar stick" (for females); ANAL INTERCOURSE: "bake potatoes", "pack the fudge"; CUNNILINGUS: "going down for gravy", "eat cauliflower", "eat jam", "toss a salad", "box lunch", "eat out"; FELLATIO: "suck the sugar-stick", "suck/eat somebody"; MASTURBATION: "beat/pound the meat" (for males), "tenderize the meat" (for males)

<u>Spanish</u>: INTERCOURSE: "mojar el churro" wet the churros (long fritters), "dar de comer al conejo" *give food to the rabbit* FELLATIO: "chupar" *suck* MASTURBATION: "pelarsela" *peel it;* KISSING: "darse el bistec" *to have a steak*,

"morder" bite; SEXUAL AROUSAL: "estar hambriento" to be hungry, "estar frito" to be fried

As we could notice from our examples, when choosing a euphemism for any bodily parts involved in sexual behavior, especially fruits, vegetables, sweets and desert are very frequent in both English and Spanish. Regarding male anatomy, instead of "penis", meat is often used, and instead of "testicles" some kind of nuts. As for females, instead of "vagina", meat is often employed. Besides, in Spanish particularly, we can see many fish and other seafood related vocabulary; the reason is obvious since the Spanish speaking countries consume a lot of marine food. The euphemisms are typically used to reflect reality, for instance, woman breasts will be described according to their actual shape and size. Wellendowed woman's bust can be called "watermelons", and, the small chest "grapes", "lemons" or "marshmallows". Similar principle applies to euphemisms for "testicles".

Now, after discussing the link between two topics the majority of us enjoys – sex and food, we will look at some of less happy subjects – disease, death and killing – and the vocabulary associated with it.

## 11. DISEASE, DEATH, AND KILLING

Forbidden topics (taboos) are generally motivated by fear (possibly fear of losing control) or distaste, so people try to find means to refer to them without mentioning the subjects directly – using metaphorical language. Expressions of unpleasant aspects of our lives disease, death and killing are no exception, as they are often spoken of euphemistically. The indirect or mild vocabulary will often make it easier to talk about these disconcerting realities <sup>38</sup>

The fear of many taboos, such as deity and sex, has been diminishing significantly in the modern society; secularization of the western world belongs to main reasons. However, even though medicine, with all the newfound cures and technologies, has progressed extraordinarily, another fear – the fear of death and disease – remains practically unchanged. Since the religion has been influencing our society less and less, the majority of people is not afraid of, for instance, Gods or hell, as they know Gods or devils have no control over their faith. Nevertheless, the inability to exercise control when people are sick makes diseases very

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> see Allan 234.

scary. The lack of control has also seen as a cause of insanity, and consequently, the fear of becoming mad is an abundant source for linguistic taboos. Another source is death representing inevitable end of our lives, for some eternal sleep, for others beginning of afterlife. Except for suicides, we generally can not predict when or how we die, again we fear not having control of the destiny. Even very religious people do not usually hurry to get to paradise and meet their creator. Of course, somebody with a lot of pain, either emotional or physical, can welcome death. <sup>39</sup> However, it is not just us dying or becoming sick, the suffering, death or misfortune of others, especially of our close ones, tends to be feared greatly.

The verbal taboos concerning harsh reality of disease and illness can have, besides the general intrinsic unpleasantness, other reasons for being used. Sometimes, we just try to be polite. We do not want to appear as whimpering and complaining, as many of us find the topic of health problems boring. In addition, we euphemize not to impose our troubles on others. The indirect, mild and vague vocabulary will often make it easier to talk about diseases and sickness. For instance, a woman experiencing discomfort can use orthophemistic "I have got menstrual cramps" or Spanish "Tengo dolor menstrual". She could also say "I'm not feeling well" or in Spanish "Estoy con la mala"; e.g. when talking to the stranger, it would be very inappropriate to employ the direct orthophemism. This taboo concerning menstruation has been already strengthened by referring to bodily effluvia (which was discussed in previous chapters). Likewise, condolences are conventionally expressed indirectly. We usually condole with people on "the tragic loss" instead of orthophemistic "the death" of somebody.

Furthermore, we can make fun of the unhappy aspects of our lives, and so face the fear. We insult in order to hurt or demean the target. Similarly, we use humor when referring to disease or death to lighten and come to terms with the sad reality.

Below are listed some of the expressions using either metaphors, playfulness or/and indirect language as a means of reducing seriousness and unpleasantness of death. Included are both dysphemisms (which depending on context can be employed humorously) such as Spanish "estirar la pata" *stretch out the leg* and euphemisms such as "pasar a mejor vida" *go into a better life*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> see Allan 235.

<sup>40</sup> see Allan 203-204

English: "kick the bucket", "buy the farm", "give-up the ghost", "cash in one's chips", " bite the dust", "push up daisies", "bless the world with one's heels", "check out", "go home feet first ", "pay one's debt to nature", "go to meet one's maker", "go to the happy hunting ground", "take one's last sleep", "pass away", "come to an ultimate end", "depart this life", "go to the word of light", "cross to the other side", "go to meet the majority"

Spanish: "colgar los tenis" hang the sneakers, "entregar la piel" give in the skin, "estirar la pata" stretch out the leg, "liar el petate" leave the place, "entregar el equipo" give in the team, "quedarse tieso" remain stiff, "pagar la cuenta" pay the bill, "cerrar el libro" close the book, "salir de este mundo" leave this world, "acabar sus días" end one's days, "entegar el alma" give in the soul, "subir al cielo" go to paradise, "pasar a mejor vida" go into a better life

Insanity was seen in the past as the possession by the devil, therefore, mental illnesses were greatly dreaded. The mad people were often very brutally treated by the community. Sometimes the condition was attributed to the force of God; in this case, the sick individuals escaped the treatment. But anyways, no matter if the madness meant a gift or a punishment, some kind of supernatural power was ascribed to the insanity.<sup>41</sup>

Nowadays, people with mental problem have an uneasy position in the society that still has prejudiced perceptions towards this illness. One of the reasons could be the fact that there is actually nothing physical, touchable, and broken in the body. As we have already mentioned above, the lack of control has been also seen as a cause of insanity, and consequently, the fear of becoming mad is an abundant source for linguistic taboos. Gradually, euphemisms for these taboos tend to lose the euphemistic value as their meaning is stained by the negative connotation, and new euphemisms need to be found. English word "lunatic" or Spanish "lunático" originally mildly referred to the insanity affected by the phases of the moon; nevertheless at present, the euphemistic value is lost and the word turned into a pejorative. Therefore, there are many X-phemistic expressions associated with insanity; being out of control and behaving extravagantly 42, some of them are listed below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> see Allan 213. <sup>42</sup> see Allan 214-215.

#### SYNOMYMS FOR A MAD/CRAZY/INSANE (PERSON):

English: "disturbed", "lunatic", "demented", "maniac" ,"psychotic", "brainsick", "sick", "nutcase", "screwball", "nutter", "wacko", "bananas", "bonkers", "cuckoo", "haywire", "batty" "flaky", "screwy", "daffy", "crack-brained", "one sandwich short of a picnic"

"insano", "lunático", "demente", "maniático", "psicópata", Spanish: "perturbado", "enajenado", "chiflado", "pirado", "tocado", "chalado", "guillado", "colgado", "delirante", "aturdido", "mentecato", "majareta", "mochales", "trastornado"

Killing another person is normally taboo, with a few exceptions such as the capital punishment. These legal killings are often mentioned euphemistically. The mild language can play down the actual slaughter of people. In war, "language is censored so as to reflect the representation of enemies as evil, aggressive, immoral, inhuman and unjust, whereas we and our allies are the exact opposite." <sup>43</sup> Below are listed some of the examples of the political language used in a conflict.

	ENEMIES and their acts	US, ALLIES, and our acts
English:	aggressors, invaders	liberators, freedom-fighters
Spanish:	agresor, invasor	liberador
English:	invasion, blitzkrieg	pre-emptive strike
Spanish:	invasión, incursión	ataque preventivo
English:	concentration camps	pacification centres
<u>Spanish</u>	campo de concentración	centros de pacificación
English:	murderous terrorist acts against civilians	collateral damage
Spanish:	asesinos actos terroristas contra civiles	daños colaterales

Even though the deeds of both sides of the conflict are virtually the same, the euphemisms are used hypocritically to diminish the feelings of responsibility and distance from the atrocious actions. On the other hand, with the help of dysphemisms, enemy is frequently dehumanized and portrayed as a vicious being.<sup>44</sup>

Another issues concerning death are highly controversial abortions, suicide and euthanasia. People who are pro abortion typically refer to the product of conception as "fetus"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> see Allan 229-230. <sup>44</sup> see Allan 230.

(Spanish "feto") whereas those who are against the termination of pregnancy talk about "baby" or a "child" (Spanish "nene" or "niño"). This second group sees abortion and a murder of a child as the same thing. Suicide (when somebody kills himself intentionally) has been considered by many to be offence of the honor, of the God or life. In the modern society, it is also a serious crime. Euthanasia that means killing someone painlessly with dignity, especially when suffering from an irremediable illness, raises a strong moral dilemma. Healthy individual normally fears death; however, sick people, who quite possibly have to endure a lot of pain, dread the opposite – not dying. Death can actually be a welcomed relief. The euphemism for euthanasia (which is a orthophemism)<sup>45</sup> includes English "death with dignity", "mercy killing", "physician assisted death", "aid in dying", "self-determination", "managed death" or Spanish "muerte digna" dignified death.

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<sup>45</sup> see Allan 233.

## PART II: EXPRESSIVITY AND INTERJECTIONS

## 1. EXPRESSIVITY

Language performs various functions. It is employed with a specific intention. The principal tasks of the language are to communicate, share the information, identify with a particular group, express various emotions or attitudes and also to influence the attitudes of the audience. 46

We use expressive (emotive) discourse and words in order to give the language an emotional charge, which enables us to impress the hearer, show our frame of mind etc. The emotional charge can be either positive, such as euphemisms; or negative, including pejoratives or ironic words. This distinction is based on the view and norms of the particular society. There are generally more cases of negative expressivity. On the other side appear neutral notional words without any emotional charge.<sup>47</sup>

If we want to show surprise, for example after getting an eccentric gift from a friend of ours, we can say notional "I am surprised" in English or "Estoy sorprendido" in Spanish, which can be perceived as disinterested and impassive. Nevertheless, there is a far more effective to show surprise – using more expressive language; emotive expressions such as:

English: "Holy God!", "Son of a gun!", "Fuck a duck!", "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!"

Spanish: "¡Hostia!" consecrated wafer, "¡Joder!" fuck, "¡Coño de madre!" mother's

cunt, "¡Por el amor de Dios!" for the love of God, "¡La madre del cordero!" the mother

of the lamb

Moreover, in general, informal language is more expressive that the formal one. Taboo words, including sex, scatology or religion are even more emotive since they usually greatly arouse our emotions. Besides other factors, it is the freedom of voicing what we think and our emotions that decide whether the style is formal or informal. The emotive words tend to replace the neutral words. Then, gradually these emotive expressions with newly gained stronger position lose its expressivity. Following examples are nowadays generally perceived

<sup>46</sup> see Ulašin 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> see Jaroslav Peprník, *English lexikology* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001) 105.

weaker than they were perceived in the past. Especially religious blasphemy, because of the secularization of the Western culture, does not usually raise an eyebrow.

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English: "Blimey!" (from "God blind me") "Damn!" (both have religious origin)
Spanish: "¡Coño! cunt, "¡Verga!" dick; (female and male genitalia, respectively)
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When the weakening of the emotive charge occurs, the language is always able to find or create a replacement with a stronger expressivity.<sup>48</sup>

We can divide expressivity into tree groups: inherent, adherent, and contextual. Words with the expressivity (emotive evaluation) as "a natural or basic part of the meaning" are inherently expressive. Forbidden words or taboos are the most emotionally evocative, they relate to tainted areas, which are seen negatively by the society; or to sacred concepts:

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English "Shit!" (feces), "Fuck!" (sexual act); "Good God!" (blasphemy: taking Lord's
name in vain), "Christ Almighty! " (blasphemy)
Spanish: "Puta!" bitch (prostitute), "Joder!" fuck (sexual act); "Dios!" God
(blasphemy), "Jesuscristo!" Jesus Christ (blasphemy), "Diablos!" devils,
"¡Chingada/o!" fucking (sexual act)
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When we utter these strong words, we expect strong emotive reactions from the audience. Maybe also for that reason, we use such words as interjections. Besides, in order to intensify the emotive impression we can use a group of adjectives and adverbs, these can turn into a pure intensifying elements. Negative adjectives such as English "terrific", "tremendous" or Spanish "bestial" bestial, "bárbaro" barbarous, can have very little meaning apart from their emotive force, they can simply be emphatic counterparts of "good" or "nice." <sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, words adherently expressive only acquire their expressivity when used figuratively/metaphorically. The contextual group of words acquires the emotive charge in the context in which they originally not occurred.<sup>51</sup> For instance, if we are angry at somebody we might say "Kiss my ass!" we do not actually want the audience to kiss our behind, and the audience will understand that from the situation or context in witch the hearer and the speaker occur. Similarly, if you hear in Spanish "Vete a descapullar monos!" go away

<sup>48</sup> see Ulašin 270. 49 see Peprník 105. 50 see Ulašin 271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> see Peprník 107.

and circumcise monkeys, the speaker is not sending the audience to circumcise monkeys, more likely, he is showing his anger against you.

There are many way how to express emotion and attitude, one of them, as we already mentioned above, is the use of interjection and interjectional phrases.

## 2. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are peripheral elements and a rather isolated part of speech. Probably, most typical for interjections, is that, they can form all alone complete utterances, are not so much expressing thought but rather feeling and passion. This part of speech is also related to routines and to swearing and use of taboo words. Even though, they play important role in conveying our emotions, it seems that the linguists neglect them.

However, when look at them closer "we find that they are not only natural signs resulting from an overflow of feeling but linguistic signs which are culturally specific and associated with linguistic conventions with regard to prosody, grammar and use." <sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, the problem generally arises when we try to decide which elements should fit into interjections and how to classify them.

They may be defined by three criteria. These criteria define the prototype, the core members, but of course, there are some of them diverging.

First, the formal criterion says that the interjection is a lexical form that conventionally constitute utterance by itself, does not enter into constructions with other parts of speech, does not take either inflectional or derivational affixes, and consist of just one morpheme. Some non-prototypical interjections, consisting of more than one morpheme and thus being formally more complex, include:

English: "Goddammit", "Bloody hell!", "Christ Almighty!", "Confound it!"

Spanish "¡Maldita sea!" be damned, "¡Por todos los santos!" for all the saints, "¡Coño de madre! " mother's genitals/cunt, "¡Madre que te parió!" the mother that gave birth to you

These utterances can be referred to as interjectional phrases. Second, a semantic point of view defines core members of interjections as conventionalized linguistic signs that convey mental

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Edda Weigand, ed, "Interjections in a Contrastive Perspective," *Emotion in Dialogic Interaction* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004) 99.

state, attitude, or a reaction toward a certain situation. Third, pragmatic criterion says that the interjections are context dependent and that they can not be fully understood unless they appear in a social context. 53 For instance if someone shouts out "Shit!" in English or "¡Coño!" *cunt* in Spanish, the hearer without knowing the extralinguistic context, can interpret the interjection as the expression of various emotions, such as anger, disgust, surprise, etc.

It is also necessary to point out that since interjection constitutes utterance by itself, the term can describe either a part of speech or an utterance type. 54

There are many classifications of interjections, one of them is based on form and origin the interjections.

This formal criterion divides interjections into two categories: primary and secondary. Primary interjections are words conveying "various kinds of experience that were not processed by the brain"<sup>55</sup>. The more prototypical members are interjections imitating natural sounds. These onomatopoeic words are the most primitive or spontaneous emotional reactions. They generally consist of one word and, for example, include:

English "ah", "hah", "ugh" and Spanish "ah", "ay", "puf"

The other group, secondary interjections, is less prototypical; they are basically exclamations which are derived from other parts of speech, from lexical words. They have an independent semantic value, often being taboo and swear words, which is lost when used as interjections.<sup>56</sup> Their primary function could be, for instance:

- noun: English "Shit!", "God!" and Spanish "¡Leche!" milk, semen "¡Madre!" mother, "¡Carajo de mierda!" penis of the shit, "¡Jesús Christo!" Jesus Christ, "¡Hostía!" consecrated wafer
- verb: English "Fuck!", "Screw!", "Damn!" and Spanish "¡No chingues!" don't fuck, "¡Joder!" fuck

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> see Keith Brown, et al., eds., "Interjections" Encyclopedia of language and linguistics, 2nd ed. Vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006) 743-744.

see Brown, "Interjections" 744. see Peprnik 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> see Brown, "Interjections" 744.

As for the form, these secondary interjections can either consist of one word or they can be complex and consist of more words, these more complex can be tricky to analyze. Even some sentences can be considered interjections, such as pejorative wishes and orders:

English: "God damn you!", " Stick it up your arse/ass!", "Screw you!", "To the devil with you!", "Suck my dick!"

Spanish: "¡Vete a la mierda!" go away to shit, "¡Que se joda!" let him fuck himself

They are, however borderline cases between interjections and exclamatory sentence. They express emotions such as anger, surprise, despair, etc.<sup>57</sup>Commonly, interjections do not have addressee:

English: "Good heavens!", "Gosh!", "Holy cow!", "Shit!", "Damn!"

Spanish: "¡María Jesus!" Mary Jesus, "¡Hijo de puta!" son of a bitch

Nevertheless, some of them might be directed to the addressee/hearer who is involved in the communicative act.<sup>58</sup> The addressee has to decide according to the context and also social situation what the meaning of the interjection is. Some examples of interjections expressing anger or disagreement directed toward the hearer are mentioned in the previous paragraph.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> see Peprník 113-114. <sup>58</sup> see Brown, "Interjections" 745.

### PART III: ANALYSIS OF EXPRESSIONS CONVEYING SOME EMOTIONS

In PART I of this thesis, we mentioned that Spanish and English-speaking countries, both being part of modern western cultures, share taboo topics and consequently tabooed expressions. Nevertheless, the distribution and frequency of use of these forbidden phrases differ in two analyzed languages.

In this part we will contrast English (placed in the left column) and Spanish (placed in the right one) tabooed expressions that convey some emotions or attitudes. Our analysis will include:

- SECONDARY INTERJECTIONS (English "Shit!", "Fuck!", "Screw!", "Damn!", "God!"; Spanish: "¡Leche!" *milk*, *semen*, "¡Madre!" *mother*, "¡Hostía!" *consecrated wafer*)
- INTERJECTIONAL PHRASES (English: "Bloody hell!", "Confound it!"; Spanish: "¡Maldita sea!" *be damned*, "¡Por todos los santos!" *for all the saints*)
- IDIOMATIC SENTENCES (such as English: "I couldn't give a flying fuck about ...!"; Spanish: "¡me lo paso por el culo!" *I let it pass through the backside*, "¡no me importa una mierda!" *I find is as important as an excrement*)

There will be five groups of emotions figuring in our analysis:

- 1. ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUALS
- 2. ANGER, DISGUST AND ANNOYANCE
- 3. DISAGREEMENT AND DISBELIEF
- 4. SURPRISE AND AMAZEMENT
- 5. INDIFFERENCE

Certain expressions may convey more emotions, so they can occur in more groups, such as English "fuck!" (or Spanish equivalent "¡joder!") that can be placed into two groups (anger, disgust, annoyance; and surprise, amazement).

What we will actually contrast is the occurrence/distribution of expressions which are related to four tabooed topics: SEX; RELIGION; DEFECATION AND OTHER BODILY EFFLUVIA; and DEATH. Some of these groups will be further divided into subgroups, this will make our analysis more organized; in addition, more differences of two studied

languages can be deduced. We have decided to include "mother/father" phrases into RELIGION group, as our parent is generally regarded as person that should be respected.

The majority of Spanish examples has literal translation added in italics (e.g. ime cago en los cojones! *I defecate on the testicles*). The work is written in English, so we naturally expect our readers to have a good command of this language. Only some readers of the thesis speak Spanish, so we will almost always give the English translation of the expression's literal meaning. Since we do not want to unnecessarily repeat ourselves, no English translation of the Spanish literal meaning (written in italics) might be given if this meaning of a expression is same as the meaning of a subgroup (subgroup = Genitalia (penis); expressions = "¡carasta!", "¡caray!" with the meaning – *penis*)

Aside from dysphemisms, the analysis also covers euphemisms as they are contaminated by the connection to the taboo topic. These euphemisms usually degenerate, as the time goes, into dysphemisms, so that new euphemisms need to be found or created.

As we already mentioned in the introduction, besides possibly dissimilar distribution of tabooed topics in two studied languages, we expect the results of the analysis to show, at least to some degree, social differences of Spanish and English cultures.

### 1. ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUALS

Unlike English, Spanish uses "madre" *mother* in many dysphemistic phrases. These expressions are highly offensive as many Spanish-speaking countries respect greatly a role of mothers in the society. On the other hand, Spanish lacks curse (= infliction of evil on somebody/something) related phrases, which are quite common in English (damn/drat you!).

As for sex related expressions, Spanish seems to be more creative than English because it sends the target of anger to genitalia (¡vete al carajo! *go to the penis;* ¡ándate a la chucha! *go to the vagina*). Generally, when conveying any group of emotions in this analysis, Spanish uses more often dysphemisms of genitalia or testicles; we will discuss this later on.

When we focus on bodily effluvia, we can see that unlike English, Spanish sends the target to the excrement (¡anda a la mierda!) or to defecate (¡anda a cagar!). English 'compensates' this fact by urination orders (piss off!), which Spanish lacks.

### RELIGION

### **MOTHER**

	• <u>i(vete y) chinga a tu madre!</u> ((go and) have
	sex with your mother)
	• ¡(anda y) que te la casque tu madre! ((go
	and) let you mother smack your
	penis/perform fellatio on you)
CLIDGE	

### **CURSE**

• a curse on you!, curse you!	
• (god) damn you!, damn you to hell!	
• <u>drat you!</u> ("drat" = <i>god rot</i> )	

### **DEVIL**

• go to the devil!	• ¡vete/anda al diablo/demonche/demonio!
• to the devil with you!,	(go to the devil/demon)
(may) the devil take you!	

### **HELL**

- go to non-orazos.	• go to hell/blazes!	• <u>ivete/anda al infierno!</u> (go to hell)
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• ( <u>I hope you/may you</u> ) roast in hell!,	¡vete/anda a los quintos infiernos! (go to the
(I hope you/may you) rot in hell!	fifth hell)
• to hell with you!	



### **∂ GENITALIA** (penis)

• ¡vete al carajo/a la porra/a la verga! (go to
the penis)

### **QENITALIA (vagina)**

• <u>jándate a la chucha!</u> (go to the vagina)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY - INTERCOURSE

- go fuck a cat/cow/duck/tree/goat! fluck a duck! = euph.
- (go) take a flying fuck (at a rolling donut)!
- fuck you!, get to fuck!
- screw you!

- <u>ivete/anda a tomar por el saco!</u> (go and take it throught the scrotum)
- ¡vete/anda a la chingada! (go have sex)
- <u>i(anda y)</u> que te folle un guarro/un <u>canguro/un pez!</u> ((go and )let a pig/a kangaroo/a fish have sex with you)
- <u>i(anda y)</u> que te jodan! ((go and) let them have sex with you)
- <u>i(anda y)</u> que te den por el saco! ((go) and let them give you through the scrotum)
- <u>ino (me) chingues!</u> (don't have sex (with me))
- <u>i(vete y) chinga a tu madre!</u> (have sex with your mother)
- <u>ivete/anda descapullar monos!</u> (go circumcise monkeys)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY – ORAL SEX

- <u>bite me!</u>
  <u>bite my arse/ass!</u>, <u>bite the ice!</u>, <u>bite the pillow!</u> = euph.
- blow me!
- eat me! (generally for  $\bigcirc$ ), eat a dick!
- <u>ivete/anda a comer pollas!</u> (go eat penises)
- <u>i(anda y)</u> que te la casque tu madre! ((go and) let you mother smack your penis)

• suck it/me! suck my back/dick! • lick it/me! lick my nuts/ass/froth/scroat! SEXUAL ACTIVITY – ANAL INTERCOURSE • bugger off/you! • ¡vete/anda a tomar por el culo! (go take it • sod off/you! through the backside) • get bent! • i(anda y) que te den por el culo! ((go and) let them give you though the backside) **SEXUAL ACTIVITY – MASTURBATION** • go fuck yourself!, go screw yourself! • <u>ivete/anda para puñeta/a hacer puñetas!</u> (go • fuck off (and die)! make cuff) eff off! = euph.; instead of "fuck" only the • <u>¡anda a cascarla!</u> (go smack your penis) name of the initial letter is used • ¡chíngate! Foxtrot Oscar! = euphemism; "Foxtrot" • ¡jodete! referring to the letter F, and "Oscar" to O, and consequently these letters as an abbreviation for "fuck off" DEFECATION AND OTHER BODILY EFFLUVIA **DEFECATION** • ¡vete/anda a cagar (a la vía)! (go off and defecate (on the street)) **EXCREMENTS** • eat shit (and die)! • <u>icome mierda/caca!</u> (eat excrements) • ¡vete/anda a la ñinga/a la mierda/a la eme! (go to the excrement; the letter "m" represents here, the beginning of the word "mierda") **URINATION** • go piss up the rope!

• piss off!

### **BUTTOCKS**

• kiss my ass/arse!	• ¡métetelo por el fundillo! (shove it up your
• shove it (up your arse/ass)!	anus)
<u>up yours!</u> = a short	
ram it (up your arse/ass)!	
stick it up your arse/ass!	
you know where you can stick that!	

### DEATH

• drop dead!	• ¡mala rabia te acabe! (bad rabies does
• eat shit and die!	away with you)
• fuck off and die!	• jun tiro que te den! (the shot they give you)
• <u>go</u>	• ¡que se pudra! (let him rot away)
choke yourself!	• <u>imal rayo!</u> (the bad lightning)
hang!	¡mal rayo te parta! (bad lightning strikes
jump in a lake/off a cliff!	you),
take a flying leap (off a cliff/ bridge/	¡que te parta un rayo! (let the lightning strike
building)!	you)
take a running jump (in the lake)!	

### 2. ANGER, DISGUST, AND ANNOYANCE

Unlike the previous group – ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUALS, this section deals with the emotion not directed at a person. Therefore, besides the speaker, there does not have to be another participant of the communicative act.

Even though some scatological expressions can be found in both languages, Spanish uses very frequently "¡me cago en ...!" *I defecate on*... followed by a target of defecation – often sacred (holy) object (such as "...el pan y el vino sagrado!" ...the bread and the holy wine) or being (such as "...Dios!" God). The number of possible things/being that can be defecated on in Spanish is surprisingly great. Spaniards and Latinos 'enjoy defecating on', just to mention few examples, Virgin, Saint John, Holy Trinity, Pope, clergy, Ten Commandments, Satan, angels or mother. There is no equivalent of "¡me cago en...!" in English when conveying anger (\*"I shit on...!"). In comparison with English-speaking countries (which are largely Protestant), Spanish-speaking countries have more believers and their religion has been more orthodox (Catholic Church). For that reason, the larger number of blasphemous expressions (defecation on the holy) in Spanish may seem paradoxical.

Besides, English does not use some one-word blasphemies related to religion, especially expressions "¡hostia!" *host, consecrated wafer* or "¡el copón!" *the holy ciborium*. What we have already mentioned in the previous group – ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST INDIVIDUALS – about "madre" *mother* (which occurs only in Spanish) is also true for this group.

On the other hand, Spanish lacks "hell" and "curse" (= infliction of evil on somebody/something) related phrases, which are quite abundant in English. In addition, there are no Spanish equivalents to English expressions "for the love of ...", "for ... sake!", and "in the name of...". Besides, English has far more variants of "God" and "Jesus (Christ)".

As for sex related words, Spanish "¡leche!" *ejaculate* does not have English equivalent. Again, unlike Spanish (¡carajo! *penis*), English does not include expressions naming male genitalia. There are some words in English for female genitalia (cunt!); however, they are not very frequently used in comparison with Spanish (¡coño!). Although, this is not a part of our analysis, it would be convenient to mention that Spanish-speaking people even use "coño" to address their friends. Word "cunt" is regarded in English as very offensive, some even consider it to be the most offensive expression in English. On the other

hand, English used phrases related to anal intercourse (buggeration!), which Spanish does not employ.

English "bitch" *female dog* and Spanish "puta" *prostitute* overlap in some meanings (such as insults that have nothing to with our analysis); nevertheless, their literal meanings do not overlap. However, we have still decided to place them into the subgroup of SEX as they both denote a promiscuous female.

As for bodily effluvia, English employs urination expression "piss!" which Spanish again lacks.

### RELIGION

### **GOD**

- God (Almighty)!
  (oh) dear/good/my God!, oh my!, dear(ie)
  me!, dear, dear!, God in heaven!
  God(s) rot! Gods rot it!
  egad!, egads! = from "oh, God"
  cor!, gar!, gawd!, gor!, gosh!, goodness! =
- <u>blimey!</u> (*p*) = from "God blind me" <u>cor blimey!</u>, <u>gor blimey!</u> = euph. for "God blind me"
- drat (it)! = from "God rot"
- for the love of God!

euph. for "God"

- for God's sake(s)!, for goodness sake!
- (good/my) Lord!, Lord Almighty!
- what in the name of the Lord?

  (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)

- i(por) Dios! (for God), iDios santo! (holy God), iay, bendito! (oh, blessed one), ibendito sea Dios! (God be blessed)
- <u>i(la) madre de Dios!</u> ((the) mother of God)
- ¡por (el) amor de Dios! (for the God's love)
- <u>irediós!</u>, <u>irediez!</u> (intensification of "Dios" by the prefix "re")
- <u>ipardiez!</u>, <u>ipor diez!</u> = euph. for "por Dios"
- •¡me cago... (I defecate...
- ...en (tu/san) Dios! (on (your/holy) God)
- ...<u>en diez!</u> (on ten; "diez" ten = euph. for "Dios" *God*)
- ...<u>en Dena/Diógenes/Dío/Diosle!</u> = euph. for "me cago en Dios"
- ...<u>en la madre de Dios!</u> (on the mother of God)
- ...<u>en Dios y en su puta madre!</u> (on God and his prostitute mother)

### (JESUS) CHRIST

- Jesus (Christ)!,
   Jesus H. Christ!, Jesus Christ on a stick!,
   Jesus suffering fuck!, Jesus wept!,
- •¡Jesús! (Jesus)
- •¡Jesús, María y José! (Jesus, Mary and Joseph)

jee(z/ze)!, gee(z/sh)!, sheesh!, jebus!, gee
whizz! = euph.

<u>jeepers!</u>, <u>bejesus!</u>, <u>bejeezus!</u> = variants for "Jesus"

<u>jeepers creepers!</u>, <u>Judas priest!</u> = euph. for "Jesus Christ"

- Christ (Almighty)!

  cri(c)key!, cripes!, criminy!, crimeny!,

  crumbs!, crud!, crust! = euph.
- for the love of Christ!
- for Christ('s) sake(s)!
- <u>suffering savior!</u> (Savior = Jesus Christ), <u>suffering succotash!</u> (succotash = *mixed* <u>vegetables</u>) = euph.
- what in the name of Jesus?

  (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)

- <u>irecristo!</u>
- ime cago... (I defecate...
- ...en Cristo! (on Christ)
- ...en la cruz de Christo! (on Christ's cross)
- ...<u>en los clavos de Jesús!</u> (on the nails of *Jesus*)
- ...en el sagrado corazón de Jesús! (on the sacred heart of Jesus)
- ...en Jesucristo Superstar! (on Jesus Christ Superstar)
- ...en el Cáliz de Cristo! (on Christ's chalice)

### THE OTHER HOLY/SAINT

- for the love of of Mike/ Pete! (Pete/Mike = euph. for St. Peter/St. Michael), for Pete's sake!
- what in the name of all that is holy/sacred? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)
- <u>ipor todos los santos!</u> (for all saints)
- ime cago... (I defecate...
- ...<u>en la (puta) Virgen!</u> (on the (prostitute)

  Virgin; "Virgen" = "María, la madre de

  Jesús" Mary the mother of Jesus)
- ...en María la virgen! (on Mary the virgin)
- ...<u>en el coño de la Virgen puta!</u> (on the prostitute-virgin's vagina)
- ...<u>en San José el impotente!</u> (on Saint John the impotent)
- ...en la boca del Papa! (in the Pope's mouth)
- ...<u>en los tres reyes magos!</u> (on the three magi)
- ...<u>en la Santísima Trinidad!</u> (on the Holy Trinity)

...en los Querubines del cielo! (on heavens' cherubs, a winged celestial beings) ...en los ángeles (del cielo)/seraphim! (on the *angels (from heaven))* ...en los apóstoles! (on the apostles) ...en el clero! (on the clergy) ...en los Diez Mandamientos! (on Ten Commandments) ...en la santa madre que parió a Judas! (on the holy mother that gave birth to Judas) ...en el pan y el vino sagrado! (on the bread and the holy wine) ...en la tortura eclesiástica! (on the ecclesiastic torture) ...en todas las iglesias del mundo! (on all the *churches of the world)* 

### **MOTHER/FATHER**

i(me cago en) la madre de Dios! ((I defecate on) the mother of God)
ila madre del cordero! (the lamb's mother)
i(a) concha de tu madre! (mother's genitals)
i(la) concha de tu madre!, iconchetumadre!
(your mother's genitals)
i(me cago en) la madre que me/te parió! ((I defecate on) the mother that gave birth to me/you)
ime cago en tu madre/en tu padre! (I defecate on your mother/on your father)
iputa madre! (prostitute mother, a whore mother)
iuta, mano! = it is probably euph. for "puta madre"

- <u>ihijo de madre!</u>, <u>ihijuemadre!</u> (son of the mother) = euph. for "hijo de puta" son of a prostitute
- <u>itu padre!</u> (your father)

### **CURSE**

- blame it! (condemn it)
- <u>blast (it)!</u> (*strike with divine anger*), <u>blast</u> and damnation!
- confound it!, consarn it!
- curses (of curses)!
- damn!, double damn!, (God) damn it!,
  gawd damn!, goddammit!, dammit!, damnit!,
  damn it all to hell/high heaven/blue
  blazes/kingdom come!, damnation!
  dadgummit!, dagnabit!, doggonit! = euph. for
  "God damn it"
- <u>darn (it)!</u>, <u>dash (it all)!</u> = euph. for "damn (it)"

  <u>darnation!</u>, <u>tarnation!</u> = euph. for
- "damnation"; "tarnation" is derived from "eternal damnation"
- what in tarnation? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)

- <u>imaldición!</u> (curse)
- <u>imaldita sea!</u> (let it be damned)

### **DEVIL**

- the devil!, to the devil with it all!
- what the devil/the deuce/the dickens? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)
- <u>j(al) diablo/demonio (con) ...!</u> (to the devil/demon with...)
- <u>i(qué) diablos/demonios!</u> ((what) devils/demons)
- <u>ipor todos los diablos!</u> *(for all the devils)*
- <u>idiantre!</u>, <u>idiaño!</u> (devil) = euph. for "diablo"
- idemontre! (demon) = euph. for "demonio"

•¡me cago en Lucifer/Satanás! (I defecate on	
Lucifer/Satan)	

### **HELL**

- (bloody) hell!, hellfire!, hellfires!, hell and damnation!, hell's bells (and buckets of blood)!, fucking/shitting/ruddy hell!, fucking'ell!, shittin'ell!, to hell with it!
- <u>heck!</u> = euph. for "hell" <u>heckfire!</u> = euph.
- what the hell/the heck/the blazes? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used) what in the name of hell?
- what in perdition('s name)? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)

• jal infierno con...! (to the hell with...)

### **HEAVEN**

- (good) heavens!, heavens above!
- for heaven's sake!
- what in the name of heaven?

  (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)
- ¡cielos! (heavens)

### **HOST, CIBORIUM (ciborium is a container for communion hosts)**

- <u>i(la) hostia!</u> (host, consecrated wafer)

  <u>ihostina!</u>, <u>ihosti!</u>, <u>iostras!</u> (oysters), <u>iondia!</u>,

  <u>iostima!</u>, <u>i(la) órdiga!</u> = euph.
- ihostías con ...! (hosts with...)
- ¡la hostia puta! (the prostitute host)
- <u>ime cago...</u> (I defecate...
- ...en la (sagrada) hostía! on the (holy) host)
- ...en 5 kilos de sagradas hostías! on 5 kilos of holy hosts)
- ...en el Cáliz de Cristo! on Christ's chalice)
- ...en el Santo Grial! on the Holy Grail)

en el copón (bendito)! on the (holy)
ciborium)

### SEX

• <u>i(la) leche!</u> (milk, ejaculate)
<u>¡leñe!¡releñe!</u> = alternatives of "leche"
• ¡me cago en la leche! (I defecate on the
milk, ejaculate)

### **∂** GENITALIA (penis)

## • ¡carajo! • ¡carachas!, ¡carasta! ¡caray! ¡caramba! ¡cáspita! ¡araj! ¡cajo! ¡calabaza! ¡canastos! ¡caracoles! ¡carafles! ¡carallo! ¡carape! ¡cáscaras! ¡cascaritas! = euph. for "carajo" • ¡(al) carajo con...! ((to) the penis with...) • ¡verga!, ¡porra(s)!, ¡cachiporra! • ¡me cago en la porra! (I defecate on the penis)

### **♀ GENITALIA (vagina)**

+ <del>ODMITADIA (Vagina)</del>	
• cunt!	• ¡coño!
• flaps!, piss flaps! (vaginal lips)	¡coño de madre! (mother's genitals)
• <u>knickers!</u> (female underwear)	<u>¡coño con!</u> (the vagina with)
	• <u>irecoño!</u> , <u>icoña!</u> , <u>icoñe!</u> , <u>iño!</u> = variants of
	"coño"; intensification of "coño" by the
	prefix "re")
	• <u>iconcha!</u> , <u>iconcho!</u> (shell),
	• <u>¡cónchale! ¡córcholis!</u> = possible euph.for
	"concha"
	•¡(la) concha de tu madre!, ¡conchetumadre!
	(your mother's genitals)
	<u>icorcho!</u> (cork)= euph. for coño
	• <u>ichucha!</u>

• ¡chuchamadre!, ¡chucha de tu madre! (your
mother's genitals)

### **∂** GONADS (glands in which sex cells are produced – testicles)

• <u>nuts!</u> ,	• <u>¡cojones!</u> , <u>¡cojona!</u> , <u>¡recojones!</u>
<u>nertz!</u> , <u>nertz!</u> = variants of "nuts"	(intensification of "cojones" by the prefix
• knackers!	"re")
	• <u>icojones con!</u> (testicles with)
	• ¡me cago en los cojones! (I defecate on the
	testicles)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY - INTERCOURSE

• fuck (it)!, fucksocks!, fuck-a-doodle-doo!, • ijoder! <u>fuckity fuck fuck!</u>, <u>fuck a duck!</u>, <u>motherfuck!</u> jo!, joé!, jodo!, jolín!, jolines!, • shucks! (a blend of "shit" and "fucks") <u>jjopelines!</u>, <u>jjope!</u>, <u>jjopé!</u> = euph. • feck!, flip!, fook!, fudge! (soft creamy ino me jodas! (don't have sex with me) candy), fink!, figs!, fie!, fiddle! (violin) = ino jodas! (don't have sex) euph. for "fuck" • ¡jobar! = alternative of joder • for fuck('s) sake!, ijoroba! (person's or animal's hump) = for fake('s) sake! = euph. alternative of "joder" • what (in) the (flying) fuck? (any other • <u>i(es que)</u> hay que joderse! (it is necessary interrogative pronoun can be used) to have sex) • frig! ihay que jorobarse! • screw it! • <u>ichingada/o!</u> (intercourse)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY - ANAL INTERCOURSE

• <u>bugger (it)!</u> , <u>oh</u> , <u>buggers!</u> , <u>bugger(ing)</u>
hell!, buggeration!
• <u>sod it!</u> (sod = shortened from <i>sodomite</i> )

• ¡puñeta(s)!, ¡ñeta! (cuffs)

### **SEXUAL ACTIVITY – MASTURBATION**

• frig!

<u>PROMISCUOUS WOMAN</u>	<u>\text{\tin}\text{\tin}\text{\ti}}\\tittt{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\texi}\titt{\text{\texi}\text{\text{\text{\text{\texi}\tittt{\text{\texi}\tittt{\text{\texi}\text{\texi}\tittitt{\text{\text{\text{\text{\texi}\tint{\text{\texi}\text{\</u>
• son of a bitch! (bitch = a female dog; lew	$vd = \frac{\text{puta!}}{\text{puta!}} = \text{short for "prostituta" } the$
female)	prostitute)
	¡puta mierda! (the prostitute excrement)
	¡qué putas! (what prostitutes)

¡puta madre! (prostitute mother)
¡hijo de puta!, ¡hijueputa! (son of the
prostitute)

• <u>ipucha!</u>, <u>juta!</u> = euph. for "puta" <u>juta, mano!</u> = probably euph. for "puta madre"

ihijo de pucha/madre!, ihijuepucha!,
ihijuemadre! (son of the prostitute/mother) =
euph. for "hijo de puta"

- <u>ila puta que le parió!</u> (the prostitute that gave birth to him /her)
- <u>ime cago...</u> (I defecate...
- ...<u>en la puta (divina/leche)!</u> (on the (divine/semen) prostitute)

...<u>en la puta de bastos/de oros!</u> (on the prostitute of bastos/diamonds; bastos/diamonds concern playing cards)

...<u>en la puta que parió un tanque!</u> (on the prostitute that gave birth to a tank)

### **DEFECATION AND OTHER BODILY EFFLUVIA**

### **DEFECATION**

### • shit a brick/the bed/on a stick/fire and save your matches!

- <u>ime cago...</u> (I defecate...
- ...en la madre que te parió! (on the mother that gave birth to you)
- ...<u>en tu madre/padre!</u> (on your mother/father)
- ...en tu padre! (on your father)
- ...en (tu/san) Dios! (on (your/holy) God)
- ...en diez! (on ten; "diez" ten = euph. for "Dios" God)
- ...en Dena/Diógenes/Dío/Diosle! = euph. for "me cago en Dios"
- ...en la madre de Dios! (on the mother of God)
- ...en Dios y en su puta madre! (on God and his prostitute mother)
- ...en Cristo! (on Christ)
- ...en la cruz de Christo! (on Christ's cross)

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...en los clavos de Jesús! (on the nails of Jesus)
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- ...en el sagrado corazón de Jesús! (on the sacred heart of Jesus)
- ...en Jesucristo Superstar! (on Jesus Christ Superstar)
- ...en el Cáliz de Cristo! (on Christ's chalice)
- ...en el Santo Grial! (on the Holy Grail)
- ...<u>en el copón (bendito)!</u> (on the (holy) ciborium; "ciborium" is a container for communion hosts)
- ...<u>en la (puta) Virgen!</u> (on the (prostitute) Virgin; "Virgen" = "María, la madre de Jesús" *Mary the mother of Jesus*)
- ...en María la virgen! (on Mary the virgin)
- ...en el coño de la Virgen puta! (on the prostitute-virgin's vagina)
- ...en San José el impotente! (on Saint John the impotent)
- ...en la boca del Papa! (in the Pope's mouth)
- ...en los tres reyes magos! (on the three magi)
- ...en la Santísima Trinidad! (on the Holy Trinity)
- ...en los Querubines del cielo! (on heavens' cherubs, a winged celestial beings)
- ...en los ángeles (del cielo)/seraphim! (on the angels (from heaven))
- ...en los apóstoles! (on the apostles)
- ...en el clero! (on the clergy)
- ...en los Diez Mandamientos! (on Ten Commandments)
- ...<u>en la santa madre que parió a Judas!</u> (on the holy mother that gave birth to Judas)
- ...en el pan y el vino sagrado! (on the bread and the holy wine)
- ...en la tortura eclesiástica! (on the ecclesiastic torture)
- ...en todas las iglesias del mundo! (on all the churches of the world)
- ...en la (sagrada) hostía! (on the (holy) host)
- ...en 5 kilos de sagradas hostías! (on 5 kilos of holy hosts)
- ...en Lucifer/Satanás! (on Lucifer/Satan)
- ...en la leche! (on the milk, ejaculate)
- ...en los cojones! (on the testicles)
- ...en la porra! (on the penis)
- ...en la puta (divina/leche)! (on the (divine/semen) prostitute)

en la puta de bastos/de oros! (on the prostitute of bastos/diamonds;
bastos/diamonds concern playing cards)
en la puta que parió un tanque! (on the prostitute that gave birth to

...en la puta que parió un tanque! (on the prostitute that gave birth to a tank)

- ...en la mar! (on the sea)
- <u>imecachis!</u> (from "me cago" *I defecate on*)
- <u>imecachis en...!</u>, <u>ime cachis en...!</u>, <u>ime caso en...!</u> (*I marry in* ) = euph. for "me cago en..." *I defecate on*

### EXCREMENTS

• shit!, shite!,	• imierda (para)! (excrement for)
• shucks! (a blend of "shit" and "fucks")	¡puta mierda! (prostitute excrement)
• shoot!, sugar! = euph. for "shit"	• <u>imiércoles!</u> (Wednesday) = euph. for
● <u>crap!</u>	"mierda"
● <u>poo(h)!</u>	• ¡puta mierda! (the prostitute excrement)
• oh, turds!	

### **URINATION**

• <u>piss!</u>	
$\underline{piss flaps!} (flaps = vaginal \ lips)$	

### 3. DISAGREEMENT AND DISBELIEF

We believe this group of emotions is very vague so only a few remarks will me made. Similarly to two previously analyzed groups, only Spanish conveys disagreement or disbelief by the dysphemism related to the host (¡hostias en vinagre! hosts in vinegar), the mother (¡una madre!); ejaculate (¡ni qué leches! not even ejaculate), pubic hair (¡pendejadas!), and both male and female genitalia (¡verga! penis, ¡el coño de tu hermana! your sister's genitals). On the other hand, Spanish has no equivalent to English urination expressions (you're pissing on me!).

### RELIGION

### **GOD**

	• <u>ini pa dios!</u> (not even for God; "pa" is
	informal or humorous variant of "para" for)
(JESUS) CHRIST	,
	• <u>ini pa cristo!</u> (not even for Christ; "pa" is
	informal or humorous variant of "para" for)
MOTHER/FATHER	
	• <u>ini madre(s)!</u> (not even mother(s))
	• juna madre! (a mother), jpura madre!
	(pure mother)
<u>DEVIL</u>	
	• <u>i(y)</u> un diablo! ((and) a devil)
<u>HELL</u>	
• like hell!	
no way/chance in hell!	
HOST, CIBORIUM (ciborium is a container for communion hosts)	
	• ¡hostias en vinagre! (hosts in vinegar)
	• <u>ini qué hostías!</u> (not even hosts)
SEX	
	• <u>¡ni qué leches!</u> (not even milk, ejaculate)

### **∂ GENITALIA** (penis)

• <u>ipollas en vinagre!</u> (penises in vinegar)
• <u>iminga!</u> , <u>iverga!</u>
• ¡(y) un carajo/una polla/una porra! ((and) a
penis)
• ¡ni qué carajos/pollas/porras! (not even
penises)
• <u>ichorradas!</u> ("chorra" = penis)
• ¡pijada(s)! ("pija" = penis)
• <u>¡gilipollez!</u> , <u>¡gilipolleces!</u> , ("gilipolla" =
could be translated as silly penis)

### **GENITALIA** (vagina)

jel coño de tu hermana! (your sister's genitals)
 jni de coña! (not even "coña" = variant of "coño" female genitals)
 jni qué coño! (not even vagina)

### **∂** GONADS (glands in which sex cells are produced – testicles)

- <u>ballocks!</u>, <u>ballocks!</u>, <u>bollox!</u>, <u>bollix!</u>, <u>a</u> <u>load of ballocks!</u>
- balls!
- nuts!, nerts!
- <u>cobblers!</u> = from the rhyming slang "cobblers awls" which means "balls"
- <u>codswallop!</u> (origin of the expression is unclear, one of the meanings of "cod" was *testicles*)

- i(por) los cojones! ((for) the testicles)
- <u>i(y) un huevo!</u> ((and) a testicle, egg)
- <u>ini qué cojones/hueveos!</u> (not even testicles)
- ¡huevadas! ("huevo" = *testicle*, *egg*)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY – INTERCOURSE

- <u>fuck that/this noise!</u>, <u>fuck that/this!</u>, <u>like</u> <u>fuck!</u>, <u>fuck that shit!</u>
- <u>fudge!</u> (soft creamy candy), <u>fiddle-de-dee!</u>,
- ¡no chingues! (don't have sex)
- <u>ino (me) jodas!</u> (don't have sex (with me)

<u>fiddle-dee-dee!</u> , <u>fiddlesticks!</u> ("fiddle" =	<u>itú me estás jodiendo!</u> (you are having sex	
violin) = euph. for "fuck"	with me)	
• shucks! (a blend of "shit" and "fucks")		
SEXUAL ACTIVITY – ORA	L SEX	
	• <u>ino mames!</u> (don't suck (breast milk);	
	don't give oral sex)	
	• <u>ino manches!</u> (don't stain) = euph. for "no	
	mames"	
PROMISCUOUS WOMAN		
	• <u>ini a putas!</u> (not even for prostitutes)	
DEFECATION AND OTHER BODILY EFFLUVIA		
DEFECATION		
• are you shitting me?	• <u>inica!</u> (contraction of "ni cagando" <i>not</i>	
	even defecating)	
<b>EXCREMENTS</b>	, and the second	
• bull(shit)!, fuck that shit! (have sex with	• juna mierda! (an excrement)	
the excrement), horseshit!, crock of shit!,	• ¡caca de la vaca! (cow's excrement)	
what a load of bull!, bullhickey!, bull	• ¡mojón!	
honkey!, bull honky!, bosh!	• <u>i(pura/puta) mierda!</u> ((pure/prostitute)	
• fuck that shit!	excrement)	
• horsefeathers!, horsepucky!,	• ¡puro pedo! (pure flatus, fart)	
$\underline{\text{horse puck}(e)y!} = \text{euph. for "horseshit"}$		
• shucks! (a blend of "shit" and "fucks")		
• crap!, what a load of crap!, cut that crap!		
• poppycock!		
<u>URINATION</u>		
• you're pissing on me!,		
you're taking the piss!		
<u>BUTTOCKS</u>		
• my ass! (usually precedes or follows		
another phrase, which one is disputing)		
• pigs arse!		

### 4. SURPRISE AND AMAZEMENT

Almost all the differences we discussed in the second group of emotions – ANGER, DISGUST AND ANNOYANCE are also true for this section. For this reason, we are not going to repeat ourselves. However, there are a few exceptions, which need to be mentioned.

In order to convey surprise Spanish does not use the defecation phrase – "¡me cago en ...!"(*I defecate on*...), similarly, English does not employ the urination expression – "piss". On the other hand, English frequently employs "holy ..." phrases, which are usually used to express surprise; Spanish lacks here an equivalent.

### RELIGION

### **GOD**

- God (Almighty)!

  (oh) dear/good/my God!, oh my!, dear(ie)

  me!, dear, dear!, God in heaven!

  egad!, egads! = from "oh, God"

  cor!, gar!, gawd!, gor!, gosh!, goodness! =

  euph. for "God"
- holy (mother of) God!, golly gosh ("golly" = euph. for "holy")
- my goodness!, goodness gracious!, goodness me!
- <u>blimey!</u> (*p*) = from "God blind me" <u>cor blimey!</u>, <u>gor blimey!</u> = euph. for "God blind me"
- for the love of God!
- for God's sake(s)!, for goodness sake!
- sweet merciful god!
- sweet mother of god!
- (good/my) Lord!, Lord Almighty!, (Lord) love a duck!, oh, lordy!

- ¡(por) Dios! (for God), ¡Dios santo! (holy God), ¡ay, bendito! (oh, blessed one), Dios mío!, ¡bendito sea Dios! (God be blessed),
- <u>i(la) madre de Dios!</u> ((the) mother of God)
- ¡por (el) amor de Dios! (for the God's love)
- <u>irediós!</u>, <u>irediez!</u> (intensification of "Dios" by the prefix "re")
- ¡pardiez!, ¡por diez! = euph. for "por Dios"
- ¡alabado sea Dios! (God be praised)

- sweet lord of mercy!
- what in the name of the Lord?

  (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)

### (JESUS) CHRIST

• Jesus (Christ)!,

Jesus H. Christ!, Jesus Christ on a stick!, Jesus suffering fuck!, Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!, Jesus wept!,

jee(z/ze)!, gee(z/sh)!, sheesh!, jebus!, gee
whizz! = euphemisms

<u>jeepers!</u>, <u>bejesus!</u>, <u>bejeezus!</u> = variants for "Jesus"

<u>jeepers creepers!</u>, <u>Judas priest!</u>, <u>cheese and</u> <u>rice!</u> = euph. for "Jesus Christ"

- Christ (Almighty)!

  cri(c)key!, cripes!, criminy!, crimeny!,

  crumbs!, crud!, crust! = euph.
- holy Christ!
- <u>holy cow/cats!</u> = euph. for "holy Christ"
- for the love of Christ!
- for Christ('s) sake(s)!
- (what) in the name of Jesus?

  (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)
- sweet (baby/suffering/merciful) jesus!

- •¡Jesús! (Jesus)
- •¡Jesús, María y José! (Jesus, Mary and Joseph)

### THE OTHER HOLY/SAINT

- <u>for the love of of Mike/ Pete!</u> (Pete/Mike = euphemisms for St. Peter/St. Michael), <u>for Pete's sake!</u>
- what in the name of all that is holy/sacred? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)
- holy (Mary,) mother of God!

- ¡María Jesús! (Mary Jesus)
- ¡Ave María (Purísima)! (Ave Maria the purest)
- por todos los santos! (for all saints)

holy mackerel! (fish) = euph. for "holy
Mary"

- holy Mike!
- <u>holy toledo!</u> (it refers to Spanish town Toledo, once a center of Christian culture)
- holy Moses!

<u>holy moley!</u> = possibly an euph.

• golly! = euph. for "holy"
good golly!, good golly, Miss Molly!,

### **MOTHER/FATHER**

- <u>¡coño de madre!</u> (mother's genitals)
- <u>ila madre de Dios!</u> ( the mother of God) ila madre del cordero! (the lamb's mother)
- <u>imadre!</u> (mother) <u>imadre mía!</u> (my mother), <u>imi/tu/su madre!</u> (my/your/his mother)
- <u>j(la) concha/chucha de tu madre!</u>, <u>jconchetumadre!</u>, <u>jcuchamadre!</u> (your mother's genitals)
- ¡puta madre! (prostitute mother, a whore mother)

<u>juta, mano!</u> = probably an euph. for "puta madre"

• ihijo de madre!, ihijuemadre! (son of the mother) = euph. for "hijo de puta" son of a prostitute

### **CURSE**

- damn!, hot damn!
- dang! = euph. for "damn"
- well, I'll be damned/darned! ("darn" = euph. for "damn")
- <u>stone me!</u> (biblical punishment) stone the crows!

• <u>imaldita sea!</u> (let it be damned)

### **DEVIL**

• what the devil/the deuce/the dickens? (any	• ¡(que) diablos! ((what) devils)
other interrogative pronoun can be used)	
<u>HELL</u>	
• hell's bells (and buckets of blood)!,	
fucking/shitting/ruddy hell!, fucking'ell!,	
shittin'ell!	
• bloody hell!	
<u>bleeding/blinking heck!</u> = euph.	
• <u>kinnel!</u> = a contraction of "fucking hell"	
• what the hell/the heck/the blazes/in Sam	
Hill?, what in perdition('s name)? (any other	
interrogative pronoun can be used)	
<u>HEAVEN</u>	
• (good/my) heavens!, heavens above!	• <u>icielos!</u> (heavens)
• for heaven's sake!	
• what in the name of heaven?	
(any other interrogative pronoun can be	
used)	
• sweet merciful heavens!	
HOST, CIBORIUM (ciborium	1 is a container for communion hosts)
	• ¡hostia (s)! (host, consecrated wafer)
	jhostina!, jhosti!, jostras! (oysters), jondia!,
	jostima!, j(la) órdiga! = euph.
	• ¡hostías con! (hosts with)
	• <u>i(la) hostia puta!</u> (the prostitute host)
	• ¡hostia santa/divina! (holy/divine host))
	• copón (bendito)! (the (holy) ciborium)
SEX	
	• <u>i(la) leche!</u> (milk, ejaculate)
	<u>ileñe!ireleñe!</u> = alternatives of "leche"

### **GENITALIA** (penis)

• ¡carajo!
• ¡carachas!, ¡carasta! ¡caray! ¡caramba!
¡cáspita! ¡araj! ¡cajo! ¡calabaza! ¡canastos!
¡caracoles! ¡carafles! ¡carallo! ¡carape!
<u>¡cáscaras!</u> <u>¡cascaritas!</u> = euph. for "carajo"

### **QENITALIA** (vagina)

# icoño! jcoño de madre! (mother's genitals) irecoño!, ¡coña!, ¡coñe!, ¡ño! = variants of "coño"; intensification of "coño" by the prefix "re") iconcha!, ¡concho! (shell) icónchale! ¡córcholis! = possible euph. for "concha" ¡(la) concha de tu madre!, ¡conchetumadre! (your mother's genitals) ¡corcho! (cork) = euph. for "coño" ¡chucha! ¡chucha de tu madre!, ¡chucha de tu madre! (your

### **♂ GONADS (glands in which sex cells are produced – testicles)**

mother's genitals)

• <u>icojones!</u>, <u>icojona!</u>, <u>irecojones!</u>

(intensification of "cojones" by the prefix

"re")

### **SEXUAL ACTIVITY – INTERCOURSE**

<u>fuck!</u>, <u>fucksocks!</u>, <u>fuck-a-doodle-doo!</u>,
 <u>fuckity fuck fuck!</u>, <u>fuck a duck!</u>,
 <u>motherfuck(er)!</u>
 <u>feck!</u>, <u>flip!</u>, <u>fook!</u>, <u>fudge!</u> (*soft creamy* <u>candy</u>), <u>fink!</u>, <u>figs!</u>, <u>fie!</u>, <u>fiddle!</u> (*violin*) =
 <u>ipoder!</u>
 <u>ijoe!</u>, <u>ijodo!</u>, <u>ijolin!</u>, <u>ijolines!</u>,
 <u>ijopelines!</u>, <u>ijope!</u>, <u>ijopé!</u>, <u>ijodo Floro!</u> =
 euphemisms
 <u>ino me jodas!</u> (*don't have sex with me*)
 <u>ino jodas!</u> (*don't have sex*)
 <u>ijobar!</u> = alternative of joder

for fuck('s) sake!,
 for fake('s) sake! = euph.
 what (in) the (flying) fuck? (any other interrogative pronoun can be used)
 (well) fuck me (dead/running)!, fuck me backwards!, fuck me ragged!
 joroba! (person's or animal's hump) = alternative of "joder"
 j(es que) hay que joderse! (it is necessary to have sex)
 jhay que jorobarse!
 jchingada/o! (intercourse)

### **SEXUAL ACTIVITY – ORAL SEX**

ino mames! (don't suck (breast milk);
 don't give oral sex)
 ino manches! (don't stain) = euph. for "no mames"
 isopla! (blow; perform cunnilingus)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY - ANAL INTERCOURSE

(well) bugger me!, bugger me dead!,
bugger and blast!, bugger hell!, well I'll be
buggered!
well I'll be jiggered! (jigger = probably
euph. for "bugger")

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY – MASTURBATION

• <u>ipuñeta(s)!</u>, <u>iñeta!</u> (cuffs)

**PROMISCUOUS WOMAN** • son of a bitch! • <u>i(la) puta!</u> (short for "prostituta" *the* • son of a gun! = euph. for "son of a bitch" *prostitute*) • well, I'll be a son of a bitch/gun! <u>iputa mierda!</u> (the prostitute excrement) ¡qué putas! (what prostitutes) ¡puta madre! (prostitute mother) ihijo de puta!, ihijueputa! (son of the *prostitute*) • <u>ipucha!</u>, <u>juta!</u> = euph. for "puta" <u>juta, mano!</u> = probably euph. for "puta madre" ihijo de pucha/madre!, ihijuepucha!, <u>ihijuemadre!</u> (son of the prostitute/mother) =

euph. for "hijo de puta"
• <u>ino chingues!</u> (don't have sex)
• <u>ino (me) jodas!</u> (don't have sex (with me))

### **DEFECATION AND OTHER BODILY EFFLUVIA**

### **DEFECATION**

• shit a brick/the bed/on a stick/fire and save	• <u>imecachis!</u> (from "me cago en" <i>I</i>
your matches!	defecate on)

### **EXCREMENTS**

EXCREMENTS	
• shit!, shite!,	• imierda (para)! (excrement for)
• shucks! (a blend of "shit" and "fucks")	¡puta mierda! (prostitute excrement)
• shoot!, sugar! = euph. for "shit"	• <u>imiércoles!</u> (Wednesday) = euph. for
• what the crap!	"mierda"
• holy crap!, holy shit!	• ¡puta mierda! (the prostitute excrement)
• holy spit!, holy smoke! (probably euph. for	
"holy shit")	

### 5. INDIFFERENCE

The differences between Spanish and English that we have discussed in the previous emotion group, appear also in this section. Spanish *mother* ("madre"); both male and *female genitalia* ("carajo"; "coño"); and *ovaries* ("ovarios") have no English equivalents. On the other hand, Spanish lacks an equivalent to English *curse* ("damn").

Unlike English, Spanish employs a large number of expressions related to oral sex (such as ime la pelas/chupas/soplar/meneas/refanfinfla..!)

• for all I care you can goto hell/fuck
yourself/etc! (some other expressions of
ANGER DIRECTED AGAINST
INDIVIDUALS can be used)

• por mí, te puedes ir...al infierno/etc! (for all I care you can go... to hell), (some other expressions of ANGER DIRECTED

AGAINST INDIVIDUALS can be used)

### RELIGION

### **MOTHER/FATHER**

	• <u>ime vale madre(s)!</u> (I find it as important
	as mother(s))
<u>CURSE</u>	
• I don't care a damn about!	
• I don't/couldn't give a (tinker's) damn/ a	
tinker's cuss about!	
• My give a damn is broken!	

### SEX

### **♂ GENITALIA (penis)**

• <u>j(no me importa/me vale</u> ) ( <i>I find it as</i>
important as) un pepino (a cucumber)/un
comino (cumin) /un chorizo (a sausage)/un
pimiento (a pepper)/un pito (a whistle)/

	un carajo/una pija/un rábano!
	• <u>ime vale</u> (I find it as important as) <u>verga</u>
	/charra/callampa (a mushroom)!
	• ime llega al pincho! (it reaches my penis)
♀ <u>GENITALIA (vagina)</u>	
	• ¡me lo paso por el coño! (I let it pass
	through the vagina)
	• jotra pena pa mi coño! (another pity for my
	vagina; "pa" is an informal or humorous
	variant of "para" for)
∂ GONADS (glands in which	sex cells are produced – testicles)
• I don't/couldn't give two bollocks	• <u>i(no me importa/me vale</u> ) ( <i>I find it as</i>
about!	important as) un huevo (an egg) /un cojón
	(a testicle) /tres cojones (three testicles)!
	• ¡me lo paso por los cojones! (I let it pass
	through the testicles)
<b>GONADS (glands in which sex cells are produced – ovaries)</b>	
	• ¡me lo paso por los ovarios! (I let it pass
	through the ovaries)
SEXUAL ACTIVITY – INTE	<u>CRCOURSE</u>
• I don't care a fuck about!	
• I don't/couldn't give a fuck/a flying fuck	
/much of a fuck/frig about!	
• fuck if I care!	
SEXUAL ACTIVITY – ORA	L SEX
T 1 2// 11 2/ :	
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	• <u>itócame los cojones/los huevos /un cojón</u>
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	• <u>itócame los cojones/los huevos /un cojón</u> /un huevo! (touch my testicle/s)
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	/un huevo! (touch my testicle/s)
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	/un huevo! (touch my testicle/s)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my testicle)
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	/un huevo! (touch my testicle/s)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my testicle)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	/un huevo! (touch my testicle/s)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my testicle)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my testicle)
• I don't/couldn't give a cunt suck about!	/un huevo! (touch my testicle/s)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my testicle)  • ¡chúpame un huevo/un cojón! (suck my

- ime la pela! (he/she/it peals my penis)
  ime pela el culo/la verga! (he/she/ peels my
  buttocks/penis)
   ime toca la polla! (he/she/it touches my
  penis)
  - ¡me la repampinfla!, ¡me la refanfinfla! (refers to fellatio)
  - <u>ime la suda!</u> ("sudar"= *sweat*), <u>ime suda la</u> <u>polla!</u>
  - <u>ime la resbala!</u> (it slips my penis)

### SEXUAL ACTIVITY - ANAL INTERCOURSE

■ I don't care a bugger about...!
 ■ I don't/couldn't give a bugger about...!
 ■ ime lo paso por el culo! (I let it pass through the backside; I will have anal intercourse)

### DEFECATION AND OTHER BODILY EFFLUVIA

### **DEFECATION**

and a half shits/a (flying) crap/ fart about...!

	• ime cago en! (1 defecate on)
<b>EXCREMENTS</b>	
• I don't care/take a shit about!	• ¡(no me importa/me vale) una mierda! (I
• I don't/couldn't give a shit /two shits/ two	find it as important as an excrement)

**BUTTOCKS** • I don't/couldn't give a rat's ass about...! • i(no me importa/me vale) un culo! (I find it • You can shove it (up your ass/arse)! as important as a backside) up yours! = a short • <u>ime limpio el culo con ello!</u> (I clean my up your nose with a rubber hose! *backside with it*) ram it (up your arse/ass)! • <u>ime lo paso por el culo!</u> (I let it pass stick it up your arse/ass! through the backside; I will have anal you know where you can stick that! *intercourse*) • ¡otra pena pa mi coño /pa mi culo! (another pity for my backside; "pa" is an informal or humorous variant of "para" for)

### **CONCLUSION**

At the beginning of the thesis, we expected English and Spanish would vary in the occurrence and the distribution of taboo expressions. The final analysis of expressions (conveying defined set of emotions) fully supports this hypothesis as it clearly shows differences with respect to taboo topics.

The other expectation we had, was that the results of the analysis would show, at least to some degree, social differences of Spanish and English cultures. We believe the larger number of blasphemous phrases (defecation on the holy) and expressions connected to the sacred (such as the host, the holy ciborium) in Spanish clearly shows the society whose religion (Catholic Church) is more orthodox or possibly more influential than the religion (largely Protestant belief) of English-speaking countries.

In closing we will mention the shortcomings of the study and put forward some suggestions for further improvement. Our work is not intended to be exhaustive; it just tries to show general tendencies of tabooed expressions and especially those of English and Spanish.

The final analysis (Part III) includes by no means all the taboo phrases in Spanish and English, but just a volume of mainstream examples collected by us. The analysis is limited by selected sources of the studied expressions: our own linguistic knowledge, native speakers we consulted, and of course, the choice of dictionaries (as every one specializes on something else; vary in vulgarity, size, variety of language etc.)

All the following limitations could be further elaborated on. The work does not differentiate in time, that is, whether the expressions are or not in a full use (not in a full use = dated, obsolete expressions such as "dash it!"); whether the expressions are already integrated into the centre of the language system or not (neologism = still at the periphery of the system, not integrated). Furthermore, the thesis focuses on a very wide scoop of vocabulary (does not distinguish between varieties of languages), an improvement could be made by reducing this scoop and thus dealing just with one variety of language (such as American English and Latin American Spanish). Moreover, due to the extent of the thesis and lack of time, we did not go into detail about many aspects of the studied expressions (such as the original meaning of phrases tainted by the taboo topic).

Another suggested elaboration could be minutely discussing the connection of the culture of a particular language and the distribution (or occurrence) of taboo topics when

expressing some emotions; and thus further explaining the differences between English and Spanish.

In this thesis we looked closer at taboos in general, taboo words, their origin and use. In addition, despite all the shortcoming of our thesis, we believe to have sufficiently shown principal tendencies and also contrasts between two studied languages – English and Spanish.

### CZECH RESUMÉ

Tato práce se zabývá studiem tabuizovaných výrazů, především se zaměřuje na angličtinu a španělštinu. Vedle obecného popisu tabuizovaných obratů se věnuje jejich původu, který souvisí s tabu neboli sociálním zákazem aplikovaným na chování jedince, jenž by mohlo způsobit rozpaky nebo dokonce újmu na zdraví. Kromě charakterizování těchto zapovězených slov a slovních spojení na začátku práce, je později kladen důraz na srovnání angličtiny a španělštiny, a to tehdy, když vyjadřují pomocí tabuizovaných obratů určité emoce. Obzvláště se závěrečná analýza soustřeďuje na odlišnosti mezi těmito dvěma jazyky.

Výrazy obsažené ve studii byly sebrány z několika zdrojů. Za prvé byly čerpány z vlastní jazykové zkušenosti autora, za druhé autor konzultoval s rodilými mluvčími (z USA a Anglie; Španělska a Mexika) a za třetí se čerpalo z množství jak tištěných, tak internetových slovníků a jiných publikací. Až na výjimky, na které je upozorněno, patří autorem analyzovaná slova a obraty do takzvaného mainstreamu (středního proudu), takže například černošský slang není posuzován.

Práce je rozdělena do tří větších částí. První část se zaměřuje na universální tabuizovaná témata (související se svatými bytosti, předměty a místy; procesy a orgány vztahující se k defekaci, močení a sexuální aktivitě; tělesný odpad a zápach: pot, menstruační krev, sperma, moč atd.; nemoci, smrt a zabíjení; jídlo). Také je rozebráno jejich historické a kulturní pozadí. Dále je zde zmíněna vzájemná provázanost společnosti a jazyka užívaného určitou společností.

Když mluvíme o tabu a censuře jazyka, pravděpodobně se nám v mysli vynoří jedna asociace, a totiž zdvořilé chování. Je to právě přítomnost nebo nepřítomnost zdvořilosti (či hrubosti), která rozděluje výrazy do tří x-femismů: dysfemismy (nezdvořilé, tabuizované výrazy), eufemismy (přehnaně zdvořilé výrazy) a orthofemismy (neutrální výrazy). Často dochází k zhoršení významu původně neofensivních výrazů (eufemismů a orthofemismů), na druhou stranu dysfemistické výrazy které jsou již poskvrněné tabuizovaným tématem, téměř nikdy nezlepší svůj význam (na eufemismy či orthofemismy). Navíc, když je význam slova již kontaminovaný asociací s tabu, původní význam se obvykle postupně přestane používat, toto je jeden z hlavních důvodů, proč se dysfemismy nazývají silné výrazy.

Poté se studie zaměřuje právě na dysfemismy, přesněji na urážky, nadávání a klení, které původně souvisely pouze s náboženstvím nebo nepřirozenými silami, nikoliv s pozdější světskou vulgaritou. Každý z nás určitě ví, jak urážet, tedy jak použít jazyk jako zbraň. Našim

cílem je obvykle ponížit a zranit objekt naší zloby, avšak někdy můžeme tyto výrazy použít také škádlivě.

Další kapitoly se zabývají bohatým zdrojem tabuizovaných slov, a totiž tabuizovanými tělesnými funkcemi – sexem, močením, defekací; a orgány spojenými s těmito funkcemi. Je zde také rozebíráno úzké spojení mezi jídlem a sexem. Vzhledem k tomu, že se smyšlení společnosti odráží i v jazykové komunikaci, jsou potravinové metafory často užívány, aby eufemisticky odkazovaly jak na sexuální aktivity, tak na pohlavní orgány.

Některé méně radostné aspekty našeho života – nemoci, smrt a zabíjení – jsou tématem poslední kapitoly první části. Ačkoliv strach způsobený mnoha jinými tabu (mezi která patří například náboženská a sexuální tabu) postupně slábnul, obavy z těchto zneklidňujících realit přetrvávají i v moderní, poměrně světské společnosti. Eufemismy a nepřímé slovní obraty nám obvykle usnadní potřebu hovořit o nich nebo jim dokonce čelit.

Druhá část popisující citoslovce a expresivitu připravuje půdu pro analýzu výrazů v poslední části. Ve třetí a zároveň nejrozsáhlejší části této práce se analyzují tabuizované výrazy, které sdělují určité emoce nebo postoje.

Bylo vymezeno celkem pět kategorií vyjadřujích emoce: Zlost orientovaná proti nějaké osobě; Zlost, odpor a otrava; Nesouhlas a nedůvěra; Překvapení a úžas; Lhostejnost. V každé kategorii se porovnává výskyt a distribuce anglických a španělských výrazů, jež mají nějakou spojitost s tabuizovanými tématy (4 skupiny vztahující se k sexu, náboženství, defekaci a ostatním tělesným výměškům, smrti). Tato témata jsou podle nalezených výrazů dále rozdělena do podskupin (například v kategorii Zlost, odpor a otrava je skupina sex dále rozdělena na podskupiny ženské a mužské genitálie, mužské pohlavní žlázy, pohlavní a anální styk, masturbace, promiskuitní žena).

Analýza ukazuje tendence obou jazyků. Především je upozorněno na odlišnosti. Na rozdíl od angličtiny používá španělština typicky slovo "madre" *matka*, "hostia" *hostie* "copón" *nádoba na hostie*; častěji se také ve španělštině objevují výrazy pro genitálie (obzvláště ženské genitálie) nebo mužské pohlavní žlázy, také se s oblibou vyměšuje na to, co je svaté. Angličtina se od španělštiny nejvýrazněji liší přítomností urinačních frází, větším výskytem výrazů obsahující slova "hell" *peklo* a "curse" *prokletí*.

Výsledky analýzy zachycují do jisté míry i rozdíly dvou kultur. Domníváme se, že velké množství a rozmanitost blasfemických obratů (defekace na svaté) a výrazů vztahujících se k svatému (jako například *hostie*) ve španělštině poukazuje na důležitost a značný vliv náboženství ve Španělsku a zemích Střední a Jižní Ameriky.

V závěru bakalářské práce jsou pak zmíněny některé problémové oblasti a návrhy na případné zlepšení konečné analýzy.

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