

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

Analysing the Semantic Fields
of Swear Words in Translation:
A Comparative Study
of Czech and English

(Diplomová práce)

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Děkuji mé vedoucí diplomové práce Mgr. Jitce Zehnalové, Dr. za užitečnou metodickou pomoc, cenné rady a trpělivost při zpracování diplomové práce.

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Abstract

This thesis explores swear words from the point of semantic fields and examines the distribution of swear words in semantic fields in literary texts and their shift in the context of translation. Upon presenting an overview of available findings from various fields of current research on the topic of swear words, a new methodology is created for analysing semantic fields of swear words. This includes creating criteria for swear words, defining categories that would be universal for both English and Czech, choosing texts, collecting samples by means of parallel corpus InterCorp and then analysing them. The main dichotomy emerges between the categories Obscenity and Scatology, and it is, among other things, proven that English literary texts, both original and translations, tend to use swear words from the semantic field of Obscenity more than Czech texts, and Czech literary texts, both original and translations, tends to use swear words from the field of Scatology more than English texts. The thesis also offers many possibilities for future research in this field.

Key Words:

Taboo, taboo words, swear words, swearing, curse words, cursing, profanity, exclamations, semantic fields, scatology, obscenity, translation studies, InterCorp, multilingual corpora.

Anotace

Diplomová práce zkoumá sprostá slova z pohledu sémantických polí, především jejich rozložení v sémantických polích v literárních textech a posuny, které se dějí v kontextu překladu. Prezentuje přehled dostupných výsledků výzkumů z různých oborů na téma vulgarismů a následně představuje novou metodologii pro analýzu sémantických polí sprostých slov. To zahrnuje vytvoření kritérií pro určení vulgarismů, definice sémantických polí, které jsou univerzální pro češtinu i angličtinu, výběr textů, sběr vzorků pomocí paralelního korpusu InterCorp a jejich následná analýza. Hlavní dichotomie vzniká mezi kategorií obscenit a fekálních výrazů a práce mimo jiné dokazuje, že anglické literární texty, ať originály tak překlady, preferují sprostá slova z kategorie obscenit více než české, a české literární texty, ať originály tak překlady, mají

tendenci používat sprostá slova z kategorie fekálních výrazů víc než anglické. Práce také navrhuje mnoho dalších možných témat výzkumu v této oblasti.

Klíčová slova:

Tabu, klení, sprostá slova, vulgarismus, paralelní korpus, InterCorp, překlad, sémantické pole, sexuální, vylučovací

Obsah

1	Introduction	7
2	From taboo to swear words	10
2.1	Taboo and the culture	10
2.2	Taboo and the language	11
2.2.1	What are swear words?	11
2.2.2	Swear words as a subject of research across fields	17
2.2.3	Swear words and Terminology	18
2.2.4	Swear words and their frequency	25
2.2.4.1	In UK	26
2.2.4.2	In USA	29
2.2.5	Where do swear words come from and where they disappear	31
2.2.6	Function of swear words in literature	33
2.2.7	Swear words and connotative meaning	33
2.2.8	Swear words and translation	35
3	Methodology: Swear Words in this research	39
3.1	Dictionary Terminology	39
3.2	Semantic Fields of Swear Words	42
3.3	The Texts and InterCorp	48
3.3.1	Choosing texts	49
3.3.1.1	Two English texts	49
3.3.1.2	Two Czech texts	52
3.3.2	Creating subcorpus	54
3.3.3	Collecting and categorizing my samples	55
4	Swear Word Analysis	58
4.1	Philip Roth: Human Stain	58
4.2	Zadie Smith: On Beauty	64
4.3	Jáchym Topol: Sestra	69
4.4	Josef Škvorecký: Příběh inženýra lidských duší	74
5	Conclusion	79
6	Czech Summary	85
7	List Of Figures and Charts	88
8	Works Cited	90
9	Appendixes	94

1 INTRODUCTION

Swear words, vulgarisms, cursing, dirty words, taboo words, offensive speech, swearing, foul language or profanity, if you like, occur in human speech on a daily basis – everyone from a common worker to a president use them, and even a small child has a notion of taboo words. Swear words are the most versatile area of human vocabulary, as well as the most context sensitive. They help express all kinds of emotions, whether positive or negative, they intensify utterances or even overcome pain. They are the probe into the emotional core of society and reflect societal and personal taboos the way no other words do. This is why I find them so fascinating.

Previously in my Bachelor thesis, I conducted research in the area of swear words, in particular, I focused on the word *fuck* and its translations. That thesis will serve as a stepping stone for my Diploma thesis, in which I shall broaden and expand the topic to include all swear words, not just the one.

The research of swear words, both in English and Czech, has for a long time been considered taboo or “not academic enough”. Most dictionaries generally hesitated to include swear words, with the exception of, for example, *Grose's Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, published in 1785. The tendency to avoid swear words in academic discourse changed in the 60s in the US with the arrival of psychologist Timothy Jay, who was a pioneer of swear words and taboo research, both in linguistics and psychology. As Jay states in one of his most famous books, *Cursing in America*, “if all science on language stopped now, we would know very little about dirty word usage or how dirty word usage relates to more normal language use.” (Jay 1992, 113) This notion was agreed upon fourteen years later: “I find it strange that linguists have allowed themselves to be affected by the taboo to the point that its exploration has been underresearched.” (Wajnryb 2006, 7) Finally, Fairman points out a widespread opinion that “saying *fuck* is a cultural taboo; studying *fuck* is a scholarly taboo” (2007, 1722), and he goes on to say that it “serves to perpetuate and strengthen taboo within the culture” (1722). Therefore, I am happy to be able to dedicate my diploma thesis to the study of swear words and promote it as a fascinating area of research that is utterly rich in topics and future discoveries.

In my research, I will present swear words from lexical and semantic point of view within the context of translation. I believe that conducting this form of research in translation will provide me with the advantage of a contextual unity that is especially useful and unique when comparing words and phrases in two languages.

My research question can be formulated as follows: How are swear words distributed in semantic fields in literary texts in English and Czech? Does the semantic field of scatology prevail in Czech literary texts, and do obscenities prevail in the English texts? If so, is this tendency reflected and preserved in the translations of these texts? Finally, how does the distribution of swear words change within semantic fields in the context of translation?

Based on my personal knowledge and knowledge of the subject, I believe the main semantic fields will be sexual (Obscenity) and faecal (Scatology), and my hypothesis is that Czech is more prone to using Scatology while English prefers terms from the area of Obscenities. This assumption is supported by claims found in my sources. Jay, when describing English taboo, mentions: "taboos in English are placed primarily on sexual references (*blow job, cunt*) and on those that are considered profane or blasphemous (*goddamn, Jesus Christ*). Taboos extend to scatological referents and disgusting objects (*shit, crap, douche bag*); some animal names (*bitch, pig, ass*); ethnic-racial-gender slurs (*nigger, fag, dafo*); insulting references to perceived psychological, physical, or social deviations (*retard, wimp, lard ass*)..." (2009, 154) On the Czech side of things, Franče and Hassairi state that "all Czech swear words (except the innovated *kurva*, which represents the most expressive swear word today) as well as metaphors are based on words representing human faeces, organs of elimination and physiological processes connected to elimination. Unlike other Slavic languages, Czech has less swear words from the sexual area." (2009)

In the theoretical part, I shall illustrate the way cultural taboo imprints onto language taboo and present the overview of disciplines involved in the research of swear words nowadays, ranging from linguistics and sociology to psychology, including their interesting findings for the purpose defining and complexly describing the category of swear words as perceived by academics today. I will also focus on the terminology used

by different authors, as terminological confusion is one of the typical features of the research of swear words. Furthermore, the frequency of usage of swear words in the UK and USA will be commented upon. In addition, I will discuss the types of meaning swear words carry and, based on that, what translation strategies are recommended by theoreticians such as Knittlová and Newmark.

The research will be conducted by means of InterCorp, a freely available online corpora. The core of the analysis will be manually-collected samples (swear words) from two original English texts and two original Czech texts that will be further processed through the above-mentioned corpora to search for their Czech and English counterparts based on criteria I shall define in detail in the methodology part. The swear words in my research will be included only if labelled appropriately (vulgární, offensive, coarse slang, vulgar, etc.) in the dictionaries of my choice. While other research focuses more on the prototypical members of the category, I will aim to include all the swear words I will find as long as they fulfil my criteria further discussed in methodology and thus create a broad collection of data.

This thesis will use all the swear words openly, without any sanitisation. I consider them the subject of my academic research, and I shall thus present them in their full form.

To my knowledge, no other research has attempted to systematically analyse and compare Czech and English on this level to such a degree, and I hope that in the future, it may serve as an inspiration for research conducted either in other multi-language corpus or even a real-life setting.

2 FROM TABOO TO SWEAR WORDS

2.1 Taboo and the culture

First occurrence of the word taboo was recorded by James Cook who wrote it in his journal around Tonga Island in Polynesia. The literal meaning was simply “marked off or off-limits.” (Holden 2000, ix) However, the meaning of the word taboo developed a different direction due to its mistranslation and it was interpreted by early anthropologists as “a form of superstition, or magic.” (ix)

Taboos in today’s understanding can be described as “sanctions on thoughts and behaviours that a society finds too powerful, dangerous, or mysterious to consider openly.” (Jay 1999, 193) However, taboo can be understood in multiple ways, such as being holy, untouchable or not spoken about, something that can contaminate others. Keith and Burridge state that taboo “arise out of social constraints on the individual’s behaviour where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury.” (2006, 1) Taboos of a culture naturally permeate on the language level and many of them become language taboos – mostly swear words. (For instance, Jay uses these two terms interchangeably.)

Taboo domains of thought can be traced in every society, however they naturally slightly vary between cultures as each culture is developed under different geographical and historical circumstances. In general, we can trace multiple areas of taboo that can be in one form or another found in majority of cultures and languages. Generally, acts of human excretion and sexual intercourse, bodily organs “concealed by bikinis and swimming trunks” (Allan and Burridge 2006, 41) and effluvia coming out from these organs are considered taboo as well as religious taboo (blasphemy) in many cultures. The latter not only varies based on religion, but also on the level of the impact that a religion has on a society. For example the Czech Republic, considered one of the most atheistic countries in the world, will generally consider religious taboo less indecent than highly religious nations. Saying that, we can never underestimate differences among individuals. Gao mentions another example of cultural differences concerning taboo. While age and salary should be avoided in English conversation and is often discussed using only indications, Chinese people are more tolerant in talking about these subjects

openly. (2013, 2311) However we need to bear in mind that “nothing is taboo for all people, under all circumstances, for all time.” (Allan and Burrige 2006, 9)

2.2 Taboo and the language

Taboo naturally occurs in the language as well. So called taboo language commonly refers to language means that somehow refer to taboo subjects or more specifically according to Allan and Burrige “language that is a breach of etiquette because it contains so-called ‘dirty words’.” (2006, 40) Using dirty words, in other words swearing, is “uniquely human facility.” (Jay 2009, 153) Whether a word is taboo word or not is not decided by an individual, it is “out of the speaker’s control, because curse words are culturally defined, based on cultural beliefs and attitudes about life itself.” (Jay 1999, 153) At the same time, we ourselves are defined by our use of swear words: “our use of and reaction to swear words tells us who we are and where we fit in a culture; in short, our identities are marked by our use of swear words.” (Jay and Janschewitz 2008, 275)

2.2.1 *What are swear words?*

Many scholars attempted to define the category of swear words, however, no consensus has ever been agreed on. The definitions vary according to point of view, linguistic discipline (or non-linguistic) and the purpose of the research. With swear words, everyone can offer prototypical examples, everyone seem to know what swear words are, but since the perception of society and individuals will always vary, the category has fuzzy boundaries.

A basic definition of swear words can sound as follows: “in very basic terms, swearing refers to the use of words which have the potential to be offensive, inappropriate, objectionable, or unacceptable in any given social context.” (Fägersten 2012, 3) This definition as many others present swear words from the functional point of view within certain context. By context it is understood pragmatic variables such as speaker-listener relationship, setting (both social and physical) and even tone of one’s voice. Context is crucial with swear words as they are sometimes labelled as words with highest context-sensibility. Jay and Janschewitz prove that stating: “from what we have observed, we argue that swearing can be polite, impolite, or neither and it may be used with any

emotional state.” (2008, 268-269) Jay goes as far as saying: “no word is inherently good or bad. Badness is more accurately formulated in terms of appropriateness and offensiveness, which are pragmatic variables defined within a context.” (1999, 148)

Emotions are one of the crucial features of swear words – Jay even uses the term emotional speech when discussing the category. The scale of emotions that one can express with swear words spans from anger, frustration, and sadness to happiness, surprise, and excitement. According to Jay and Janschewitz “swearing is the use of taboo language with the purpose of expressing the speaker’s emotional state and communicating that information to listeners” (2008, 268). The fact that it allows a speaker to achieve a variety of personal and social goals gives it an advantage to non-taboo words and is one of the reasons why swear words persist. Jay goes as far as saying swearing has positive effects on society: “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.” (2000, 69)

Swearing is a unique probe into society’s emotional core—whether today or throughout the history. As Mohr puts it, “People swear about what they care about, and did in the past as well. A history of swearing offers a map of some of the most central topics in people’s emotional lives over the centuries.” (2013, 13) I believe that analysing the areas of swearing today help us shed light on major cultural taboos and areas of conflicted emotions and in this case, across cultures.

To sum it up, Ljung presents four criteria that define swear words from linguistic point of view. I present only three, because I disagree with his statement that taboo words are used for their non-literal meaning. This will be discussed in part 2.2.7.

1. Swearing is the use of utterances containing taboo words.
2. Many utterances that constitute swearing are subject to severe lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints which suggest that most swearing qualifies as formulaic language.

3. Swearing is emotive language: its main function is to reflect, or seem to reflect, the speaker's feelings and attitudes.

(Ljung 2011, 4)

The question is how a group of letters or sounds, which create a word, become dirty. Allan and Burridge explain this phenomenon as follows: "The description derives from a persistent belief that the form of an expression somehow communicates the essential nature of whatever is being referred to." (2006, 40) In the case of taboo words, the link made between sound and sense is particularly strong; speakers really do behave as if somehow the form of the expression communicates the essential nature of whatever it represents.

Another way of defining swear words is defining semantic fields they originate from. The areas or semantic fields of linguistic taboo and swear words copy the areas that can be traced as taboo in cultures. Arango sums up that "dirty words always refer to parts of the body, secretions, or behaviour patterns that arouse sexual desire" (Arango 1989, 9), Jay defines slightly different four domains as follows: "religion, taboo and word magic, disgust, and secular legal rulings" (1999, 155) and goes on to extend these categories to body products, body parts, sexual acts, ethnic or racial insults, profanity, vulgarity, slang, and scatology in his later works (Jay 2000). The broadest list of categories of swear words so far has been provided by Ashley Montagu (1967) described by Fägersten: "abusive, adjectival, asseverative, ejaculatory, exclamatory, execratory, expletive, hortatory, interjectional and objurgatory" (2012, 4) including seven sub-categories "cursing, profanity, blasphemy, obscenity, vulgarity and euphemistic swearing" (4).

Both English and Czech more or less agree on the meaning areas in which their swear words occur, however, different families of languages can offer additional categories such as eschatology. As Franče and Hassairi state, this category can be found in Scandinavian, Finno-Ugric and Baltic languages and they are based on the after-death, which is a taboo in those cultures, however, not in Czech nor English culture. (2009) Ljung mentions another area, which is present for example in Russian: "Russian is a special case: serious swearing in Russian almost always involves the use of expressions

insulting somebody’s mother, grandmother or other close female relatives by suggesting that they have had sex with somebody or that the addressee should have sex with them, to mention only some of the variants.” (Ljung 2012, 2)

Semantic fields, i.e. the areas of related meaning of swear words, are a crucial part of this research and comparative analysis of swear words in translation and they will be further discussed in the practical part 3.2 of the thesis.

On the other hand, we may say that while all the swear words come from the above mentioned areas, not all words from those areas are considered swear words. We can distinguish dysphemisms, orthophemisms and euphemism as in Figure 1 (taken from Allan and Burrige 2006, 31). To start from the “nicest” one, euphemism is “that figure of speech which consists in the substitution of a word or expression of comparatively favourable implication or less unpleasant associations, instead of the harsher or more offensive one that would more precisely designate what is intended” (OED 2017) and so is orthophemism, except it is more formal and direct. Dysphemism is their opposite, it is “a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance.” (Allan and Burrige 2006, 31) This distinction is important, because while dysphemisms will pass muster as swear words, euphemisms and orthophemisms will not.

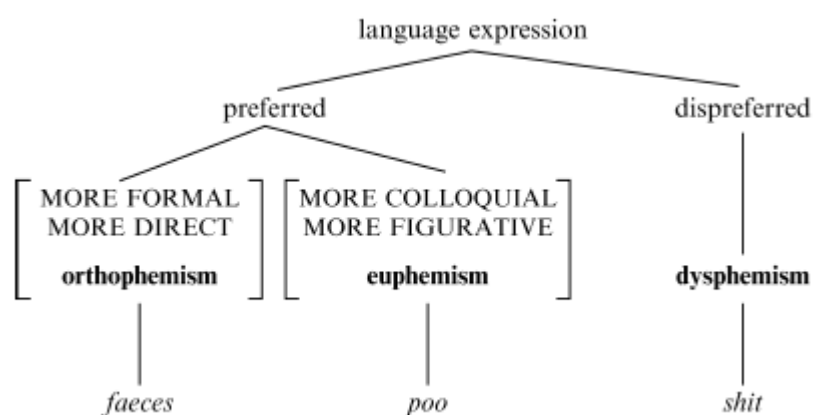


Figure 1: Distinguishing X-phemisms.

In the present, swear words are defined and sanctioned on institutional and personal level. Taboos “on certain forms of speech arise from authorities that have the power to

restrict speech and can act as arbiters of harmful speech—good examples are courts of law, religious leaders, educators, and mass media managers.” (Jay 2009 153) These authorities also create policies and punish those, who violate prohibitions. On individual level we censor ourselves “under the assumption that some harm will occur if a taboo word is spoken” (153). Although breaking a linguistic taboo may lead to a penalty, it will hardly be as strict as formerly or punished with similar severity as violating non-linguistic taboos: “obscenity is still a crime in many jurisdiction, but is hardly likely to cost you your life, as the violation of certain non-linguistic taboos, e.g., incest taboos, might be in certain places in the world.” (Wardhaugh 2000, 234)

That is the reason why people have created already mentioned euphemisms—to decrease the harshness of taboo words. Chunming Gao quotes Robert Burchfield, the editor of *The Oxford English Dictionary*, who said that “a language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication” (Burchfield 1985) and she goes on to say that “so is taboo without euphemisms” (Gao 2013, 2313). Other way of creating a swear word euphemism is creating its sanitized version in writing, which can be presented on an example of the word *fuck*: *f-word, f-bomb, f*ck, f-k, @\$!%, f##k or fcuk*. Creating and euphemism is also possible by changing consonants in word, again demonstrated on the word *fuck* (for example *fuck > fudge*). (Napoli and Hoeksema 2009, 621)

On top of using euphemisms, language user can express itself with “creative swearing”, i.e. offending someone, expressing emotions of wishing harm to someone without actually using neither swear words, or euphemism. Mohr provides an example: “when you curse, you could be calling someone a ‘shithead,’ or you could be going for something more elaborate, like this traditional Yiddish one: ‘May all your teeth fall out except one—and that should give you a toothache. ’ ‘Shithead’ is swearing, ‘May your teeth fall out’ is not, though it is related to swearing.” (2013, 11)

Sheidlower states that usage of taboo in a language is not new. “As far back as the seventh century, there are records of a law from Kent reading, ‘If anyone in another’s house...shamefully accosts him with insulting words, he is to pay shilling to him who owns the house.’” (Sheidlower 2009, xi) but according to Mohr it was Romans who gave

us swearing: “along with republicanism, the Julian calendar, and numerous literary classics, the Romans gave us a model for our use of obscene words.” (2013, 4) Sheidlower discusses that the areas of taboo have naturally changed over time: “Several hundred years ago, for example, religious profanity was the most unforgivable type of expression. In more recent times, words for body parts and explicitly sexual vocabulary have been the most shocking: in nineteenth-century America even the word leg was sometimes considered indecent; the proper substitute was limb. Now racial or ethnic epithets are the scourge; one prominent professor told U.S. News & World Report in 1994 that if she used *fuck* in class, no one would bat an eye, but that she would never dare to use any racial epithet in any context” (2009, xvii). Mohr agrees with the taboo dichotomy in the past stating that “these words have drawn strength from two main areas of taboo—religion and the human body” (Mohr 2013, 253) and she discusses the matter further in her book on history of swearing *Holy Shit*. Further sociohistorical research was also conducted by McEnergy (2006) in *Swearing in English: Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*, Montagu’s (1973) *Anatomy of Swearing* and Hughes’ (1998) *Swearing*.

Every speaker of a language know swear words since its very childhood, “indeed, we learn not to use them when we are punished by caregivers” (Jay 2009, 153). Melissa Mohr quoted Jay who has found that “swearing really takes off between [ages] three and four.” (Mohr 2013, 12). Only later on in our lives we learn about institutional standards and standards of the society. “We learn about taboos through the socialization of speech practices, which creates an oral or folk knowledge of swearing etiquette. Reports that swear words occur frequently in everyday speech are consistent with the argument that native speakers of any culture learn when and with whom it is appropriate to use taboo words.” (Jay 2009, 153-154)

Concerning social-economic classes and ethnic-racial groups, “cursing is used by all” (Jay 1999, 158). Jay goes on to say that “anxiety about cursing is a middle class problem. A speaker with moderate status must be careful not to offend more powerful listeners, knowing that offending higher-status listeners can result in some social cost. Cursing inappropriately becomes a marker of low social status. So an effective speaker is one

who is able to adapt cursing to appropriate situations. Less capable speakers have a limited range of speaking styles and word choices.” (158-159)

Furthermore, it differs in spoken a written register. Jay and Xiao state that “the spoken register is generally more informal than the written register.” (2004, 236) Whether it is self-censorship or institutional censorship (on television, radio, in print, etc.), the influence of censorship has been one of the large areas of taboo research such as *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language* by Keith Allan, Kate Burridge (2006). My research will be conducted on written texts (only) and their translation and since I will be choosing authors well known for their language openness and nonconformity, I believe the influence of censorship on these texts is minor, therefore will not be taken into account. In addition, I am comparing only texts belonging to one category – only written, therefore I do not consider the influence of censorship a major theme of my thesis.

2.2.2 Swear words as a subject of research across fields

A common approach to studying swear words is looking into the past. Many authors have devoted their works to development of swear words throughout the times and their etymology, whether it is Geoffrey Hughes’ *An Encyclopedia of Swearing: The Social History of Oaths, Profanity, Foul Language, And Ethnic Slurs in the English* (2006), Tony McEnery’s *Swearing in English bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present* (2006), and Ruth Wajnryb’s *Expletiev deleted: a good look at bad language*.

The study of swearing also moved to cultural studies often using the means of multilingual corpus. Here, I can mention Magnus Ljung’s *Swearing: A Cross-Linguistic Study*. In the Czech Republic, a research was conducted that compares swearing between Bohemia and Moravia (Franče and Hassairi 2009).

Psychology and neurology are other thriving areas of research of swear words. The research topics vary from focus on the Tourette’s syndrome and trying to understand how swear words work in our brain (Benjamin Bergen’s *What the F: What swearing reveals about our language, our brains, and ourselves*) and have such a strong effect on us, presenting the Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) Theory of cursing (Timothy Jay’s *Why do*

we curse), to interesting topics such as why people remember emotional and taboo words better than neutral words, which was proven by a research conducted by Timothy Jay, Catherine Caldwell-Harris and Krista King and published in their paper *Recalling taboo and nontaboo words*.

Sociolinguistics is another linguistic discipline interested in swearing, as the context-sensitivity of this phenomenon is outstanding in language studies. It is for example one of the major interests of Timothy Jay in *Cursing in America: A psycholinguistic study of dirty language in the courts, in the movies, in the schoolyards and on the streets* (1992) or *Why We Curse: A Neuro-psycho-social Theory of Speech* (2000) or Kristy Beers Fägersten *Who's Swearing Now? The Social Aspects of Conversational Swearing* (2012).

Swearing is also analysed from gender and feminist point of view. As Hughes comments, "The general feminist view argues that since language is generated in a 'patriarchal' or 'phallographic' dispensation, there has developed, especially in male swearing, a preponderance of the terms derived from the female anatomy, notably tit and cunt." (2006, 195) Linguists interested in this area are for example Dale Spender, Casey Miller and Kate Swift as well as Jay.

While these areas are for sure very interesting, I will not be too deeply focusing on analysing, I already attempted to describe relevant findings from previous researches while defining and describing swear words and their usage. In my research, I will be focusing on the semantic aspect of swear words, mainly semantic fields.

2.2.3 Swear words and Terminology

Scholars concerned with taboo language, which is a relatively young area of examination, have yet to agree on used terminology. I completed a terminological overview of terms referring to and related to swearing used by authors whose works are mentioned and quoted in this thesis. The terms vary in various aspects such as point of view, discipline and function, however, literal or non-literal understanding and many of them are used interchangeably.

The overview contains a list of these terms with either the most fitting definition that I found or a definition of my own based on the gained knowledge of the subject. I also

mention which authors prefer these terms. From what I found, individual authors mostly agree on the definition of the single terms, if not, the fact shall be mentioned. I do not claim the list of authors is comprehensive, it serves as examples; I aim to present a comprehensive overview of swear words terminology.

I shall not differentiate when certain terms occur in combination with the words “word” and “language” (for example taboo language and taboo words) as these refer to similar phenomenon, only on a different scale; “language” as a general term for words and phrases as well as larger units used within a context and “word” referring to single words or phrases. In addition, if terms such as “swear words” and “swearing” occur, I shall choose only one, as “swearing” literally means “using swear words”.

Based on the overview and definitions, I chose terminology of my preference for the purposes of my work.

Term	Definition	Authors
Taboo language	Taboo language commonly refers to “language that is a breach of etiquette because it contains so-called ‘dirty words’.” (Allan and Burridge 2006, 40).	Jay and Janschewitz, Sheidlower, Allan and Burridge, Fägersten
Linguistic taboo	Taboo in language. Used mainly to differentiate from non-linguistic (cultural) taboos.	Arango, Mohr
Offensive language/speech	Refers to politeness (pragmatics). “Whether or not language behaviour counts as good manners will depend on a number of factors. These include: the relationship between speakers,	Timothy Jay, Allan and Burridge, Fägersten

their audience, and anyone within earshot; the subject matter; the situation (setting); and whether a spoken or written medium is used. In other words: politeness is wedded to context, place and time. That which is polite is at least inoffensive and at best pleasing to an audience. That which is offensive is impolite.” (Allan and Burr ridge , 41)

Swearing

The original meaning of the verb swear is “to take an oath; make a solemn declaration, statement, affirmation, promise or undertaking; often in the eyes of God or in relation to some sacred object so that the swearer is, by implication, put in grave danger if found to be lying,” (Allan and Burr ridge 76) and it developed into: “To swear at someone or something is to insult and deprecate the object of abuse, as well as to use other kinds of dysphemism.” (Allan and Burr ridge 76) According to Jay and Janschewitz, “swearing is the use of taboo language with the purpose of expressing the speaker’s emotional state and communicating that information to listeners.” (2008, 268)

Timothy Jay,
 Mohr,
 Allan and
 Burr ridge,
 Ljung,
 Fägersten,
 McEnergy

Cussing/cursing

The term cursing has two possible definitions. One general, where cursing is “meant to cover all sorts of dirty word usage.” (Jay 1992, 1) Even though Jay used this term in a name of his book, he admits that cursing has another, more literal

Timothy Jay,
 Mohr, Allan
 and Burr ridge,
 Fägersten,
 Goddart

	meaning: “to call upon divine or supernatural power to send injury upon.” (2) in order to invoke harm.	
Dirty Words/language	“The description derives from a persistent belief that the form of an expression somehow communicates the essential nature of whatever is being referred to.” (Allan and Burr ridge 2006, 40)	Allan and Burr ridge, Jay
Bad words/language	Used as a term covering all types swearing. McEnergy defines it as “any word or phrase which, when used in what one might call polite conversation, is likely to cause offence.” (2006, 1)	Jay, Lars and Trudgill, McEnergy, Wajnryb, Mohr
Profanity	According to Jay, profanity is a type of swearing. “To be profane means to be secular or behaving outside the customs of religious belief.” (Jay 1992, 3) The meaning has also developed to be synonymous to swear words.	Hughes, Jay, Allan and Burr ridge, Mohr
Blasphemy	Jay points out there is a difference between profanity and blasphemy. “While profanity does not seek to denigrate God, blasphemy is “the act of insulting or showing contempt or lack of reverence for God: the act of claiming the attributes of deity: irreverence toward something considered sacred or inviolable.” (Jay 1992, 3) Hughes go on to say that “the distinction between profanity and blasphemy is quite complex and hinges largely on intention, in that profanity is usually regarded as habitual,	Allan and Burr ridge, Jay, Mohr

	whereas blasphemy is more obviously intentional or deliberate.” (2006, xvii)	
Foul language	Usage of foul language is synonymous to swearing.	Geoffrey Hughes, Allan and Burridge, Jay,
Vulgar language	The term vulgar language is used to point out the social distinction (lower social status) of the language user. “Vulgarity means the language of the common person, "the person in the street", or the unsophisticated, unsocialized, or under-educated.” (Jay 1992, 6) Mohr however talks about a modern sense of the word and uses it more in the general sense of swear word.	Mohr, Jay
Obscene language (obscenity)	Legal sense. Obscene means “disgusting to the senses, repulsive, abhorrent to morality or virtue, designed to incite lust or depravity.” (Jay 1992, 5) An obscene word “cannot be used freely; it is subject to restriction; and to use such speech is to risk sanctioning from the courts.” (5). There are obscenity laws to protect people from them.	Wardhaugh, Allan and Burridge, Jay
Emotional speech	Speech that is charged with emotion by using swear words.	Jay
Insults	A verbal attack on people. “An insult assails the target with contemptuous, perhaps insolent,	Allan and Burridge, Jay

	language intended to wound or disparage.” (Allan and Burridge 2006, 89)	
Four letter words	Refers to swear words of the length of four letter, typically the most common and strongest one such as fuck, cunt, shit, jizz, tits and many others. The fact, that this group of words received their own name reflects the tendency of many English swear words to have exactly four letters.	Jay
Indecent language	“Term referring to indecency of usage of the type of expressions especially in front of certain groups of people (i.e. children).” (Fägersten 2012, 158)	US government, FCC; Fägersten, Mohr
Coarse language	“The adjective coarse is used in its primary sense of ‘ordinary, common, mean (in the depreciatory sense of these epithets); base; of inferior quality or value; of little account’ [...] Thus, coarse language is, by association, that of the vulgar classes, untrammelled by the middle-class politeness criterion.” (Allan and Burridge 2006, 37)	Allan and Burridge, Jay, Mohr
Epithet	Outbursts. “A characterizing word or phrase accompanying or occurring in place of the name of a person or thing: a disparaging or abusive word or phrase.” (Jay 1992, 7)	Ljung uses the term expletive epithet
Expletive	According to OED: a word or phrase serving as a grammatical place-filler. “Expletives are not semantically tied to the wrongdoer or the	Ljung, Jay

event in a direct way; and in that respect they serve the speaker's need to let off some steam." (Jay 1992, 104)

Exclamation According to OED: sudden cry or remark Ljung, Jay
expressing surprise, strong emotion or pain.

Ljung's research proves that "practically any utterance may be an exclamation. What matters is obviously not the syntactic or other nature of the utterances, but merely the manner in which they are delivered, which should be one reflecting the speaker's state of mind." (2012, 76)

Pejorative "A word or phrase that has negative Hom
connotations or that is intended to disparage or belittle." (Merriam-Webster.com)

In Jay's book "the terms cursing, dirty words, taboo words, offensive speech, swearing, and emotional speech are used interchangeably to avoid being repetitive" (10) and since he is a leading author in the field, many authors follow his example.

However, even Jay admits that some linguists can possibly disagree with him. From the definitions gathered above, we can see that many of these words have two meanings – one more literal and one general, great example being cursing. The terms also point to swear words from different point of view. The term four-letter words point out the length of the words, obscene language is from legal point of view, offensive language from pragmatics point of view. The variability of the terms correlates with the fact that swear words are a words that are hard to define and a category with fuzzy boundaries.

One of the tricky term in the table above is “vulgar”. Although the terms “vulgarismus” and “vulgar” seem to correspond at first sight, their meaning vary up to the degree where we could call them false friends. In Czech, swear words are uniformly marked “vulgární” in dictionaries (will be discussed more thoroughly later) and this term is also used in both academic and non-academic discourse when referring to them. As mentioned above, the term vulgar tend to refer more to the lower social status of the speaker. Therefore, the meaning of “vulgární” and “vulgar” does not correlate.

Since the research of swear words have not reached such an extent in Czech context as well as due to the smaller size of community of Czech linguistic scholars, the terminology in Czech have not developed and differentiated as much as in English. The main term most authors agree on is the term “vulgarismus” or “vulgární” (adj), the general public will almost certainly choose the term “sprosté slovo”.

Other terms used in Czech are “nadávka” and “klení” that directly correspond to “insult” and “cursing” in their literal meaning, however, in Czech the tendency to generalize these terms does not occur.

I shall choose the term “swear word” as the main term and understand “swearing” as “using swear words”, however, following the example of Jay, I will use other terms whilst respecting their definition in order to avoid being repetitive.

2.2.4 Swear words and their frequency

It may seem we are experiencing an epidemic of swearing today. One can hardly walk down the street without overhearing foul language and there is a rising number of instances of public figures using swear words publicly. Whether it is the Czech president on the national radio, John Oliver on his late night show or celebrities on social media. Mohr illustrated the tendency in public space with references in modern printed media: “Daily Mail of Britain has declared in a headline that ‘This Culture of Swearing Curses Us All’; and the New York Times has published on ‘the growing frequency of public figures using vulgarity’.” (2013, 15). She goes on to illustrate the possible phenomenon on the situation in television business on an example of George Carlin, an American stand-up comedian: “In 1972, George Carlin famously listed the seven words you couldn’t

mention on TV— *shit, piss, fuck, cunt, cocksucker, motherfucker, and tits*. Now you can say all but three, depending on when you are talking and how you use the words.” (15) The evidence presented thus far supports the idea that we indeed live in an era that is infested with swear words. However, we need to take into account the fact that “swearing is like the climate—it goes through cycles.” (Mohr 2013, 15)

What increases, however, according to Millwood-Hargrave and her co-workers, is the acceptance (do not mistake with approval) of swear words in everyday life (Millwood-Hargrave 2000, 5). She conducted a research on the basis of group discussions and in-depth interviews and found out that respondents dislike the use of swear words and offensive language in general because “they felt it indicated a decline in social standards and was seen as a sign of unsociable behaviour.” (5) On the other hand, high level of swearing surrounding us leads to a “deadening effect” (5) which means that because of repetition of certain swear words, people are becoming less offended than in the past. Even though this research was conducted in Britain, I believe its general findings are applicable to more contexts – even the Czech one.

Finally, linguists came across an interesting phenomenon – the Sweating Paradox. The paradox is that the most frequently used swear words are also those traditionally judged as the most offensive. It is for example proven in a research conducted by Fägersten and described in *Who’s swearing now* and noticed by Franče and Hassairi in *Výzkum na téma vulgarismy*.

2.2.4.1 In UK

A research was conducted jointly by the Advertising Standards Authority, British Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting Standards Commission and the Independent Television Commission in 2000 to “test people’s attitudes to swearing and offensive language, and to examine the degree to which context played a role in their reactions.” (Millwood-Hargrave 2000, 1) It examines attitudes of people towards swearing and offensive language in real-life setting and media (separately) and presents a list of swear words with perceived severity. The researchers asked people on their perception of severity of single words given without context in order to receive their attitudes for each

words that can be considered an absolute view of its severity, i.e. not affected by any contextual factors.

Figure 2 present the findings of perceived severity of single words based on a system where 0 = not swearing and 3 = very severe. Although minor differences inevitably occur, Millwood-Hargrave claims that “the topography of bad language exists across all groups in a broadly consistent manner.” (2000, 8) Based on her scale, this thesis will include swear words marked 2-3.

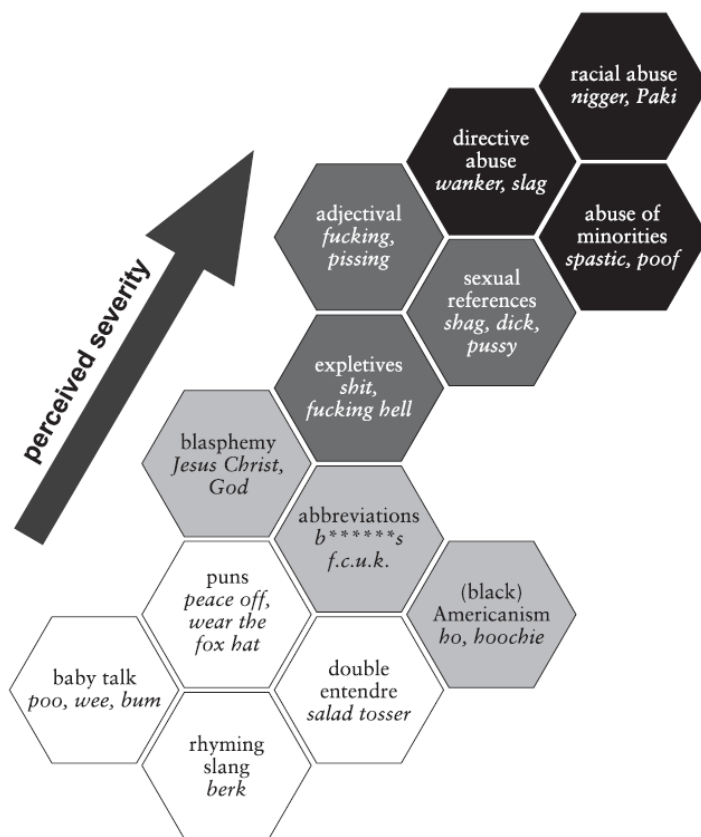


Figure 2: Topography of bad language

The following table (Figure 3) presents similar data in a more detailed manner, also comparing the results acquired in the more recent research in 2000 (see column named Position) and the ones from a similar research conducted in 1997 (see column described by the year number). It is visible, that the words considered very severe maintain its position in the table, i.e. the society perception have not undergone any major change. On the contrary, racial abuse words have experienced a change in perception, they are

now perceived much more severe. Millwood-Hargrave then continues to present her data and perception of severity based on age and gender, for more, see *Delete Expletives?*.

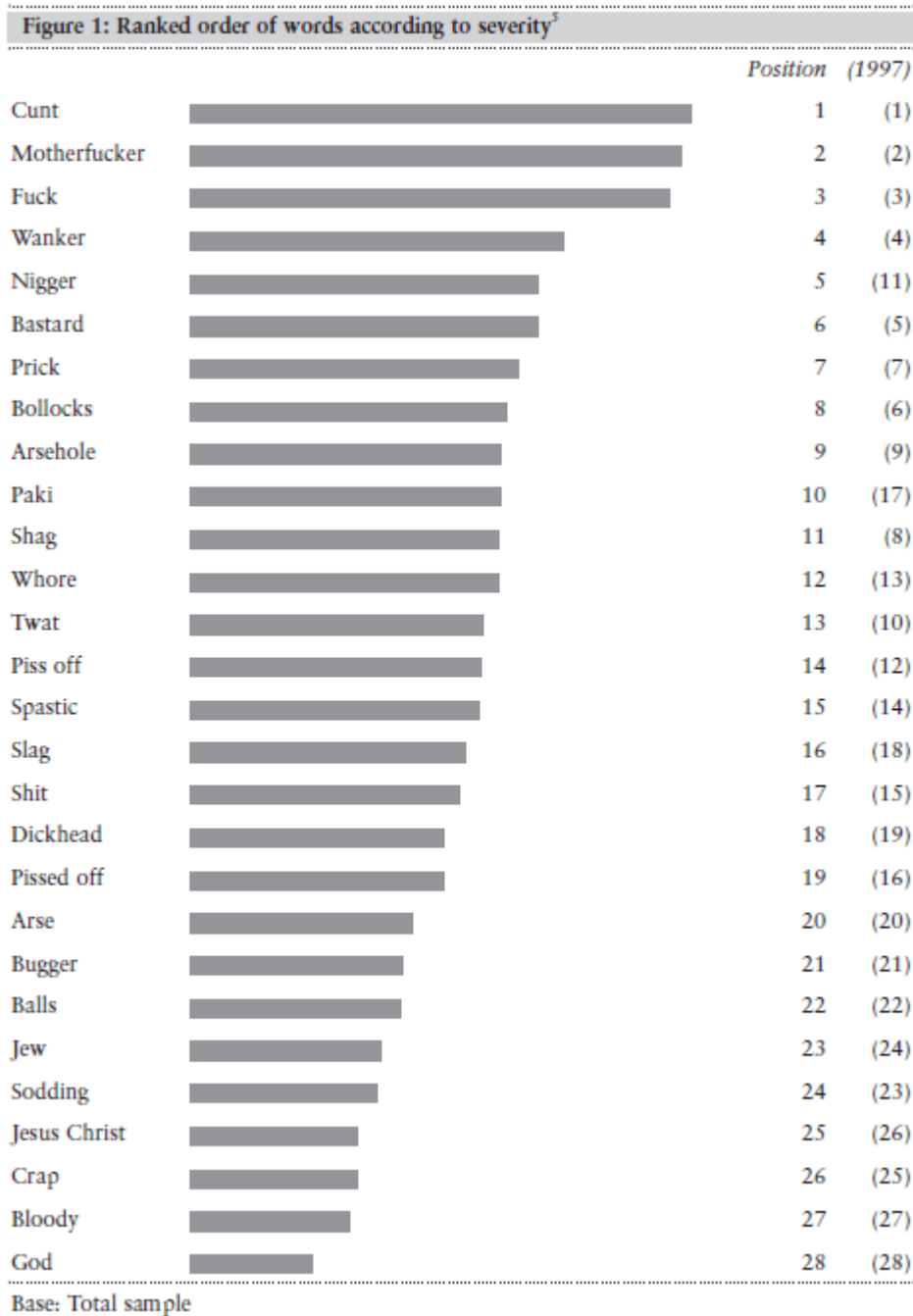


Figure 3: Ranked order of words according to severity

When looking at Figure 2, we may already notice the problematic categorization of swear words. Even Millwood-Hargrave uses categories that reflect different aspects,

therefore they are not homogenous. While the category “racial abuse” and “directive abuse” is established around the receiver of the swear word, “adjectival abuse” and “abbreviations” are purely grammatical. Categories “sexual references” and “blasphemy” are a semantic and finally, “expletives” are based on their function. Therefore, the typology of such categories becomes non-homogenic as well and problematic. Furthermore, under these conditions, it can happen that one word can fall into more than one category.

2.2.4.2 In USA

A smaller research was conducted in Massachusetts in the United States of America and published by Timothy Jay in 1992. Jay explains that “dirty word utterances were recorded by 6 male and 6 female college students, as these utterances occurred spontaneously in a variety of settings on an off campus.” (Jay 1992, 121) The data was gathered among young people, mainly teenagers, college students and people between 20 and 30 years. He recorded 2171 dirty words and created a rank of 10 most frequently used words including criteria such as gender of the speaker and his or her company. See Figure 4:

SEX OF SPEAKER

MALE (1482)

FEMALE (689)

SEX OF COMPANY:

SAME

MIXED

SAME

MIXED

fuck	287	fuck	92	fuck	112	shit	48
shit	166	shit	58	shit	111	fuck	24
asshole	75	hell	39	asshole	38	ass	18
jesus	68	bitch	31	hell	36	hell	17
goddamn	56	ass	29	goddamn	35	bitch	16

hell	48	goddamn	19	ass	32	asshole	14
ass	49	damn	18	bitch	27	jesus	11
bitch	40	bastards	16	jesus	25	goddamn	10
suck	34	jesus	16	damn	16	damn	10
piss	26	suck	15	suck	13	piss	6

Figure 4: Rank of 10 most frequently used words

Jay presents his results as follows: “In all of these episodes, some 60 root words account for all the data. Further, the top ten in terms of frequency of occurrence account for half of the data. Males produced a range of 58 different root words, while females were recorded using only 29 different words, many of which had extremely low frequencies.” (Jay 1992, 123) Concerning gender, he states that “males were recorded making far more dirty word utterances than females with overall episodes of 1482 and 689, respectively.” (123) He adds, that this fact is not surprising and that the results correspond with previous researches on this topic. On the other hand, a number of words were used with very close frequency by men as well as women, namely “words as *balls, fuck, shit, and suck*” (139). Finally, he discusses the effect of the gender of a speaker’s company on the emergence of dirty words. “Both male and female speakers are more likely to swear in the company of same sex companions. The ratio here is two to one for both speakers,” (123) which means that number of occurrences of swear words is approximately double (sometimes even triple) in the same sex company.

Comparing Jay’s data with the ones acquired by Millwood-Hargrave is impossible due to the fact that Millwood-Hargrave focused on the perceived severity of the swear words, while Jay examined its actual use in a real-life setting. However, in both researches, the highest ranks are occupied by similar words, which confirms the theory of Swearing Paradox – the most often used swear words according to Jay’s recipients are at the same time the most offensive by Millwood-Hargrave’s recipients. Furthermore, we can see,

that even though Jay's subjects used strong swear words, they avoided using the most severe ones including cunt and swear words of abuse.

Unfortunately, no research of similar nature has been published in the Czech Republic (yet).

2.2.5 Where do swear words come from and where they disappear

Nejedlý discusses the process of “vulgarization”, i.e. how are swear words created. Many of the ways of swear words creation correspond to regular language. First way he mentions is shift of meaning, the word becomes polysemous—gains another meaning that is vulgar. “*Šlapka, štětka, ocas, pták, sviňák*” (Nejedlý 2015, 5) are a good illustration of this phenomenon in Czech, while in English, we can name for instance *cock, pussy* or *ass*. Secondly, swear words can be derived from other swear words or expressive words, following a basic word formation process. Nejedlý provides following examples in Czech: “*mrdat > mrdka, mrdna, mrdník, mrdačka*” (5) while in English, we can mention *fuck > fucking, fucked-up, fucker, the fuck* and many others. Some swear words, especially the ones related to excretion, have onomatopoeic origins, such as in the sound of running water or wind, such as *srát* and *prdět* (5) in Czech and *piss* and *fart* in English. Finally, swear words are borrowed from other languages. In Czech, we can mention a very young swear word *fakáč* that young generation started using for middle finger or an older example, *kunda* and *cunt* that both developed from latin *cunus* (meaning lap).

Swear words not only enter languages, but also disappear, thus renewing and refreshing the category. Nejedlý describes this language dynamism phenomenon as follows:

Pro expresivní pojmenování obecně platí, že jim hrozí riziko vyčerpání aktuálního příznaku (že se „opotřebují“). Ztrácejí svoji funkci, tj. dochází k jejich deexpresivizaci, devulgarizaci, případně zcela zanikají. Repertoár expresiv včetně vulgarismů proto vykazuje potřebu neustálé aktualizace. K té dochází právě tím, že vznikají nové výrazy. Zároveň však probíhá proces opačný: vlivem tabuové povahy určitých skutečností se mezi vulgarismy postupně zařazují pojmenování doposud neutrální. I za ně se pak v jazyce musí najít – stejně neutrální – náhrada. (Nejedlý 5-6)

Allan and Burridge say that one of the engines forcing the swear words dynamism to move is censorship: "Taboo and the consequent censoring of language motivate language change by promoting the creation of highly inventive and often playful new expressions, or new meanings for old expressions, causing existing vocabulary to be abandoned" (2006, 2). Nejedlý agrees with that and provides Czech examples of seemingly neutral words created due to the influence of political correctness but in the end still ridiculing and degrading the said minority: "*hnědočech, kofola*" (2015, 4).

On the other hand, Jay says that „A set of 10 words that has remained stable over the past 20 years account for 80% of public swearing” (Jay 2009, 153) which was also visible in the report by Millwood-Hargrave, therefore the process of deexpressivization and devulgarization mentioned by Nejedlý remains mostly on the outskirts of the category while the core remains more stable.

Concerning creating of new words and the creativity of this process today, Hughes comments on the fact that this ability has deteriorated in the modern times. This can be, however, only a comment of appraisal for the old masters.

There is no doubt that modern swearing, profanity, and foul language are characterized by a notable paucity of vocabulary and lack of invention. If the characters of Chaucer (who were created in religiously strict but comparatively uncensored times) or even those of Shakespeare (who was subjected to the censorship of the ill-named Master of the Revels) were to materialize among us now, we would surely be impressed by the remarkable power and range of their oaths, profanity, and foul language.

(Hughes 2006, xxv)

As for the future of swear words, there is an agreement in academic community that swear words are an essential part of the language that will persist. Nejedlý claims, that a probable feature of the global world will be globalization of thought and terms “as well as language internationalization. Therefore we can imagine using somewhat supranational swear words,” (2015, 7) which he illustrates on an example of word *shit*

that is being used in Czech as well as *fuck*, which was in some instances given Czech morphological properties and that is how *fakáč* was created as mentioned above.

2.2.6 Function of swear words in literature

Swear words have not only specific function in language, but also in literature. According to Nejedlý, the most common function of swear words in literature is “funkce charakterizační” (2015, 8) (translated as characterizing function) meaning that the swear words used characterize the context, character or author himself. Secondly, he states swear words in literature are used similarly to a real-life setting as intensifiers, for gradation purposes in particular, which are discussed further in the thesis. Finally, he mentions the use for creating contrast. In the texts chosen for my analysis, the swear words generally helped to create and strengthen negative personal traits and intensify and reinforce negative aspects of actions.

In addition, Nejedlý illustrates the use of bad words in poetry as well, namely in a poem by V. Holan (1970, 263–264):

Jenjen jsem zahnal tenkrát koně do maštale,
jaková bouře se to strhla!
Hromy si podávaly
čertovo hovno zrovna přes náš plot...

It is important to state that I know that language in literature is stylization and does not reflect real language.

2.2.7 Swear words and connotative meaning

Taboo words are carriers of emotional charge. Jay states that “relative to nontaboo words, taboo words are used for their emotional impact on people rather than for their literal or denotative interpretation” (1992, 10) meaning the prominent meaning swear words carry is connotative as is agreed upon by majority of authors including for instance Mohr: “swearwords are almost all connotation—they carry an emotional charge that exceeds the taboo status of their referents.” (2013, 6) Connotation and denotation of swear words will be illustrated on the example of one of the most common swear words, *fuck*.

According to Cruse, “the denotation of a linguistic expression is that aspect of its meaning which is involved in its potential for use in making true statements about the world.” (2006, 45) Jay adds that denotation involves “truth, analysis, intention, significance or synonymy” (1992, 10). That means for example, that *fucked* in (1a) refers literally to sexual intercourse. On the other hand, (1b) “is difficult to interpret literally but most listeners would interpret the sentence as indicating that something was wrong or bad at work.” (Jay 1992, 10) *Fucked up* in this sentence carries connotative meaning, which Cruse defines as “non-truth-conditional aspects of meaning” (2006, 33) and Jay goes on to say that connotative meaning is “conveyed meaning involved in irony, sarcasm, understatement, overstatement, humour, idiomatic usage and implied requests.” (1992, 10)

(1) (a) John **fucked** Mary. (b) My job is **fucked up**. (Jay 1992, 10)

The connotation swearwords carries is mostly negative, however, the word fuck can be used as name calling with a positive connotation as well. “For example, if someone gets a good grade on a test and he didn’t study at all for it, you might say (2a) indicating how lucky the person is. . . . we can [also] employ taboo terms to show sympathy” (Napoli and Hoeksema 2009, 621) as in (2b).

(2) (a) You **motherfucker!** (621) (b) The poor (**bastard/schmuck/fuck**), he couldn’t help himself. (621)

Other classification of meanings relevant to fuck and its translation are dimensions of (lexical) meaning, i.e. descriptive and non-descriptive meaning. Descriptive part of meaning is the one that “constrains what it can be used to refer to, and which determines the truth values of statements which contain it” (Cruse 2006, 48). To illustrate this with an example, in (3a), the verb *fucked* cannot be replaced with any other verb without change of the truth or falsity of the statement.

(3) (a) John **fucked** Mary. (b) Life is **fucking** beautiful. (b’) Life is beautiful.

On the other hand, “some words possess only expressive and no descriptive meaning and to these we can assign the term expletives.” (Cruse 2011, 201) Expressive meaning

is considered type of non-descriptive meaning (along with evoked meaning, which is not relevant to this thesis) and expresses “some emotion, judgement, or attitude, but in a non-propositional way,” (Cruse 2006, 49) i.e. it does not affect the truth value of the statement and “its validity is restricted to the current state of the speaker.” (Cruse 2011, 201) See examples (3b) and (3b’): *fucking* does not contribute to propositional content and the statement in (3b) would not change its truth value if *fucking* was omitted.

2.2.8 Swear words and translation

Translating swearwords is supported by little background research and there is still a lot of space for discussion. Anderson and Trudgill state that swearing expresses strong emotions and should not be interpreted literally (1990, 53) so the connotative and non-descriptive meaning is transferred. Furthermore, translating swearword depends on variables such as “historical and political circumstances, but which is also an area of personal struggle, of ethical/moral dissent, of religious/ideological controversies, of systematic self-censorship.” (translated from Bou and Pennock, 1992)

Therefore, to consider strategies and methods for translating swear words, we need to consider strategies and methods for translating connotative meaning and expressive texts. “Aby účinek textu zůstal nezměněn, je vystižení správné konotace stejně důležité jako převezení správně pochopených denotačních složek” (Knittlová 2000, 57). On the other hand, Newmark states that „in a literary text, you have to give precedence to its connotations, since, if it is any good, it is an allegory, a comment on society, at the time and now, as well as on its strict setting.“ (Newmark 1988, 16) Newmark goes on to say that it is not only desirable, but essential to achieve equivalent effect, “i.e. to produce the same effect or one as close as possible on the readership of the translation as has obtained on the readership of the original” (48)

Newmark defines the unit of translation, i.e. “the element used by the translator when working on the ST” (Hatim and Munday 2004, 17), in expressive texts: “In expressive texts, the unit of translation is likely to be small, since words rather than sentences contain the finest nuances of meaning; further, there are likely to be fewer stock language units (‘colloquialisms, stock metaphors and collocations, etc. than in other texts.” (Newmark 1988, 50) On the other hand, he mentions pragmatic aspects of

translation. "We do not translate isolated words, we translate words all more or less (and sometimes less rather than more, but never not at all) bound by their syntactic, collocation, situational, cultural and individual contexts." (75)

"There may be no other category of speech that is so sensitive to context as the use of curse words." (Jay 1999, 148) It is impossible to state the offensiveness of a word precisely without knowing the pragmatic (contextual) differences such as "conversational topic, the speaker-listener relationship, including gender, occupation, and status, and the social-physical setting of the communication with respect to whether the swearing takes place in a public or private location, one's jurisdiction over the location, and the level of formality of the occasion." (Jay and Janschewitz 2008, 272) Swearing varies from culture to culture so it takes some time for the translator to fully understand it.

Dagmar Knittlová goes on to sum up the contextual problems which arise during translation of swear words:

Vulgarismy patří mezi slova tabuová, záleží ovšem opět na době a společnosti, co je kdy považováno za dovolené a co za zakázané. S tímto aspektem je nutno přistupovat k překladu literárních děl. Konotace vulgárnosti a tabuovosti je rovněž nestálá. S frekvencí se vulgárnost oslabuje a stírá a tabuovost ustupuje. Proto je při překladu i při jeho analýze a hodnocení nutno přihlížet k značně širokému kontextu jazykovému i mimojazykovému a respektovat pragmatický aspekt (Knittlová 2000, 65).

These preliminaries need to be taken into account when translating expressivity, which is important feature of swearwords. „U emocionálně hodnotících výrazů převládá výrazová a apelová funkce nad funkcí komunikativní. Tento poznatek je důležitý zejména při překladu do strukturně odlišného jazyka – u emocionálně hodnotících výrazů je především nutno zachovat jejich funkci, ekvivalenci konotačních složek, což je mnohdy obtížnější než převod výrazů nociónálních, kde je ekvivalence přímočařejší.“ (Knittlová 2000, 55)

„Angličtina jako izolační jazyk dává přednost při explicitním vyjadřování emocionálního postoje jiným jazykovým prostředkům než syntetická čeština. Vyjadřuje emocionálnost spíše analyticky, lexikálně, kombinací citově neutrálních lž s výrazy, které slouží převážně jako nositelé citového postoje (2000, 59). Naproti tomu čeština má pro vyjadřování emocijality mnohem více morfologických jazykových prostředků, kterých zejména v uměleckém funkčním stylu bohatě využívá. Kromě toho existuje v češtině v lexikální rovině mnoho slov s vnitřní, inherentní expresivitou . . . V rámci jazykové situace anglické a české neexistuje stejné rozložení jazykových vrstev a útvarů, proto český překladatel využívá prostředků, které mu čeština dává k dispozici a které považuje za adekvátní pro daný styl a situaci“ (2000, 56).

Considering the fact that swear words are very often used as an intensifiers, Knittlová's approach on their translation is covered as well. She writes that “vcelku lze shrnout, že mezi anglickými a českými intenzifikátory v překladu často nedochází ke korespondenci“ (Knittlová 2000, 72). She also gives examples, how are intensifiers transferred into Czech:

Intenzita je v překladech do češtiny poměrně často zvyšována, a to různými způsoby:

- a) augmentativní příponou, někdy ještě v kombinaci s přidáním sémantických rysů a big car: obrovitánský vůz
- b) přidáním intenzifikátoru: once: jednou jedinkrát
- c) zesilujícím hodnotícím atributem misery: zlá bída
- d) přidáním sémantických rysů zesilujících příslušnou vlastnost lž: cold: ledový, hot: rozpálený/žhavý
- e) přirovnáním strightaway highway: dálnice rovná jako šňůra
- f) opakováním slova turn: točit a točit
- g) větší intenzitou české fráze: give something no mind: nelámat si hlavu (Knittlová 2000, 72-73).

Since swear words are defined based on their intensifying as well as emotional nature, another theoretical framework to include is translating emotions. These are expressed using different language means in Czech and in English. According to Knittlová, English, as an isolating language therefore it “expresses emotionality more analytically, lexically or by combination of emotionally neutral language units with expressions that serve predominantly as carriers of emotional charge.” (2000, 59) Czech, however, due to its synthetic nature, can express expressive tone in larger units than English and using different means. Knittlová mentions following examples:

Including the connotative feature into the evaluated item, so *goddam things* can be translated as *ty krámy*.

Using slang term that is at the same time expressive. Example: *He didn't say one goddam word about Jane* translated as *o Hance neřek ani ň*.

The expressive or evaluative elements in English are part of the syntactic structure while in Czech, they stand alone: *Like as if T. was a goddam prince or something* translated as *krucifix, jakoby kdyby byl T. kdovíjaká veličina*.

Expressivity was expressed by repeating syntactic basis: *what a goddamn fool I was* translated as *že jsem to byl ale blázen bláznivá*.

(Knittlová 2000, 61)

Naturally, the expressive elements can occur at the same position within syntactic structure with same function as well, the above is a list of other possible means of conveying expressivity.

3 METHODOLOGY: SWEAR WORDS IN THIS RESEARCH

As already mentioned above, swear words are a category to which everyone can name the prototypical members, however, its boundaries are not agreed upon neither by language users nor scholars. Many researchers whose works I have read deal with only the most common swear word. Hence, they did not need to set the boundaries of the category of swear words, they took its prototypical members. I wanted to include as many swear words as I will find in the texts under my analysis, therefore, I had to create bullet-proof criteria.

My primary referential source were dictionaries; especially the ones that include swear words and label them properly.

3.1 Dictionary Terminology

As a point of reference in Czech language I took the *Slovník nespisovné češtiny*, which unlike *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* and *Slovník spisovné češtiny* includes argot, slang and common Czech. Most importantly, its entries contain important labels like „vulgární výraz“ (abbr. vulg.), „zhrubělý výraz“ (abbr. zhrub.) and „hanlivý výraz“ (abbr. hanl.). These are the labels in Czech that I followed when deciding whether a word is a swear word or not.

I do not, however, agree with all their labels. Let me provide a couple of eye-catching examples that I found on only one page: the word *posraný* is labelled vulg., which I believe is adequate. On the other hand, the verb with the same stem *posrat* has no label and is therefore considered not vulgar. I however believe, that this word has the same strength as the one mentioned before—*posraný* is a derivate of *posrat* and derivation is considered an eligible way of creating new swear words. To add one last example from the same page, the word *porod* as in “Ježíš, to byl zase porod” (Hugo 2006, 297) is labelled “vulgární”. I consider *porod* to be less offensive than *posrat* and yet, the labels say otherwise. In order to add other points of view on this matter, I searched in the bilingual dictionary *Anglicko-český, česko-anglický slovník* by Josef Fronek, which also includes necessary linguistic labels. Finally, for those words not found in any of these

two sources, I used a third dictionary, namely *Anglicko-český, česko-anglický praktický slovník* by Lingea publishing house.

Regarding English dictionaries, I consulted the major English dictionaries, namely Oxford English Dictionary Online (accessed thanks to Palacký University subscription) at www.oed.com, publicly available Macmillan Dictionary at www.macmillandictionary.com and finally Cambridge Advanced Learner's dictionary in my possession.

However, I found that different dictionaries have different criteria for labelling a word offensive. In other words, different dictionaries grade different words as swear words and they mainly disagree on the fuzzy boundaries of the category. Let me provide a few examples in the following table:

	<i>Oxford Dictionary Online</i>	<i>English Macmillan Dictionary Online</i>	<i>Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i>
<i>FUCK (v)</i>	COARSE SLANG	OFFENSIVE	OFFENSIVE
<i>ASS (US English)</i>	---	IMPOLITE	OFFENSIVE
<i>CRAP (n)</i>	SLANG	IMPOLITE	OFFENSIVE
<i>SLUT</i>	---	OFFENSIVE	SLANG DISAPPROVING
<i>SHIT</i>	COARSE SLANG	IMPOLITE	OFFENSIVE
<i>BLOODY (GB English)</i>	COLLOQ.	IMPOLITE	VERY INFORMAL

Figure 5: Comparison of dictionaries

The table shows five swear words that illustrate the differences between used dictionaries. While Oxford English Dictionary online often does not consider certain words offensive or chooses different term, namely “coarse slang”, Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary is on the opposite side of the scale, it is the most strict of them all. Out of the five sample words, it considers four of them offensive and one disapproving slang. Macmillan Dictionary usually chose the middle path.

The last two examples show the best the fuzzy boundaries of the category. Both *shit* and *bloody* are marked “impolite” by Macmillan Dictionary, however, they differ in the labels used by OED and CALD which is what finally decided about their status in my research. I included *shit* in my research due to the label “offensive” used in CALD and “coarse slang” in OED, however the labels “very informal” and “colloq.” (abbreviation of colloquial, i.e. not formal) used for *bloody* were not strong enough to include the word.

Finally, labels that I considered to be marking swear words are primarily “vulgární” in Czech although I sometimes included labels “zhrubělý výraz” and “hanlivý výraz” as well. In English, I followed the labels “offensive” and “coarse slang” but I also included “slang disapproving”.

I did not only follow the dictionaries blindly, I included my personal judgment and when needed I decided upon the context, especially the speaker-listener relationship and the intention of the speaker, whether the word is a swear word or not. Personal judgment was also necessary with words with multiple meanings. For example *crap* is considered swear words when talking about faeces, however, it does not bear the label Offensive when referring to nonsense or items of bad quality. While I, when necessary, removed words from the research based on context, I never included words that were not properly labelled in dictionaries on the grounds of context. See the following example: according to dictionaries, *shit* is labelled Offensive in CALD and *kraviny* is labelled as hanlivý in SNČ, however, I believe the word *kraviny* is not a swear words.

(3) (a) She's not interested in judging-she's seen too much for all that **shit**. [HS]

(b) Nemá zájem někoho soudit- na takové **kraviny** už toho viděla příliš mnoho.
[HS]

I include my results including the information about dictionaries and labels in an Excel file on the CD accompanying my thesis. I do always state one dictionary in which I found certain label, even though similar label may occur in other dictionaries. I did not attempt to present a full overview of dictionary labels for each word.

3.2 Semantic Fields of Swear Words

Main categorization of this thesis will be based on the semantic fields of swear words (Ljung calls them taboo themes) which will be based on Timothy Jay's division of anger expressions from *Cursing In America: A psycholinguistic study of dirty language in the courts, in the movies, in the schoolyards and on the streets*, however taking into account other points from other authors for instance Allan and Burrige (206) and Tony McEnergy (2006) and Magnus Ljung (2011). Semantic field can be defined as a set of words grouped on the basis of the similarity in their meaning.

Jay (1992, 74-83) classifies anger expressions into groups based on their meaning that are a basis for my semantic field analysis:

Anger Expressions	Examples
Cursing or blasphemy	<i>damn you, go to hell, Jesus</i>
Reference to Subnormal Thought	<i>Dumbhead, shthead, jerk, dumb cunt</i>
Obscenity	
Reference to a Sex Organ	<i>Prick, cock, dick, cunt</i>
Reference to Deviant Sexual Act	<i>Motherfucker, bugger, go fuck yourself</i>
Being Sexually Violated	<i>I was fucked over , he was jerking us off</i>
Reference to Social-Sexual Deviation	<i>Bastard, jerk off, slut, son of a bitch, fag</i>
Racial-Ethnic Reference	<i>spic , mick, nigger, wop , dago, taco</i>
Scatology	

Reference to Body Product or Process	<i>Shithead, fart smeller, booger, asshole</i>
Items Associated with Body Products	<i>Shitbag, douchebag, shit stick</i>
References to Animals	<i>Jackass, cock, pussy, bitch</i>
Reference to Animal Feces	<i>Bullshit, horseshit</i>

Figure 6: Jay's anger expression clasification

In the following paragraphs, I describe the anger expression areas as well as discuss and develop the semantic fields for the purpose of my research.

Cursing or Blasphemy

Curse is an expletive used to invoke harm on another person and its power come mainly from religious context, although we can find examples when the harm is invoked on other levels (i.e. social). When cursing in a sacrilegious manner, the speaker accepts that harm can occur to him and he may be considered a blasphemer—a person, who violates religious doctrine and attacks on religion such as taking God's name in vain etc. The strength of blasphemous expressions is correlated to power of church and goes hand in hand with possible punishment for using it and the effort to eliminate them.

Examples: damn you, go to hell, eat shit and die, Screw the Pope! etc.

However, for the purpose of my research, I will not include the category of cursing blasphemy, reason for that being that blasphemy has lost its severity, therefore is mostly not considered swearing today. Not only in dictionaries (both English and Czech) one does not find *damn* or *sakra* or others labeled as either Offensive or vulgární, but also Ljung agrees that "Christ, etc. eventually lost their taboo charge and religious swearing is now regarded as a mild type of swearing. It may also be denied swearing status all together." (2011, 37) He goes on to say, however, that this is only in Christianity, not for example in Muslin cultures. Jay confirms this tendency by referring to Flexner's *I Hear America Talking* (1976), in which he says that "cursing and blasphemy were used to shock or express strong feelings through the Victorian era but started to give way to

obscenity and scatology during World War I. By World War II, blasphemy was replaced almost completely by obscenity.” (Jay 1992, 74) Same tendency occurred in Czech language, where according to Franče and Hassairi “older blasphemy have lost their expressive value (*krucifix, hergot, krucinál*) and for example in Czech language, it was substituted by scatological expressions.” (2009) I believe that certain communities still consider these kind of expressions very offensive, but they do not form the majority of population.

Reference to Subnormal Thought

Second category is Reference to Subnormal Thought, i.e. referring to someone’s subnormal/insufficient mental abilities or that he behaves without thinking. These can range from mildly offensive terms such as cuckoo head, stupid, dummy etc. to more offensive like shithead, having shit for brains that are marked offensive in dictionaries or they are derived from other offensive terms.

Obscenity

Obscene is a category that entails all terms referring to sex acts, sex organs and sexual deviations which are used in order to offend someone we dislike. Firstly, this can be expressed through reference to a sex organ. The power of these expression come from the strength of taboo of body parts themselves, and the swear words used refer to them as being dirty or disgusting, therefore such a term is very insulting and derogatory. They include both sexes.

For example: *prick, cock, cunt, dick* etc.

Secondly, obscenity contains expressions referring to deviant sexual act, in other words calling someone based on a taboo sex acts and thus expressing disgust.

For example: *motherfucker, cocksucker as well as go fuck yourself* etc.

Thirdly, when a speaker is treated unjustly (for example has been cheated), he may express it using a metaphor that refers to being sexually violated. As Jay says, in the American culture, “the notion of being abused socially is understood and expressed in

terms of being violated sexually.” (Jay 1992, 79) These swear words are not directed at any person, more at the nature of the event.

For example: *I was fucked over, we got screwed, they were just jerking us off* etc.

Finally, the expressions that aim at sexually driven behavior and refer to social-sexual deviation, i.e. to behavior that “normal” society considers indecent, including homosexuality, incest, promiscuity and others. This category is very gender dependent – one would not for example normally use the same terms to call a promiscuous woman and a promiscuous man (the social standards and level of acceptance vary as well in this case). Even though these words stem from social-sexual deviations, they judge person’s general wrongdoings.

For example: *whore, jerk off, dyke, fag, son of a bitch, wanker*

Racial-Ethnic Reference

As mentioned earlier, swear words from this category have recently climbed the imaginary ladder to the top of the offensive category—most people consider racial slurs the most taboo words of today. They arise from the fact, that social tension is created in cultures with majorities and minorities (almost every culture in the world) which go hand in hand with hostile expressions that point out to the differences of these groups, whether it is stereotypes, prejudices or false attributions as well as their inclusion or exclusion.

For example: *nigger, kike, wetback, spook* etc.

Racial slurs are utterly culture-specific elements. Comparing the United States with the Czech Republic, each nation is verbally channeling their anger towards different minorities. Whether it is African-Americans, Mexicans, Native Americans and Jews in the U.S. or Romani people and immigrants in the Czech Republic. Therefore I believe it would be impossible to include this category in my research. The reason being that the topic is so vast and complicated for my categorization, that it would deserve a research of its own, that would capture the issue in-depth enough. Furthermore, based on knowledge of my texts and the words they contain, the category would be a category

for itself – racial slurs would be most probably translated as racial slurs again due to their semantic nature, therefore it would not have too much of an outcome in the research the way I have it formulated. Finally, the texts that I found have little words that would actually fulfill the criteria for this category, mostly because the Czech counterpart would hardly meet the criteria for a swear words according to my research standards. To provide an example, the word *spook* in *Human Stain*, which is also a vital element of the storyline and is repeated many times, is predominantly translated as *přízrak*.

Scatology

Category of scatology focuses on anything connected to the process of elimination, i.e. the process itself, body parts and products used for this process. As Jay states, “common in primitive cultures and they also form the basis for much of children's insults.” (1993, 81) Their offensive nature stems from the fact, that the process of elimination is considered taboo and dirty in the society, both American and Czech as well as many others.

Reference to Animals

Behind swear words that refer to animals is the fact that we often attribute animal qualities to humans, whether in a good way (*he was a real beast, je to fakt kanec*) or bad way (*he is such a pig, to je ale prase*). The process goes the other way as well and we attribute human qualities to animals (the dog looks sad, *ten pejsek vypadá smutně*). Basically, they refer to animal-like behavior. As Jay says, “animal names as insults have been used for centuries. The essence of these insults is to reduce a human to an animal form as if the person in question was not a human.” (1992, 82) and on the other hand calling a dog sad elevates the animal closer to the human level.

For example: *pig, jackass, cow, bitch*

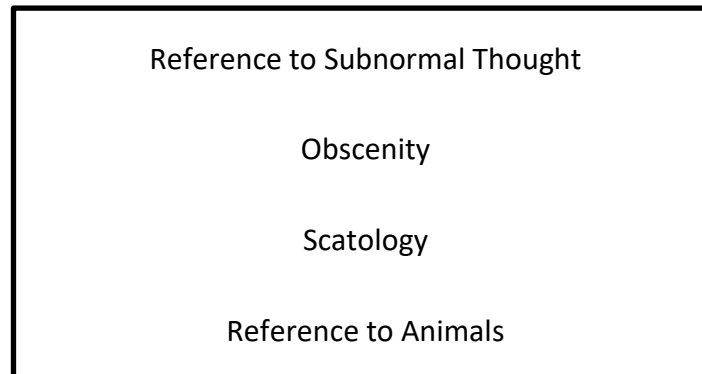
Reference to Animal feces

In this case, the name of the category is completely self-explanatory. Due to the fact that reference to animal feces are semantically very close to reference to animals

category as it still refers to an animal product, and in order to limit the number of my categories, I shall combine these two last categories into one.

For example: *bullshit*, *chickenshit*, *horseshit*.

Therefore, my classification will be as follows:



Finally, it is necessary to state that “it is not always possible to assign a single theme to individual expressions used in swearing, the reason being that one and the same expression may allude to more than one theme” (Ljung 2011, 36) Even Jay came upon this issue when he categorizes *dumb cunt* under Reference to Subnormal Thought while it contains two words from two categories. Personally, the biggest issue I encountered when categorizing my samples was to decide about words such as *cock*, *pussy*, and *kozy* which can be both part of the category Obscenity and Reference to Animals. I decided upon context (for example *pussy* as vagina – Obscene, *pussy* as a person – Reference to Animals).

It was already stated that swear words are predominantly connotative, but Ljung states that they “started out as denotative terms and developed metaphorical abusive meanings only later, in some cases much later” (Ljung 2011, 129). In other words, if someone is a *shitty* person, he is most probably not covered in feces, but the word *shitty* is used for its connotative meaning of negative judgment. As the purposes of my research is to explore semantic fields used as sources of swear words, I am assigning the

word in the categories based on their denotative meaning. By doing so, I am following the example of many other authors (see Figure 7 as an example).

Table 6.4 Distribution of English expletive epithets across taboo themes

Scatology	arsehole, asshole, fart, prat, shit, turd(6)
Sex act	fuck, fuckbrain, fucker, fuckface, fuckhead, fuckwit (6)
Sex organs	cockhead, cunt, dick, dickhead, prick, twat (6)
Sodomy	bugger, fuckass/fuckarse, sod (3)
Masturbation	jerk-off, tosser, wanker (3)
Illegitimacy	bastard, son-of-a-bitch (2)
Motherfucker	motherfucker, mother (2)
Animal	bitch (1)
Fellatio	cocksucker (1)

Figure 7: Ljung's Distribution of English expletive epithets across taboo themes

3.3 The Texts and InterCorp

From the beginning I knew I will be conducting my research by the means of InterCorp, as using it is highly effective for my purpose. Corpora gives me the advantage of search and showing results for both languages; if I decided to conduct the research the old-fashioned way with two books (one in Czech, one in English) in front of me, I would hardly be able to cover such a number of words.

In order to investigate Czech and English translations of swear words, I will use a parallel corpus, in particular InterCorp. As Johansson states, thanks to corpora “we can see more clearly what individual languages are alike, what they share and – perhaps eventually – what characterises language in general. Seeing through corpora we can see through language”. (2007, 51)

The online corpus InterCorp is freely available at <http://www.korpus.cz/intercorp>. As stated on its websites, it is a “large parallel synchronic corpus covering a number of languages,” in the year 2017 the exact number is 40. In the corpus, “each text has a Czech counterpart” (ÚČNK 2015) in other words, each text is aligned with its Czech version and that makes Czech the pivot language. “The total size of the available part of InterCorp in release 8 from May 2015 is 195 mil. words in the aligned foreign language texts in the core part and 1,229 mil. words in the collections” (ÚČNK 2015). The data

gathered in corpus may serve for “theoretical studies, lexicography, student research, foreign language learning, computer applications, translators and also for the general public.” (ÚČNK 2015)

The corpus was accessed via a standard web browser from the “integrated search interface of the Czech National Corpus KonText,” (ÚČNK 2015) which replaced the former NoSketch Engine. “It allows evaluation of simple and complex queries, displaying their results as concordance lines, computing frequency distribution, calculating association measures for collocations and further work with language data.” (ÚČNK 2015) KonText also allows to show larger piece of text, which is very useful to see the context of the words as well as to adjust any mistakes.

3.3.1 Choosing texts

The primary criteria for the choice of my texts was: it must be present in Czech and English in InterCorp. I chose two Czech texts and two English texts in order to conduct my analysis in both language directions. The texts must have been originally written in the respective languages.

My second criteria was the amount of swear words in the text – I was looking for a text that would be rich in swear words.

My third criteria was time. It is quite obvious and even confirmed by members of the academic community that “members of the lexicon of dirty words are not static but vary from decade to decade.” (Jay 1992. 14)

3.3.1.1 Two English texts

To find out which texts have the highest rate of swear words, I ran a search of the three most common English swear words (as stated in Jay’s research from 1992), namely *ass*, *fuck* and *shit* in the InterCorp. Out of these, I created frequency of Doc IDs to find out in which texts they can be found. The screenshots of the frequencies can be found in Appendix 1. The highest number of swear words is present in SUBTITLES, however, I do not aim to analyse this media. In the table, I present the texts originally written in English

sorted by the number of swear word occurrences (highest-lower) including the information about instances per million.

	<i>ASS (I. P. M.)</i>	<i>SHIT (I. P. M.)</i>	<i>FUCK (I. P. M.)</i>
1.	Smith-o_krase (185,53)	Smith-o_krase (275,79)	Roth-lidska_skrna (697,86)
2.	Grisham-klient (199,23)	Roth-lidska_skrna (222,33)	Smith-o_krase (340,98)
3.	Brown-chut_lasky (161,38)	Brown-chut_lasky (245,57)	Irving-rok_vdovou (230,22)
4.	Palahniuk_zalknuti (230,57)	Palahniuk_zalknuti (368,91)	Angellova-dvoji_zivot (351087)
5.	Grisham_advokat_chudy (140,55)	Fieldingova-panenka (227,65)	Franzen-rozhreseni (170,11)

Figure 8: Frequencies of most common English swear words in English texts

From the table it is very obvious that two text have the prime: *On Beauty* by Zadie Smith and *Human Stain* by Phillip Roth. The corpus provides more information and specifics about the texts:

doc.id	smith-o_krase	doc.lang	en
doc.version	00	doc.wordcount	159179
div.author	Smith, Zadie	div.title	On Beauty
div.publisher	Penguin	div.pubplace	London
div.pubyear	2006	div.pubmonth	
div.origyear		div.isbn	
div.txttype	fiction	div.comment	
div.original	Yes	div.srclang	en
div.translator		div.transsex	
div.authsex	F	div.transcomment	
div.collectionauthor		div.collectiontitle	
div.volume		div.pages	
div.id	en:smith-o_krase:0	div.group	Core
div.wordcount	159179	p.id	en:smith-o_krase:0:2249
s.id	en:smith-o_krase:0:2249:2		

Figure 9: Detail: Zadie Smith on Beauty

doc.id	Roth-lidska_skrvna	doc.lang	en
doc.version	00	doc.wordcount	139711
div.author	Roth, Philip	div.title	The Human Stain
div.publisher	Vintage	div.pubplace	London
div.pubyear	2000	div.pubmonth	
div.origyear		div.isbn	0-09-942213-1
div.txttype	fiction	div.comment	
div.original	Yes	div.srclang	en
div.translator		div.transsex	
div.authsex	M	div.transcomment	
div.collectionauthor		div.collectiontitle	
div.volume		div.pages	
div.id	en:Roth-lidska_skrvna:0	div.group	Core
div.wordcount	139711	p.id	en:Roth-lidska_skrvna:0:181
s.id	en:Roth-lidska_skrvna:0:181:144		

Figure 10: Detail: Phillip Roth: Human Stain

Both texts were written after the year 2000 therefore I believe they also satisfy the criteria of time. That is still true taking into account the fact that *On Beauty* was originally published in 2005.

3.3.1.2 Two Czech texts

I followed the same methodology when choosing the Czech texts with the difference that there is no research on frequency of swear words in Czech therefore first, I had to find them. I ran 10 swear words out of my head through the Czech-English InterCorp and the most common ones were: *kurva*, *prdel* and *hovno*. With these, I repeated the same process.

WORD	HITS IN INTERCORP
<i>KURVA</i>	20 556
<i>PRDEL</i>	15 825
<i>HOVNO</i>	4 490
<i>SRÁT</i>	3 191
<i>ZMRD</i>	1 860
<i>ŠUKAT</i>	1 341
<i>ČURÁK</i>	1 067
<i>PÍČA</i>	892
<i>KOKOT</i>	575
<i>JEBAT</i>	272

Figure 11: Finding the most common swear words in Czech-English InterCorp

Hereby, I present the texts originally written in Czech sorted by the number of swear word occurrences (highest-lower) including the information about instances per million.

Again, I did not include subtitles. The screenshots of the frequencies can be found in Appendix 1.

	<i>KURVA (I. P. M.)</i>	<i>PRDEL (I. P. M.)</i>	<i>HOVNO (I. P. M.)</i>
1.	Topol-Sestra (153,1)	Topol-Sestra (74,48)	Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko (298,88)
2.	Kohout-Hvezdna_hodina (154,4)	Skvorecky-PribehIng_1 (100,83)	Hasek-OsudyDobrehoVvSV (40,43)
3.	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2 (53,12)	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi (50,15)	Topol-Sestra (37,24)
4.	Topol-Chladnou_zemi (128,58)	Klima-laska_a_smeti (76,42)	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi (33,43)
5.	Kohout-snezim 28,96)	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2 (37,94)	Skvorecky-PribehIng_1 (50,42)

Figure 12: Frequencies of most common Czech swear words in Czech texts

From the results, it is quite obvious that Topol's *Sestra* is the favourite. The other results are not that clear therefore I will include the time-criteria as well.

<i>TEXT</i>	<i>ORIGINAL RELEASE DATE</i>	<i>CORPUS VERSION</i>
<i>TOPOL-SESTRA</i>	1994	1994
<i>KOHOUT-HVEZDNA_HODINA</i>	1995	1995
<i>SKVORECKY-PRIBEHING_1</i>	1977	1992
<i>SKVORECKY-PRIBEHING_2</i>	1992	1992

HASEK- OSUDYDOBREHOVVS	19223	1996
KUNDERA- NESNESIT_LEHKO	1984	1985

Figure 13: Release dates of Czech texts

None of the texts were released in this century as in the English texts search, therefore I shall move the limit to the 90s. Upon a careful consideration, I decided to include Škvorecký's *Příběhy inženýra lidských duší* based on two facts: it occurs at the second and fifth position in the frequency search and the corpus version meets the criteria of being issued after 1990.

3.3.2 Creating subcorpus

The subcorporas were created as follows. First, I chose the source corpus based on source language of the book, either InterCorp v8 – English or InterCorp v8 - Czech. I named my corpora according to the author and aligned the other language of the two. Finally, I chose author and title of the corpora as shown in the Figure 14.

The screenshot shows two panels for subcorpus creation. The left panel is titled 'div.author' and contains a checked checkbox next to 'Roth, Philip' and a text input field with 'roth'. The right panel is titled 'div.title' and contains a checked checkbox next to 'The Human Stain' with an information icon, and a text input field with 'human sta'.

Figure 14: Subcorpus creation.

I ended up with four subcorpus as illustrated in Figure 15.

	Name ▲	Size (tokens)	Created	Back-up
<input type="checkbox"/>	intercorp_v8_cs:Škvorecký	1,029,861	06/22/2017, 6:38 PM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	intercorp_v8_cs:Topol	241,672	06/21/2017, 7:10 PM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	intercorp_v8_en:Roth	161,924	03/28/2017, 2:29 PM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	intercorp_v8_en:Smith	199,426	06/21/2017, 7:08 PM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Figure 15: Created Subcorpus

3.3.3 Collecting and categorizing my samples

I collected my samples (words to be analysed) by reading the chosen texts in their original language and writing down the ones I believed were swear words. These I ran through sub-corpus that I created.

Most of my searches were mostly conducted as Lemma, which shows the entire paradigm/lexeme. However, I often used “Word Part” query type to ensure that I cover all the occurrences, especially in Czech due to the synthetic nature of Czech language. This was particularly useful when looking for words with various prefixes such as *srát*, *vysrat*, *posrat*, *přesrat*, *zesrat* etc. or English words that have possible derivate forms such as *fuck*, *fucked-up*, *fucker* etc.

Figure 16: Query

I collected words and phrases and their translations within their context. These translations were either direct counterparts of the source word, or a swear word within the context of the same sentence, see (4). I considered the latter due to the possible

grammatical shift in translation that was either necessary or chosen by the translator due to the different nature of the languages that was discussed in detail in part 2.2.8.

(4) (a) Better not come **fucking** near him. [HS]

(b) Ať se k němu radši nepřibližují, **doprdele**. [HS]

The following table states how many samples I collected in each text.

Text	Number of samples
Human Stain	268
On Beauty	241
Sestra	255
Příběh inženýra lidského štěstí	124

Figure 17: Original number of samples

Afterwards, each of the words and its translation had to be labelled in a dictionary according to criteria discussed earlier. If the translation of the word was not considered offensive, the word was not included in the main body of my research. Example of the data categorization can be seen in Figure 18.

fuck (sb)	v	Herb Keble was jus	Korpus jít se bodnout	phr	Herb Keble byl prostě další č	Macmillan - Offensive	Není
fuck (sb)	v	Coleman nodded a	Korpus políbit si prdel	phr	Coleman přikývl a usmál se	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fuck (sb)	v	His decision to invit	Korpus políbit si prdel	phr	Když se rozhodl pozvat ji do	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fuck (sb)	v	Should have fucked	Korpus přefíknout	v	Měl ji přefíknout, to by jí tra	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fuck (sb)	v	No, 'I told her, 'I'	Korpus šoustat	v	Omyl, 'povídám jí, 'budu t	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fuck over	v	These are people w	Korpus vyjebat	v	Tyto lidi ovládá základní živa	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fuck sth. Up	v	Do n't fuck it up by	Korpus neposrat	v	Neposer to tím, že budeš př	Macmillan - Offensive	L - vulg.
fuck that shit	phr	Fuck that shit, ma	Korpus vysrat se	phr	Na to se může jeden vysrat,	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fuck up	v	Do n't fuck it up by	Korpus podělat	v	Nepodělej to, když si budeš	Macmillan - Offensive	Není
fuck-all	n	But they got fuck-č	Korpus nasrat	v	Ale jemu tak akorát nasrat.	Macmillan - Offensive	SNČ - vulg.
fucked up	adj	All my feelings are č	Korpus pošahaný	adj	Všechny moje pocity jsou ně	Macmillan - Offensive	Není
fucked up	v	he long ago learn	Korpus pošahaný	adj	Chet mlčí, protože se už dáv	Macmillan - Offensive	Není

Figure 18: Categorizin swear words according to dictionaries

Finally, the words that fulfil the category of swear words as defined for my research, were labelled with one of the semantic fields that I defined in 3.2. The final table looks as illustrated in Figure 19.

62	jít do prdele		Cholera ! zařval js	Korpus	jít do prdele	phr	Cholera ! I roared bo	SNČ - vulg.	Not Offens	Not Offensive	Not Offensive
63	jít do prdele	phrase	Di do prdele, ty b	Korpus	fuck off	phr	An she goes , Fuck o	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Scatology	Obscenity
64	klátit	v	The preacher ran		18 screw	v	The preacher ran ar	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Obscenity	Obscenity
65	kouření	v	Malebný a roman	Korpus	blowing	v	The romantic, pictur	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Obscenity	Obscenity
66	kozy	n	a to si piš, že za tč	Korpus	tits	n	an you bet you got r	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Obscenity	Obscenity
67	kozy	n	Dyt' nemáš kozy .	Korpus	tits	n	Cambridge - offensiv	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Obscenity	Obscenity
68	kozy	n	Co to kecáš , dyt' s	Korpus	tits	n	Do n't gimme that cre	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Obscenity	Obscenity
69	kozy	n	Kozy nejsou všech	Korpus	tits	n	Tits are n't everything	SNČ - vulg.	Cambridge	Obscenity	Obscenity
70	kráva	n	no a já na ní a vor	Korpus	cow	n	yeah an I'm on her c	SNČ - hanl.	Cambridge	Reference to ani	Reference to An

Figure 179: Illustration of my analysed samples

I finally came to have 509 original English samples and 379 original Czech samples.

The data gathered in the research is available on the accompanying disk and it is free to use for any future research under the condition of acknowledgement of my authorship.

4 SWEAR WORD ANALYSIS

In the following section I will conduct qualitative-quantitative analysis of my samples with the focus on categories the swear words occur in and the shifts that happen during the process of translation.

The translations will be analysed on three levels:

In first second part, I shall compare the number of swear words in ST that were translated as swear words (or not) in the TT. I will provide examples with commentary.

In the second part, an analysis of semantic fields in ST and TT will be provided with a commentary on their members.

Finally, the main third part will focus on shifts that happened during the process of translation.

4.1 Philip Roth: Human Stain

The writer Nathan Zuckerman is considered Philip Roth's alter-ego and it was him who stumbled upon the story of Coleman Silk, an aging Classics professor in a small town in New England who is forced to retire due to a misunderstanding – using the word *spook* for an unknown student is taken as a racial slur which fills him with frustration. The whole story oscillates around racial themes and reveals Silk's ethnic and cultural heritage and thus revealing the lie his whole life have been wrapped in – he is an Afro-American who pretends to be white Jew.

Coleman Silk grew up in East Orange, New Jersey, a son to a nurse and educated father, who was however forced to work as a steward for the railroad. Zuckerman presents Coleman as an intelligent and strong man but also shows his private side when he Coleman reveals him his secret affair with Faunia Farley, a woman half his age who cleans at the college.

Translation: Jiří Hanuš

First, I shall discuss the general level of translating swear words as swear words, in other words, how many of the swear words were translated again as swear words and how many were transformed into other means of expressivity or even omitted.

In the case of *Human Stain*, out of 268 occurrences of swear words, 195 were translated as swear words. See Chart 1.

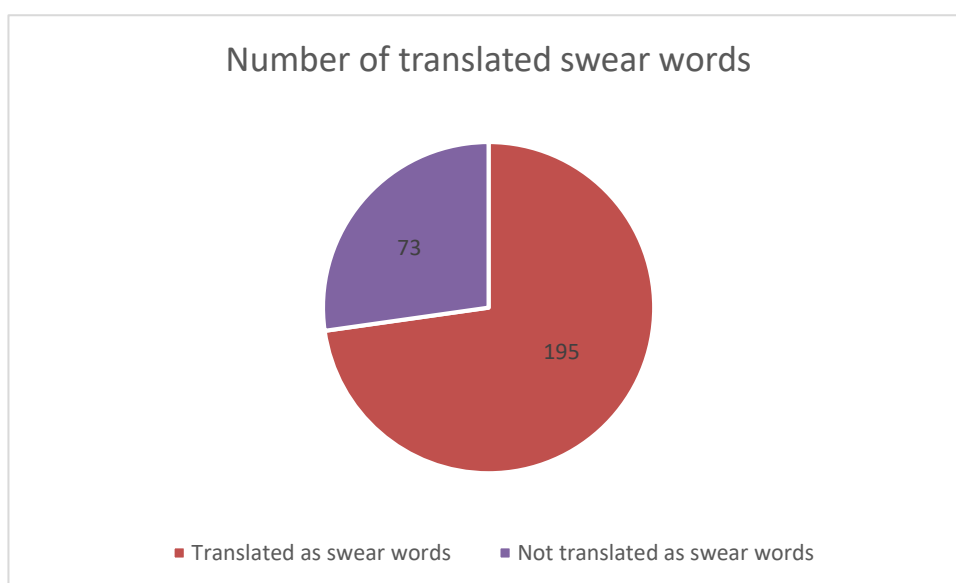


Chart 1: *Human Stain* – Number of translated swear words

In many cases, the expressivity and offensiveness, that was provided by the swear word in the ST was not translated into TT. See the examples in (5).

- (5) (a) **Fuck** all that. [HS] (b) Na to se vykašli. [HS]
- (c) Son of a **fuckin' bitch**. [HS] (d) Sakrafix. [HS]
- (e) Sweeping up people's **shit** at the post office because they can't bother to use the **fucking** garbage can? [HS]
- (f) A zametám svinčik po lidech na poště, protože házet odpadky do koše je pro ně moc velká dřina? [HS]

These are prototypical examples to serve as an illustration. In the cases in (5), the offensive element was completely omitted and the translation became a sanitized

version. In (5e) and (5f), the translator used the words *svinčik* and *dřina* in which he attempted to recreate the slang language by using slang terms, however, in my opinion, he did not accomplish the full effect of the swear word. Almost ¼ of words was not included in my research due to the fact that the samples were not translated again as swear words.

Based on this type of analysis it may seem that generally, the translation has lost its offensiveness and expressivity. However, this is only one aspect of the expressiveness analysis as it only follows the direction of swear words in ST translated to TT, not the ones that were not swear words in ST but were translated as ones in TT, therefore it does not reflect the full picture of expressiveness of the ST and TT.

Second part of analysis focuses on the distribution of swear words among the semantic fields.

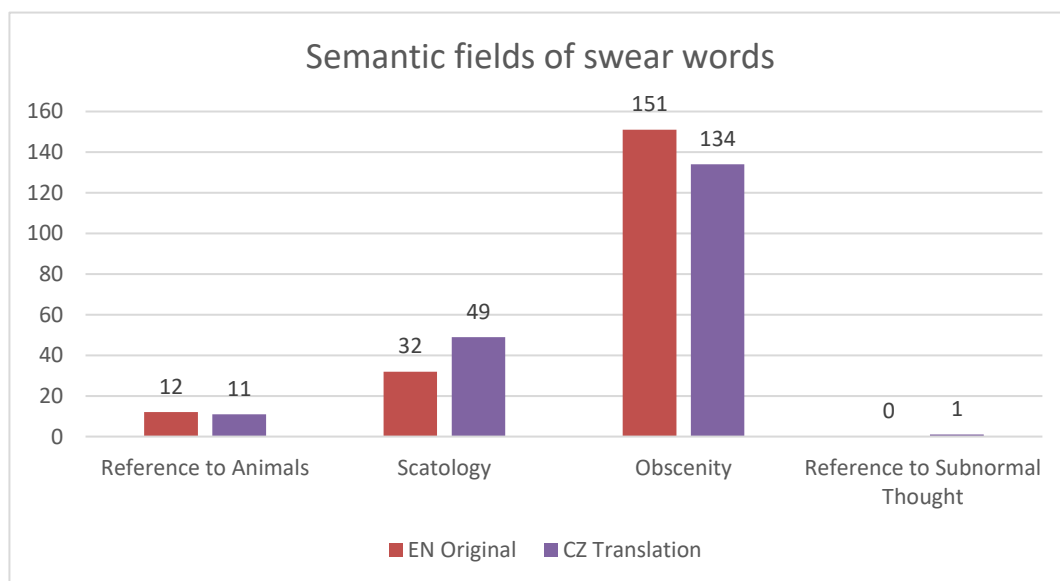


Chart 2: Human Stain – Semantic fields of swear words

Here we see that the two prominent categories both in the ST and the translation are Obscenity and Scatology, which is not surprising based on previous research. From the graph we see, that the semantic field of Obscenity is far more prominent than Scatology in English—almost five times; however, in the Czech translation the difference slightly levels out and the category of Obscenity is only less than three more times numerous than Scatology. This tendency agrees with the inclination of Czech swearing to be

Scatological. Both categories Reference to Animals and Reference to Subnormal Thought are minor.

The category of Obscenity gained its size mostly thanks to the word *fuck* and its derivatives which counts 119 samples in the EN original. The Czech translation includes more variability; there is no word as universal as *fuck*.

The following table presents shifts in semantic fields in translation. Most of the words remained after translation in the categories of their origin, see Chart 3.

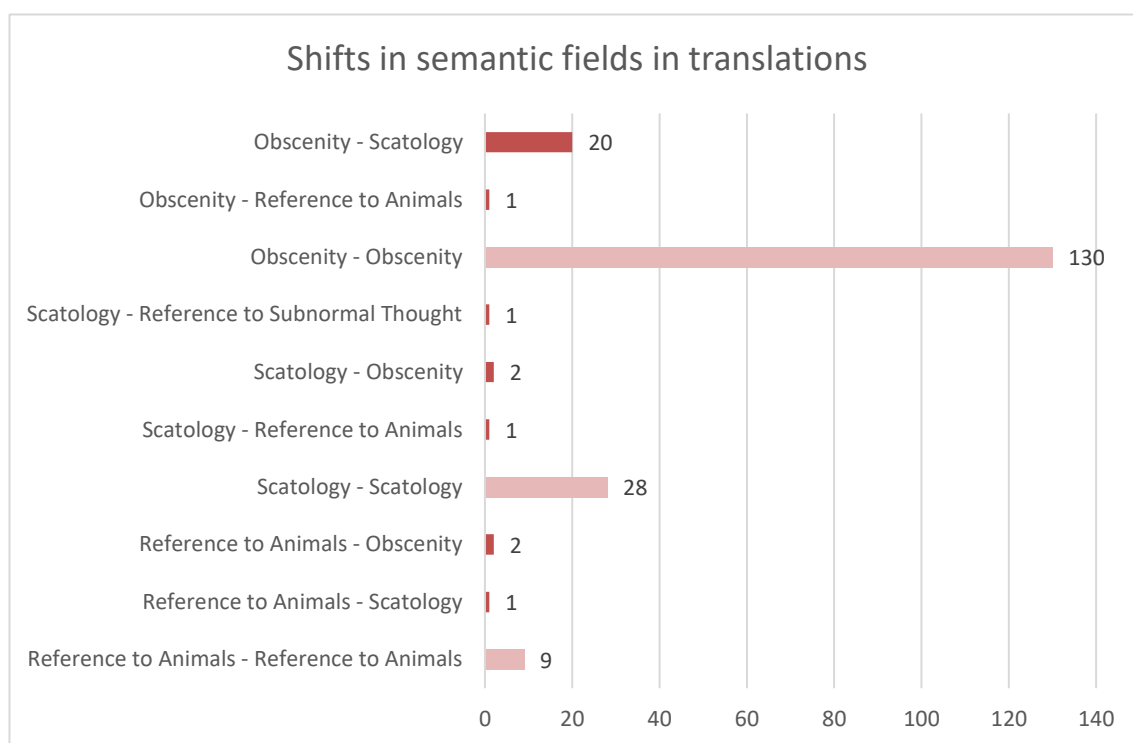


Chart 3: *Human Stain* – Shifts in semantic fields in translations

To start with the category of obscenity, I shall provide prototypical examples:

- (6) (a) He **fucks** her, Nathan . [HS] (b) **Ošukal** ji, Nathane. [HS]
 (c) No **fuckin'** way. [HS] (d) Ani náhodou, **kurva**. [HS]
 (e) She was a common **whore** [HS] (f) Byla to obyčejná **kurva**. [HS]
 (e) He should have cut their **fucking** heads off. [HS]

(f) Měl jim uříznout ty jejich **zkurvený** hlavy. [HS]

In (6a) and (6b), the word *fuck* is translated based on its denotative meaning, so is *whore* in example (6c) to (6d). However, in (6c) the word *fuckin'* serves purely as an intensifying offensive element used connotatively and similarly the word *kurva* in Czech is used for its connotative function as well. It was transposed as an adjunct, because Czech grammar would not allow similar position for an intensifier. Finally, example (6e) and (6f) is the most common of translations of the intensifier *fuckin'*, here at the similar position in ST and TT.

The largest shift occurs from Obscenity to Scatology. See the following examples:

- (7) (a) And they didn't do **dick**. [HS] (b) A nepředvedli ani **hovno**. [HS]
(c) **Fuck** the show. [HS] (d) Polibte mi **prdel**. [HS]
(e) **Fuckin'** put it down!" [HS] (f) Polož to, **doprdele!**" [HS]
(g) I hate the **fuckin'** bastards... [HS]
(h) Já ty **zasraný** parchanty nenávidím... [HS]

In all these examples of shifts, we see that the English obscene swear words were used in their non-literal meaning. For instance, in (7c) and (7d) the literal meaning varies completely while maintaining the offensiveness of the sentence.

In the shift from Obscenity to Reference to Animals shown in (8), the translator chose the negative female qualities represented in *whore* and used the term *svině* in Czech, however, this does not reflect the denotative part where the ex-husband actually thought she is a *whore* since she was having relations with another man.

- (8) (a) Twice he popped up out of nowhere-once in the parking lot of a supermarket, once when she was at a gas station-and screamed out of the pickup window,"
Murdering **whore!** [HS]

(b) Dvakrát se vynořil úplně zčista jasna - jednou na parkovišti u samoobsluhy, jednou u benzinky - a ječel z okénka pikapu:" Ty **svině** vrahounská! [HS]

The moves from Scatology to Obscenity in (9a) and (9b) is again due to the connotative nature of the word asshole and translating it as a body part from a different category with similar negative implications. The example in (9c) and (9d) reflects the different tendency of cultures in using one-word exclamations.

(9) (a) That's how **assholes** cause the death of your two best buddies! [HS]

(b) Takhle mu ti **čuráci** zabijou dva nejlepší kamarády. [HS]

(c) **Shit**. [HS]

(d) **Kurva**. [HS]

Twenty-eight samples remained in the category of Scatology. Many of these remain in the same category due to the denotative nature of the words as in (10a) and (10b). In the case of (10c) and (10d), the word *shit* is used in its connotative use (not good) and at the same time its Czech equivalent shares this connotation.

(10) (a) But what he didn't see was that he had to fuck her in the **ass**. [HS]

(b) Nepochopil ovšem, že ji musí šoustat do **prdele**. [HS]

(c) But I read it and it's **shit** and I'm over it. [HS]

(d) Ale přečetl jsem to, je to **sračka** a tím je to pro mě vyřízené. [HS]

The shift Reference to Animals to Scatology occurs naturally since the category includes Reference to Animal feces:

(11) (a) No **bullshit**. [HS]

(b) Žádný **sračky**. [HS]

Finally, the category of Reference to Animals. All the instances in the ST include the word *bitch* translated as either *svině* or *kráva*. These build on comparing negative female qualities to animals that work similarly in both languages except with different animals. See (12).

(12) (a) The **bitch**. [HS] (b) **Svině**. [HS]

(c) But do they put away the stupid **bitch**? [HS]

(d) A koho zavřou, tu **krávu** blbou? [HS]

4.2 Zadie Smith: *On Beauty*

On Beauty follows the Belsey family, a mixed-race British/American family living in the United States with their three children: Jerome, Zora, who both pursue their academic education and Levi, who is more interested in the street life and nationalistic Haitian culture. The father of the family is a politically liberal professor of art history at a college. His wife, Kiki, an African-American woman, works at a hospital.

The story intertwines around personal relationships within the family as well as with other people, in large part with Kipps' family. Especially the men of the families largely disagree with each other in terms of liberal attitudes – Monty Kipps is Howard Belsey's intellectual arch-enemy. The family itself also drifts apart due to affairs and disagreements and infidelity only to eventually start finding their way back.

The themes range from racial identity and social class affiliation, the clash between academic vs the non-academic world.

Translator: Petra Diestlerová

In *On Beauty*, the rate of swear words in ST not translated as swear words in TT is larger than in *Human Stain*. Here, out of 241 swear words, only 92 were translated as such.

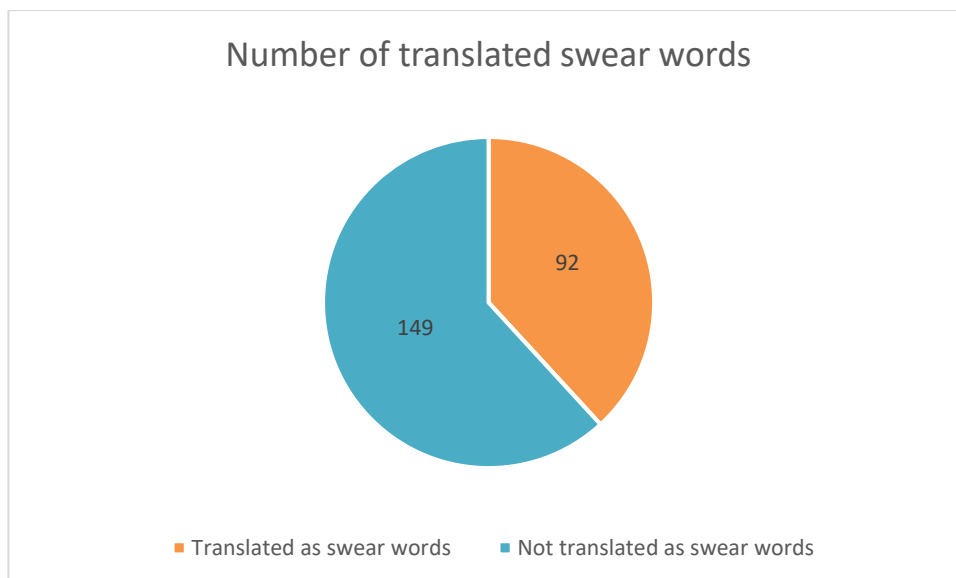


Chart 4: On Beauty – Number of translated swear words

In majority of the cases, the profane element is omitted. In (13a) and (13b) we see examples in which the swear word *dick* was replaced by *penis* which is an official term for male genitalia unlike the first mentioned. Examples (13c) and (13d) show us the tendency to use other means of expressivity and utterance strength, in particular the word *padej*.

(13) (a) 'If it doesn't have a **dick**, it's basically deficient.' [OB]

(b) "Když to nemá **penis**, je to ve svý podstatě nedostatečný." [OB]

(c) 'Get your **ass** in there!' [OB]

(d) „Okamžitě padej dovnitř!" [OB]

Even though I mentioned in the previous analysis that this chart is not able to assess the level of original expressiveness transferred into the translation, I believe that since over a half of the swear words do not have their offensive counterpart and many of them are not compensated using other means, high tendency exists, that the TT would be less expressive than the ST.

Considering semantic fields the swear words occur in, again, the two major categories are the most prominent ones. Even more significantly, we can observe the category of Scatology grow significantly in the TT confirming the tendency of Czech to prefer swear

words originating from that category. See Chart 5 and then following paragraphs to see the details of the shifts.

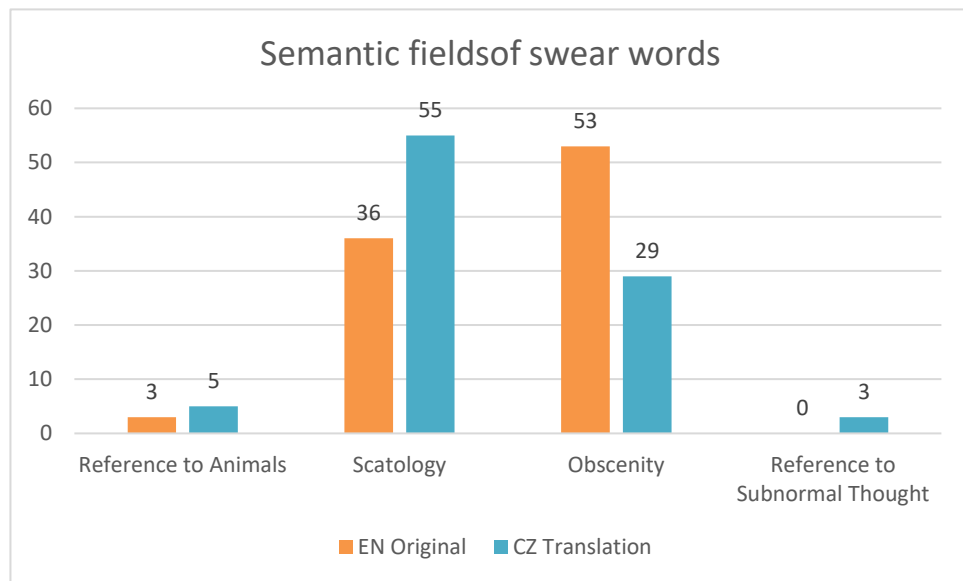


Chart 5: On Beauty – Semantic fields of swear words

The most prominent shift between semantic fields occurred from the area of Obscenity to Scatology, see Chart 6.

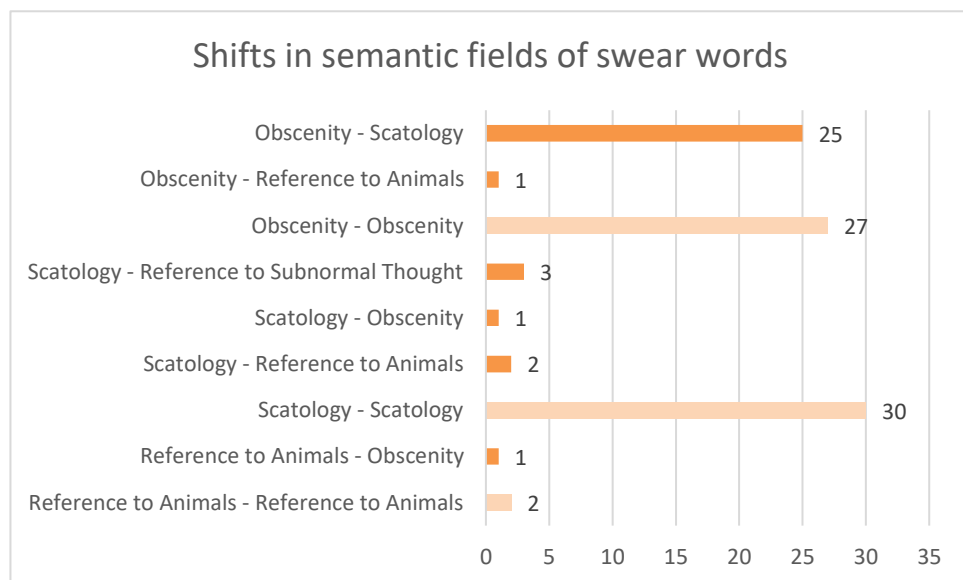


Chart 6: On Beauty – shifts in semantic fields of swear words

All cases of that shift included the word *fuck* translated as various relevant faecal terms. In (14a) and (14b), we see a typical example of an exclamation. (14c) and (14d) illustrate

a shift in a translation of a phrase. Finally, (4e) and (14f) show two intensifiers that shifted semantically while maintaining their function. All the translations are based on connotative meaning and function, they are not literal.

(14) (a) '**Fuck,**' he said frankly, wiping his tears with his shirtsleeve and laughing grimly. [OB]

(b) "Do **hajzlu,**" řekl upřímně, otřel si slzy rukávem košile a ponuře se zasmál. [OB]

(c) 'Aw, **fuck you,** man.' [OB] (d) "Ále, **polib mi prdel.**" [OB]

(e) I don't see any black folk unless they be cleaning under my feet in the fucking café in your **fucking** college. [OB]

(f) Nepotkávám černochoy, teda když mi zrovna nevytírají pod nohama v zasraný menze tý tvój **zasraný** školy. [OB]

The shift from Obscenity to Reference to Animals occurred in the following example, showing the small boundary between these two categories.

(15) (a) There's your subtle, wonderful, intricate brain and all the time it turns out your **dick** is a vulgar, stupid little prick. [OB]

(b) Tady je tvůj vznešený, nádherný, složitý mozek, a najednou se ukáže, že tvůj **ocas** je vulgární, trapnej malej čurák. [OB]

Words from the area of Obscenity that remained in the area were again mostly translated for their literal meaning as illustrated in (16a) and (16b) but a few examples of non-literal meaning occurred as well as in (16c) and (16d).

(16) (a) 'Oh, I love it when you **fuck** me!' [OB]

(b) "Ach , já tak miluju, když mě **šukáš!**" [OB]

(c) '**Fuck you!**' screamed Victoria and began to cry. [OB]

(d) “**Ty píčo!**” zaječela Victoria a dala se do pláče. [OB]

Many of the examples were again on the borderline of the category of Obscenity and Reference to Animals.

(17) (a) Howard, you should talk to your **cock** so the two of you are singing from the same hymn book. [OB]

(b) Howarde, měl by sis promluvit se svým **ptákem**, abyste oba zpívali ze stejného zpěvníku. [OB]

Concerning the shift from Scatology to Reference to Subnormal thought and Reference to Animals. Example (18) illustrates different means of expressing negative personal traits. In (18a) and (18c), English expresses them via scatological terms. In Czech, (18b) contains a term based on mental illness with an evaluative term *trapnej* and (18b) shows personal trait using a term also used for an animal.

(18) (a) ‘An **asshole** like that?’ [OB] (b) “Takovej trapnej **kretén?**” [OB]

(c) Carlos is a fucking **asshole**. [OB] (d) Carlos je takový **hovado**. [OB]

Only one phrase occurred with shift from Scatology to Obscenity. This shift happened due to the common usage of synecdoche: *ass* here refers to a whole person and the idiomatic expression means to have sexual intercourse. In Czech, a verb with a literal meaning is used instead.

(19) (a) At least he got some chance of **getting’ some ass** if he’s actually married ...

(b) Jako ženatej aspoň bude mít nějakou šanci si **zašukat** ...

Largest number of words stayed within the category of Scatology. These included both literal as in (18a) and (18b) and non-literal usage of the word as in (18c) and (18d).

(20) (a) Levi, honey, please pull those up just a little ... they’re so low ... they’re not even covering your **ass**.

(b) Levi, broučku, povytáhni si je trochu, prosím ... Máš je tak nízko, že ti z nich leze **prdel**.

(c) Now get your black **ass** back in there and do some work. [OB]

(d) Takže hni tou černou **prdelí** zpátky dovnitř a zkus pro změnu udělat nějakou práci. [OB]

Finally, a word belonging to Reference to Animals category – *bitch* – was translated into two categories, based on what negative human qualities the translator found the most relevant.

(21) (a) I mean, at least it's not "**bitch**" this and "nigger" that. [OB]

(b) "Aspoň že to není samá '**děvka**' a 'negr', víte?" [OB]

(c) 'You married a big black **bitch** and you run off with a fucking leprechaun?' [OB]

(d) "Oženil ses s tlustou černou **krávou**, a pak jí zahneš se zasraným skřítkem?" [OB]

4.3 Jáchym Topol: Sestra

The book taking place at the end of the 80s and beginning of 90s in the Czechoslovakia, the period before the Velvet Revolution and its aftermath. It follows the story of its main protagonist, Potok and people surrounding him. Potok is partly businessman and partly a gang member and he takes the reader on a ride of events on the verge of hallucinations that lead through all levels of society.

Even the language Topol uses is unconventional. As Bermel states, Potok's "exuberance extends to language; as the translator, Alex Zucker, points out, it is full of unorthodox spellings, inventive word forms and slang of the sort that rarely appears in written Czech." (Bermel, 2001).

Translation: Alex Zucker

Concerning the number of translated swear words, the translation of *Sestra* has the highest number of words translated as swear words according to my methodology. Only a little bit over ¼ of the swear words was not translated directly as swear words.

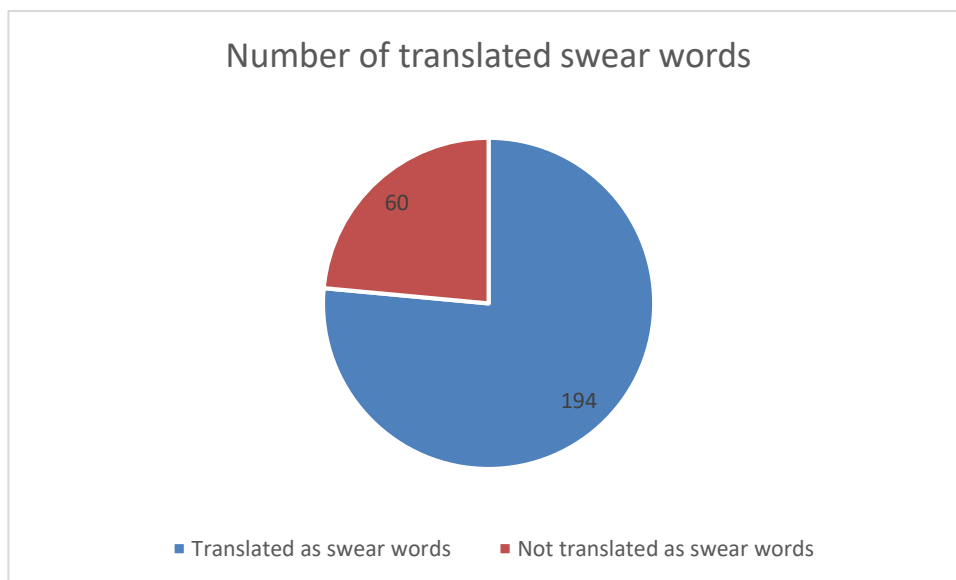


Chart 7: *Sestra* - Number of translated swear words

As visible in (22), neither *buzerant* nor *kretén* are in the TT substituted by a word or means with similar expressive properties.

(22) (a) Eště ne, Šéfe ... žížalou? ... botníkem? ... či snad ... bohemistkou, nebo **buzerantem**? [SE]

(b) Not yet, Boss ... an earthworm? ... a shoe rack? ... or maybe ... a Czech studies major, a queer? [SE]

(c) Tys ho měl taky, toho **kreténa**? [SE] (d) You had that moron too? [SE]

As for semantic fields of swear words, Scatology and mainly Obscenity are again the predominant categories. As expected, category of Obscenity rose in the translation and Scatology decreased. In addition, we see interesting changes in categories Reference to Animals and Reference to Subnormal Thought within the context of translation. The nature of these changes will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

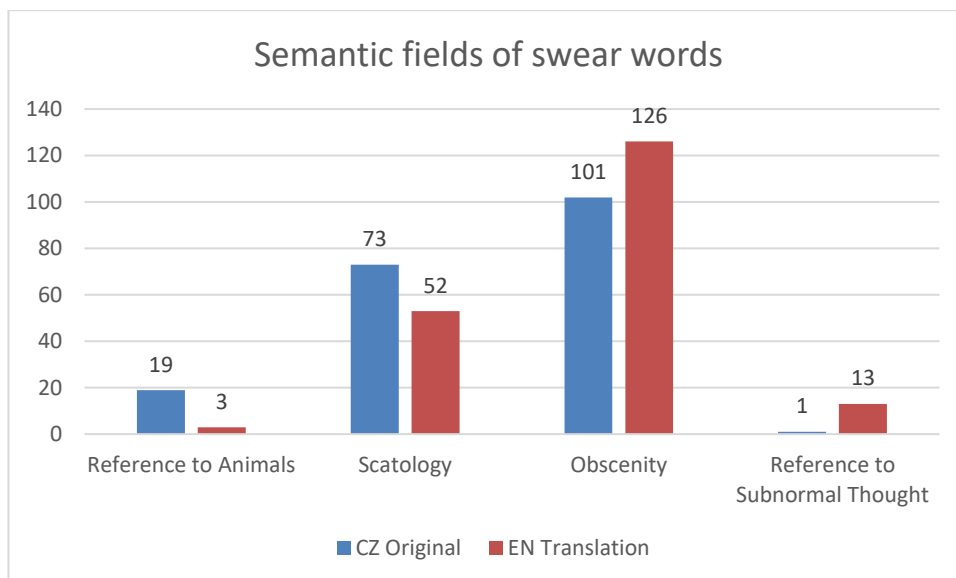


Chart 8: Sestra – Semantic fields of swear words

As in the previous texts, the majority of words stay in the same category both in ST and TT.

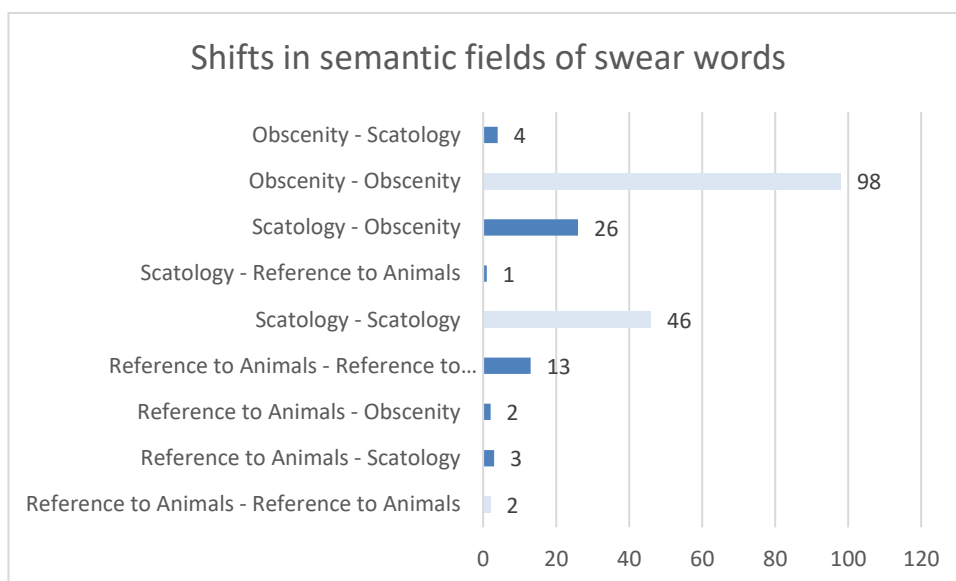


Chart 9: Sestra – Shifts in semantic fields of swear words

First shift in the table is Obscenity – Scatology. All the examples are cases of expletives as illustrated in (23).

(23) (a) Dyť tady neni cejtít nic, natož nákej blaženej vzdech česneku, **kurva!** [SE]

(b) This place doesn't smell like anything, let alone the appetizing aroma of garlic, **shit!**
[SE]

Following category is Obscenity. Major category both in TT and ST. Majority of these words are directed towards females and hinting at their quality of prostitutes as in (24a) and (24b), but other examples can be found as well. Almost all the examples have predominant denotative meaning, therefore are translated literally. Again, in the category of obscenity, many examples occur that could fall under two categories – namely Reference to Animals as well. For example (24c) and (24d).

(24) (a) Dva černý ptáci s peřím olízaným **děvkou** syčeli sliny **děvky** kapaly na tvrdou zem strhl jsem drát a zabil je drápy a zobáky a drát se staly náhrdelníkem. [SE]

(b) Two black birds with **whore**-licked feathers hissing **whore** spit dripping on the hard earth I tore off the wire and killed them claws and beaks and wire became a necklace. [SE]

(c) Tý kouká **pták** z každého voka ... a přitom, dyť nic nemá! [SE]

(d) Chick's got **cocks** comin out her eyeballs ... an what's she got? [SE]

Largest shift occur from category of Scatology into category of Obscenity. Whether an exclamation or intensifier, majority of the words and phrases had non-literal meaning.

(25) (a) Ach, Andy, **do prdele**. (b) Ach, Andy, **fuck it all**.

(c) Stalingové ne, ti měli **zasranou** ideologii, poslání.

(d) But not the stalingos, those guys had a **fuckin** ideology, a mission.

The shift from Scatology into the category of Reference to Animals happened due to possible double classification of *bullshit*. Czech does not have swear words that would fall into these two categories at the same time.

(26) (a) ... ale **hovno** ... [SE] (b) ... **bullshit** ... [SE]

Second largest group is words that remain in the Scatology category. Again, words with both predominant connotative and denotative meanings occur. In (27c) and (27d), we see interesting shift within the category. While in Czech the verb meaning to annoy – *srát* - originate from what we could call faecal part of the category, the English one *piss off* from urinary.

(27) (a) Vskočil jsem na kolo ... **do prdele**, neměl jsem boty ani ponožky ... ale už jsem jel ... zastavoval jsem chodce, zírali ... [SE]

(b) Jumped on my bike ... **shit**, no socks or shoes ... but off I rode ... pedestrians stopped and stared ... [SE]

(c) Už mě to tam **sralo**, odstrčil jsem ho, ale celkem jemně ... [SE]

(d) He was startin to **piss me off**, I shoved him away, pretty gently though ... [SE]

Shift in categories between Reference to Animals and Scatology happened in (28a) and (28b). The phrase in TT reflects the connotative meaning of the swear word in ST, mainly the negative human quality of *svině*. Similar tendency occurs in (28c) and (28d), where the shifts is towards Obscenity.

(28) (a) Mrkvica je ta **svině**, která mě nepustila za mou první ženou, řekl jsem. [SE]

(b) He's that **piece a shit** that wouldn't let my first wife see me, I said. [SE]

(c) Přehradu nepostavili, asi se chtěli těch lidí akorát zbavit, **svině**. [SE]

(d) Never even built the thing, probly wanted to get rid a those people is all, **bastards**. [SE]

The remaining two swear words are from the category of Reference to Animals and they stay there. They both occur in one sentence and they are literal translations thanks to the fact that their connotation is similar in both languages.

(29) (a) no a já na ní a vona se uprdne, tak ji říkám, **krávo**, sereš, nebo mrdáš, co **čubo** [SE]

(b) yeah an I'm on her an she farts so I says, hey **cow**, are you shittin or fuckin, **bitch** [SE]

4.4 Josef Škvorecký: Příběh inženýra lidských duší

Last book of Škvorecký's pentalogy following Danny Smiřický, the author's alter-ego, and thoroughly describing life in the second half of the 20th century. Danny is already an aging Czech expat living in Toronto, Canada, where he teaches literature at university, however, he is still haunted by memories of his homeland, his love, his time in resistance and the Czech culture.

His daily life is intertwined with episodes from his past affected by communism, encounters within the Czech community on Toronto. He himself describes the book as putting together a large puzzle of old conversations and stories.

Translator: Paul Wilson

In the case of *Příběh inženýra lidských duší*, the smallest amount of swear words of all four analysed texts were translated as words that categorize as swear words. Only one third. See Chart 10.



Chart 10: *Příběh inženýra lidských duší* – Number of translated swear words

For example the word *hajzl* was mostly translated without using another swear word, as illustrated in (30a) and (30b). Some swear words were replaced with words that did not make it into the category of swear words, such as profanity in (30c) and (30d). I believe that in many cases, for example (30e) and (30f), the translation is simply expressively inadequate. As I mention in the analysis of *On Beauty*, high tendency exists, that the TT would be generally less expressive than the ST.

(30) (a) Mezi mesršmitským **hajzlem** a uniformou se rozkládal historický předěl. [PI]

(b) Between the men's room in the Messerschmitt works and that uniform there lay a historic watershed. [PI]

(c) "Mám dojem, že Nivea-" odmlčel se a přes obličej mu zurčel hotový vodopád, "-je **hovno** platná." [PI]

(d) "Nivea won't ..." he paused for a moment and the perspiration poured down his face," ... be worth a goddam. [PI]

(e) **Posral jsem se.** [PI]

(f) I lost my nerve. [PI]

Concerning semantic fields, this text contains the highest percentage of Scatological words. Out of all the books, this is the only one where the category of Scatology is prevalent in both ST and TT. According to my expectations, Scatology is more prevalent in Czech text, while in English translation, the category of Obscenity gains a few more members.

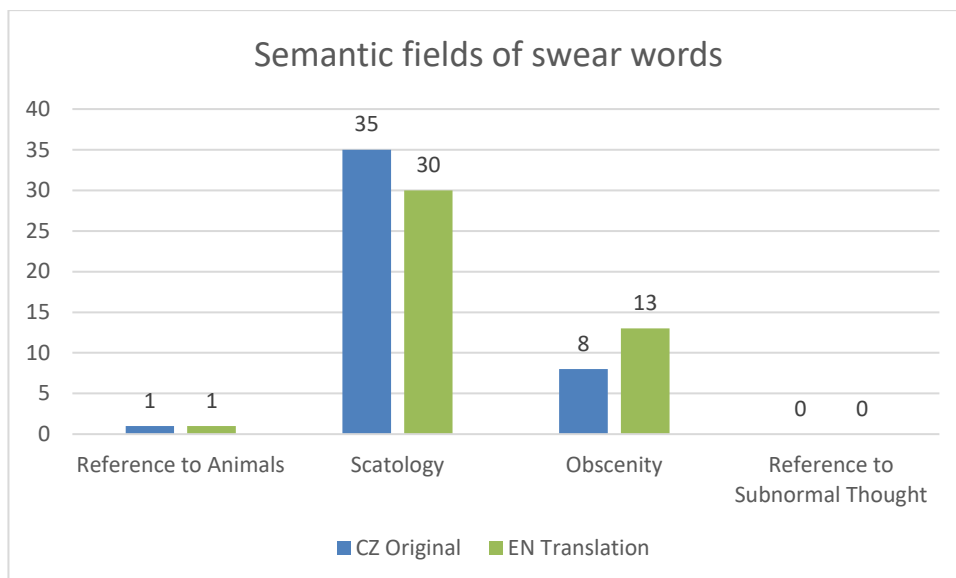


Chart 11: Příběh inženýra lidských duší – Semantic fields of swear words

Concerning the shifts, majority of words repainted within their category and the largest shift happened from category Scatology towards Obscenity.

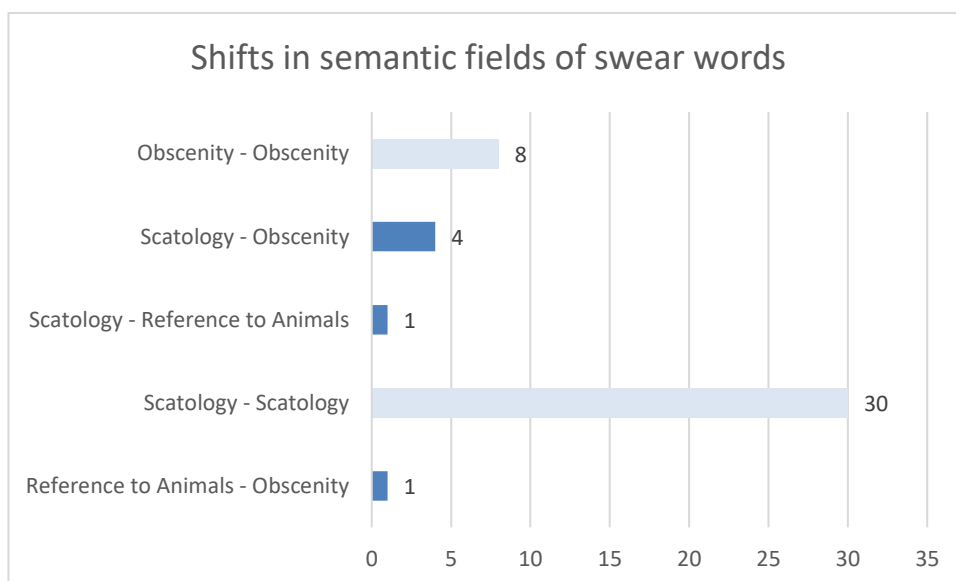


Chart 12: Příběh inženýra lidských duší – Shifts in semantic fields of swear words

All the examples of Obscenities remaining in the category are words with prominent denotative meaning. See example (31) which is at the same time a case, when a swear word occurs in TT even though it was not present in the ST. My thesis does not include these occurrences into my research, however, I consider it an interesting method for a future research of expressivity.

(31) (a) "Nechci," pravil Malina," ponivač sem je viděl **šoustat**." [PI]

(b) "You're fucking right I don't," said Malina," cause I seen them **screwing**." [PI]

Based on previous analysis, we see that again quite typical words shift between Obscenity and Scatology. (32a) and (32b) are examples of exclamations translated based on their connotative meaning. In (32c) and (32d), the expressive element moves within the sentence to another element while maintaining the expressivity of the unit (sentence).

(32) (a) Ten ve stojce dycky klímal - **doprdele**. [PI]

(b) There's just one old Austrian geezer looking after it and he's always asleep on the job - oh **fuck!** [PI]

(c) "Ty **hovno** víš, slone," řekl Malina. [PI]

(d) "That shows how much you know, you **fucking** dodo," said Malina. [PI]

Scatology – Reference to Animals shift again happened due to the fact, that the latter category include the subcategory of Animal Faeces. See (33)

(33) (a) Aby - aby se **neposral**. [PI] (b) I just hope he doesn't turn **chickenshit**."
[PI]

Within the category of Scatology, we can again find both words with literal meanings as in (34a) and (34b) as well as exclamations with non-literal meanings that have faecal and urinal semantic background.

(34) (a) Stíny velkých **prdelí** pochodují nyní po vykartáčované hlavě, zaznívá chlapácký zpěv. [PI]

(b) Shadows of the enormous **arses** are now parading across her hair, and vigorous male voices sing the Horst Wessel Song. [PI]

(c) A teď **di do prdele!**" [PI]

(d) Now **piss off!**" [PI]

Finally, one sample shifted from Reference to Animals to Obscenity based on its connotative meaning – negative male features.

(35) (a) "Voni **šoustaj** dvojité, ty vole. [PI]

(b) "They **screw** in pairs, you silly prick. [PI]

5 CONCLUSION

This thesis analyses swear words from the point of view of semantic fields within the context of translation. Upon presenting an overview of findings and fields of current research on the topic of swear words, I created new methodology for analysing the semantic fields of swear words. This included creating criteria for swear words, defining categories that would be universal for both English and Czech, choosing texts and collecting and analysing samples.

My methodology or its parts, in the way I designed it, can be used as a starting point for further research on swear words, as it has proven itself functional. Possible topics that arose during my work will be discussed after answering my research questions, which shall be answered in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, how are swear words distributed in semantic fields in literary texts in English and Czech?

In all the texts I analysed, the major semantic fields were Obscenity and Scatology, leaving Reference to Animals and Reference to Subnormal Thought secondary. In both original English texts, Obscenity was predominant. In the Czech texts, Obscenity was dominant in Topol's *Sestra*, as opposed to Scatology in Škvorecký's *Příběh inženýra lidských duší*. The categories changed in the translations. In *Human Stain*, the level of Scatology rose, although not enough to be higher than Obscenity; but in Smith's *On Beauty*, the change was so significant that the level of Scatology rose higher than Obscenity. In the translation from Czech to English, the tendency was exactly the opposite – the level of Obscenity was lowering and Scatology increasing, even though they did not manage to change their order. See Chart 13 for a comprehensive overview of the shifts.

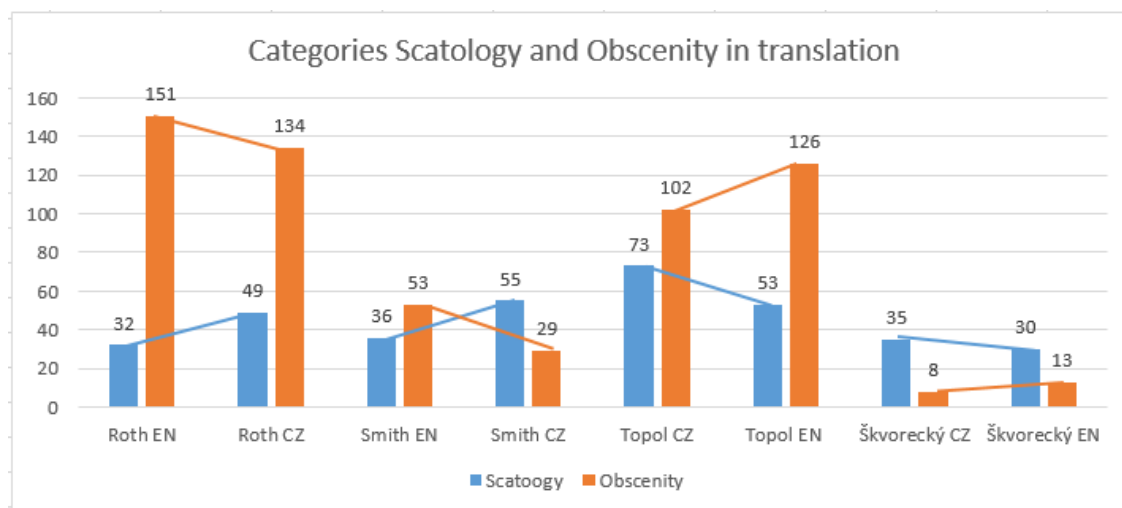


Chart 13: Categories Scatology and Obscenity in translation

Secondly, does the semantic field of Scatology prevail in Czech literary texts, and do Obscenities prevail in English texts? If so, is this tendency reflected and preserved in the translations of these texts?

In the Introduction, I mentioned that both scholars and myself believe that English language prefers swear words from the category of Obscenity, while Czech uses more Scatological swear words. My research showed that in literary texts, English tends to use swear words from the semantic field of Obscenity more than Czech, and Czech tends to use swear words from the field of Scatology more than English. This does not mean Obscenity is always predominant in English literary texts and Scatology in Czech literary texts; this may be affected by many variables, such as topic and choice of author; however, the tendency to move towards the preferred category is visible in all four texts and their translations (See Chart 13).

I was interested in finding an explanation of this phenomenon. My belief was that English-speaking nations have religion more embedded in their culture; therefore, taboo words function as a rebellion against the sexual frustration caused by religion and have a sexual nature. Even Franče and Hassairi express the importance religion plays in developing a lexicon of swearing. He compares Russians (Orthodox) and Poles (Catholic), who tend to use copulatory swear words, with Czechs (atheists), who incline towards anal-faecal swear words (2009). He goes on to explain the scatological tendency of

Czech. He believes that a major influence was that of the German language. He goes as far as Freud, according to whom the anal phase of one's development is the time when one gains control over his own body processes (defecation), which brings happiness. At the same time, we familiarise ourselves with social norms, rules and order (2009). He explains the correlation between German culture and the anal phase as follows:

Autorita vertikálně-byrokratického státního aparátu se zřejmě v německých a rakouských (potažmo českých) zemích stala nejmocnějším zdrojem úzkosti, od níž si bylo třeba použitím análních vulgarismů ulevovat. Tabuizována byla nečistota a chaos (tedy analita) jakožto protiklad vládnoucí uhlazené čistoty, funkčnosti a řádu.

(Franče and Hassairi 2009)

I find this explanation extremely interesting; however, it is far from the field of linguistics and translation studies, and therefore, I am not at present able to confirm its verity.

Finally, how does the distribution of swear words change within semantic fields in the context of translation?

Concerning the shifts, first, it must be stated that a majority of the words remained in their own category (See Chart 14).

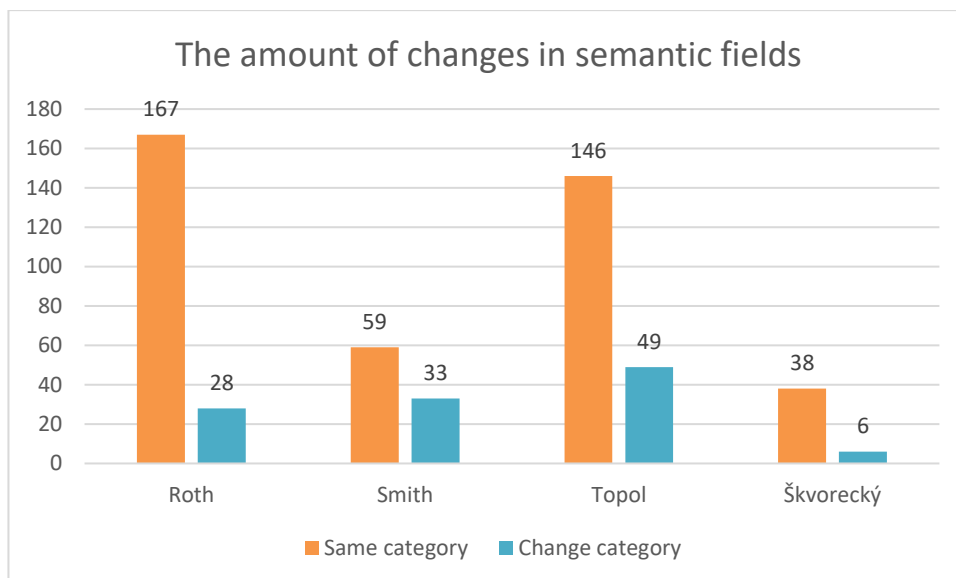


Chart 14: The amount of changes in semantic fields

Since the two major categories are Scatology and Obscenity, it is natural that the larger number of shifts happened between them – in both directions, as illustrated in Chart 15, which represents the percentage of shifts compared to the number of swear words within languages.

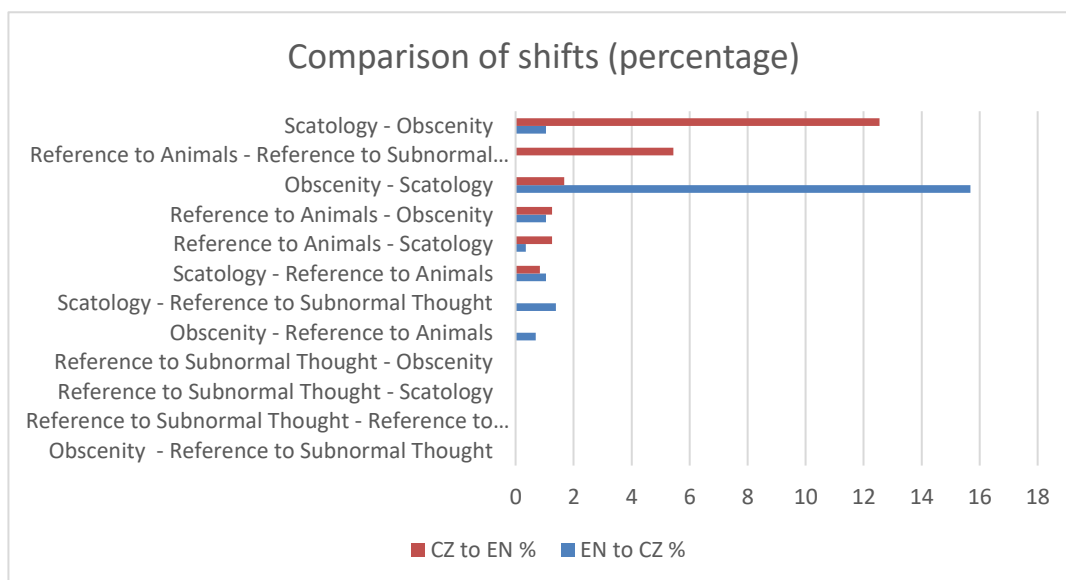


Chart 15: Comparisons of shifts

Another noticeable shift occurred between the categories Reference to Animals and Reference to Subnormal Thought. I believe this is due to the fact that certain words from these categories are used to express a negative connotation (mostly about a person),

and their meaning is often non-literal. Both languages possess the means to express negative connotations through both Reference to Animals and Reference to Subnormal Thought. A similar explanation can be applied in the case of a shift between Reference to Animals and Obscenity.

In addition, the case of the categories Reference of Animals and Obscenity is specific due to the fact that many words could fall under both categories, especially parts of the body connected to reproduction, such as English *cock, pussy, tits, ass* or Czech *kozy, pták, péro*, creating a subcategory within Obscenity. I believe exploring this phenomenon further would be an interesting topic for a future research.

Some shift combinations were not represented at all. This, however, does not mean they are not possible, maybe only less probable. I am not able to comment upon this within the scope of my research.

When analysing the shifts in the translations, I noticed a tendency in the category of words that changed their semantic field, and there are a majority of words with connotative meaning. At the same time, the words that remained in the same field have a higher probability of being more denotative. I believe that using my methodology, an analysis of the connotative and denotative meaning of swear words could be conducted and this hypothesis proven.

Furthermore, I noticed a decline in expressivity in all four analysed texts – the number of swear words was lower in TT than in ST. Only a little over one half of swear words were translated as swear words. This was, however, only from one point of view – I analysed only one aspect of the expressiveness. I followed the direction of swear words in ST translated to TT, not the ones that were not swear words in ST but were translated as ones in TT. This analysis would be worth further research, as in current translation studies, so-called “translation sanitisation”, i.e. “that target texts tend to use toned down vocabulary compared with their sources, and that this results in the creation of a ‘sanitised version of the original.’” (Kenny 1998, 1), is a topic under discussion.

Another tendency I noticed during the analysis of the literary texts is that swear words were mostly used in direct speech and that they were very often directed at a third

person (who was not present), as if talking badly about someone was easier if he or she was not present.

Additionally, the topic of semantic fields in the research of swear words offers many more topics, such as comparing the usage of references to animals in offensive language among language or even a comparative analysis of racial slurs and their cultural background, which I omitted.

Finally, I believe that many of the tendencies and topics I found during my research would make interesting research topics not only within multilingual corpora, as in my research, but also monolingual corpora as well as the real time setting in combination with the point of view of gender, time, cultures and languages.

During the time I was writing my thesis, I grew very fond of study of swear words, and the deeper I delved, the more interesting facts I discovered. I also found that academics in this field have a great sense of humour and a common mission to destigmatise the research of swear words. I hope my paper will make at least a minor contribution to the field and bring it more to the attention of Czech scholars. I believe my methodology can become a starting point for others.

6 CZECH SUMMARY

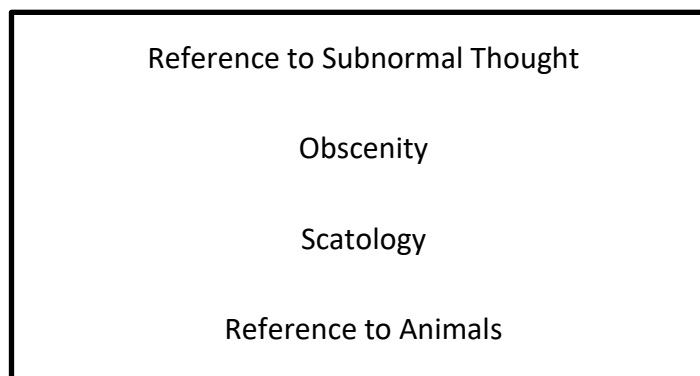
Diplomová práce navazuje na mou bakalářskou práci *“Fuck” in Translation: A Corpus Based Study*, která se věnovala pouze slovu *fuck*. Na rozdíl od ní však zkoumá všechna sprostá slova a to z pohledu sémantických polí, především pak jejich rozložení v sémantických polích v literárních textech a posuny, které se dějí v kontextu překladu. Dále se snaží bourat tabu, které kolem zkoumání sprostých slova panuje a vytváří metodologii, která je použitelná pro další výzkumy.

Práce odpovídá na několik výzkumných otázek: Jak jsou sprostá slova rozložena v sémantických polích v českých a anglických literárních textech? Převládají v českých textech fekální výrazy a obscenity v anglických? Pokud ano, odráží se tato tendence v překladech? Jak se mění pole sprostých slov v kontextu překladu?

Na základě vlastní znalosti jazyků i dalších autorů jsem vytvořila hypotézu, že anglický jazyk bude mít tendenci se klonit k obscenitám a český k fekálnímu výrazivu.

V teoretické části prezentuje sprostá slova z mnoha pohledů dnešní vědy. Již jen definice této kategorie je problematická, protože ač má jednoznačné prototypické členy, její hranice se velmi těžko definuje a jednotlivci se neshodují. Dále uvádí poznatky z oblasti sociologie, historie, psychologie, kulturních studií i neurologie. Zkoumá typy významu, které sprostá slova nesou, především konotaci a denotaci, a zaměřuje se na překladatelské strategie, které odborníci při převodu expresivního jazyka doporučují.

V metodologické části se práce vypořádává hned s několika problémy. První je definovat sprostá slova pro účel analýzy. Rozhodla jsem se odkazovat se na slovníky a jejich označení (vulgární, Offensive, atd) – pokud tedy slovo ve VT i jeho překlad byly ve slovníku vhodně označeny, zahrnuje je do výzkumu. Dále jsem na základě kategorizace Timothyho Jaye vytvořila seznam sémantických polí, tedy kategorií na základě společného významu, do kterých jsem sprostá slova rozřazovala. Kategorie byly následující:



Výběr textů také probíhal na základě několika kritérií. Vybírala jsem literární texty, které se včetně jejich překladů nacházely v online korpusu InterCorp a to z důvodu jednoduššího sbírání překladů slov. Hledala jsem 2 texty napsané v angličtině a 2 v češtině s vysokou mírou sprostých slov, které byly vydané v posledních 20-30 letech. Z mého hledání vzešly tyto texty:

Philip Roth: *The Human Stain*

Zadie Smith: *On Beauty*

Jáchym Topol: *Sestra*

Josef Škvorecký: *Příběh inženýra lidských duší*

Z vybraných textů jsem ručně vybrala sprostá slova, ke kterým jsem následně v InterCorpu našla jejich protějšky v překladu. Ty jsem ověřila ve slovnících a rozdělila do sémantických kategorií. Data jsem zpracovala do tabulky, která je dostupná na CD přiloženém k diplomové práci.

Na základě analýzy jsem zjistila několik zajímavých výsledků. Primárně to, že hlavní dichotomie vzniká mezi kategorií obscenit a fekálních výrazů, a že anglické literární texty, ať originály tak překlady, preferují sprostá slova z kategorie obscenit více než české, a české literární texty, ať originály tak překlady, mají tendenci používat sprostá slova z

kategorie fekálních výrazů víc než anglické. Tato tendence je zobrazená v tabulce označené Figure 20.

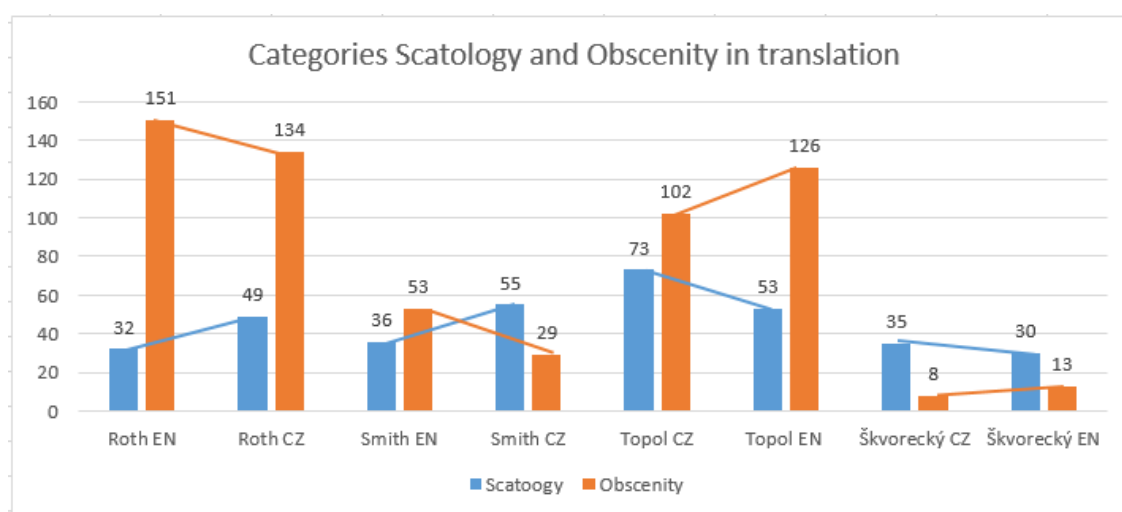


Figure 20: Kategorie fekálních výrazů a obscenit v překladu

Také jsem popsala, jak sprostá slova mění své kategorie při překladu a přitom si všímá, že velká část slov, která během překladu změnila pole, mají převážně konotativní význam.

Dále práce upozorňuje na tendenci takzvané „sanitizace“, neboli zmírnění expresivity v přeložených textech.

Práce navrhuje tato a mnoho dalších možných témat k dalšímu výzkumu a nabízí hotovou a ověřenou metodologii.

7 LIST OF FIGURES AND CHARTS

List of Figures:

Figure1 : Distinguishing X-phemisms

Figure2: Topography of bad language

Figure 3: Ranked order of words according to severity

Figure 4: Rank of 10 most frequently used words

Figure 5: Comparison of dictionaries

Figure 6: Jay's anger expression classification

Figure 7: Ljung's Distribution of English expletive epithets across taboo themes

Figure 8: Frequencies of most common English swear words in English texts

Figure 9: Detail: Zadie Smith on Beauty

Figure 10: Detail: Phillip Roth: Human Stain

Figure 11: Finding the most common swear words in Czech-English InterCorp

Figure 12: Frequencies of most common Czech swear words in Czech texts

Figure 13: Release dates of Czech texts

Figure 14: Subcorpus creation.

Figure 15: Created Subcorpuses

Figure 16: Query

Figure 17: Original number of samples

Figure 18: Categorizing swear words according to dictionaries

Figure 19: Illustration of my analysed samples

Figure 20: Kategorie fekálních výrazů a obscenit v překladu

List of Charts:

Chart 16: Human Stain – Number of translated swear words

Chart 17 Human Stain – Semantic fields of swear words

Chart 18: Human Stain – Shifts in semantic fields in translations

Chart 19: On Beauty – Number of translated swear words

Chart 20: On Beauty – Semantic fields of swear words

Chart 21: On Beauty – shifts in semantic fields of swear words

Chart 22: Sestra - Number of translated swear words

Chart 23: Sestra – Semantic fields of swear words

Chart 24: Sestra – Shifts in semantic fields of swear words

Chart 25: Příběh inženýra lidských duší – Number of translated swear words

Chart 26: Příběh inženýra lidských duší – Semantic fields of swear words

Chart 27: Příběh inženýra lidských duší – Shifts in semantic fields of swear words

Chart 28: Categories Scatology and Obscenity in translation

Chart 29: The amount of changes in semantic fields

Chart 30: Comparisons of shifts

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Abbreviations

InterCorp examples quoted in this paper were abbreviated as follows:

[PI] *Příběh inženýra lidských duší*

[HS] *The Human Stain*

[OB] *On Beauty*

[SE] *Sestra*

9 APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Frequency of swear words in texts








































Frequency list

Frequency limit:

Total: 74 (2 pages)

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1.	p/n	_SUBTITLES	14,157	211.96	
2.	p/n	smith-o_krase	37	185.53	
3.	p/n	grisham-klient	36	199.23	
4.	p/n	Topol-Sestra	36	138.6	
5.	p/n	Toole-Spolceni_hlupcu	33	206.93	
6.	p/n	brown-chut_lasky	23	161.38	
7.	p/n	Kundera-Nesmrtelnost	22	181.4	
8.	p/n	Palahniuk-zalknuti	20	230.57	
9.	p/n	grisham-advokat_chudy	17	140.55	
10.	p/n	angellova-dvoji_zivot	17	142.43	
11.	p/n	Brown-zdravim_temnoto	17	107.67	
12.	p/n	Hasek-OsudyDobrehoVvSV	16	81.53	
13.	p/n	_ACQUIS	15	0.51	
14.	p/n	Roth-lidska_skvrna	13	80.28	
15.	p/n	Steinbeck-Hrozny_hnevu	12	50.56	
16.	p/n	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	12	56.04	
17.	p/n	siddons-bezpec_vysiny	9	60.32	
18.	p/n	Fieldingova-panenka	9	64.03	
19.	p/n	lodge-hostujici_prof	9	91.94	
20.	p/n	Steel-Druha_sance	8	100.72	

Ass

	Filter	doc.id	Freq	i.p.m.	
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3.	p/n	smith-o_krase	68	340.98	
4.	p/n	Irving-Rok_vdovou	59	230.22	
5.	p/n	angellova-dvoji_zivot	42	351.87	
6.	p/n	franzen-rozhreseni	41	170.11	
7.	p/n	Le_Carre-Single_singl	36	264.39	
8.	p/n	Topol-Sestra	36	138.6	
9.	p/n	Brown-zdravim_temnoto	28	177.34	
10.	p/n	brown-chut_lasky	24	168.39	
11.	p/n	harris-mlceni_jehn	24	202.02	
12.	p/n	siddons-bezpec_vysiny	23	154.16	
13.	p/n	Palahniuk-zalknuti	23	265.16	
14.	p/n	larsson-muzi	22	111.97	
15.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	21	145.76	
16.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	20	126.79	
17.	p/n	bernieres-mandolina	19	90.21	
18.	p/n	McEwan-Pokani	19	130.36	
19.	p/n	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	19	88.73	
20.	p/n	king-carrie	14	191.2	
21.	p/n	Fieldingova-panenka	14	99.6	
22.	p/n	Ondaatje-Anglicky_Paci	13	135.6	
23.	p/n	Kohout-Hvezdna_hodina	12	75.62	
24.	p/n	lodge-nejtissi_trest	11	85.43	
25.	p/n	lodge-hostujici_prof	11	112.37	
26.	p/n	kohout-snezim	9	66.4	
27.	p/n	silva-tajna_sluzba	9	72.06	
28.	p/n	Viewegh-VychovaDivekCR	9	133.43	
29.	p/n	_PRESSEUROP	8	2.56	
30.	p/n	Topol-Chladnou_zemi	8	145.93	
31.	p/n	barnes-zadny_duvod	8	78.09	
32.	p/n	Hasek-OsudyDobrehoVvSV	7	35.67	
33.	p/n	Fischerova-Hodina_mezi	3	94.09	
34.	p/n	Jackson-Petka	3	35.58	
35.	p/n	Toole-Spolceni_hlupcu	3	18.81	
36.	p/n	topol-vylet_k_hale	3	298.8	
37.	p/n	mccarthy-C	2	13.33	
38.	p/n	Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko	2	20.11	
39.	p/n	kundera-zert	2	16.53	
40.	p/n	james-plany_touhy	2	10.85	
41.	p/n	_SYNDICATE	2	0.46	

Fuck

	Filter	doc.id	Freq	i.p.m.	
1.	p/n	_SUBTITLES	36,952	553.25	
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3.	p/n	smith-o_krase	55	275.79	
4.	p/n	Roth-lidska_skrvna	36	222.33	
5.	p/n	brown-chut_lasky	35	245.57	
6.	p/n	Palahniuk-zalknuti	32	368.91	
7.	p/n	Fieldingova-panenka	32	227.65	
8.	p/n	Brown-zdravim_temnoto	31	196.34	
9.	p/n	Toole-Spolceni_hlupcu	28	175.58	
10.	p/n	Hasek-0sudyDobrehoVvSV	25	127.4	
11.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	25	173.53	
12.	p/n	Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko	24	241.29	
13.	p/n	bernieres-mandolina	22	104.45	
14.	p/n	siddons-bezpec_vysiny	21	140.75	
15.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	21	133.12	
16.	p/n	Irving-Rok_vdovou	14	54.63	
17.	p/n	harris-mlceni_jehn	14	117.85	
18.	p/n	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	13	60.71	
19.	p/n	franken-rozhreseni	13	53.94	
20.	p/n	angellova-dvoji_zivot	12	100.54	
21.	p/n	larsson-muzi	11	55.99	
22.	p/n	king-carrie	11	150.23	
23.	p/n	klima-laska_a_smeti	11	111.93	
24.	p/n	Le_Carre-Single_singl	10	73.44	
25.	p/n	Steel-Druha_sance	10	125.9	
26.	p/n	krentz-zajatci_snu	10	84.47	
27.	p/n	kohout-snezim	8	59.02	
28.	p/n	_PRESSEUROPE	7	2.24	
29.	p/n	Topol-Chladnou_zemi	7	127.69	
30.	p/n	mulisch- atentat	7	103.88	
31.	p/n	day-cirkus_v_zime	6	70.43	
32.	p/n	skvorecky-hrichy_pater	6	55.88	
33.	p/n	brown-sifra	6	35.2	
34.	p/n	silva-tajna_sluzba	5	40.03	
35.	p/n	lodge-hostujici_prof	5	51.08	
36.	p/n	Fischerova-Hodina_mezi	4	125.46	
37.	p/n	mccarthy-C	4	26.66	
38.	p/n	topol-vylet_k_hale	4	398.41	
39.	p/n	Ondaatje-Anglicky_Paci	4	41.72	
40.	p/n	Forsyth-Ctvrty_protoko	3	18.47	
41.	p/n	munro-utek	3	23.44	
42.	p/n	barnes-zadny_duvod	3	29.28	
43.	p/n	adams-sbohem_a_dik	3	54.89	

Shit

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3.	p/n	Topol-Sestra	37	153.1	
4.	p/n	Roth-lidska_skvrna	24	163.83	
5.	p/n	Kohout-Hvezdna_hodina	21	154.4	
6.	p/n	larsson-muzi	9	50.12	
7.	p/n	angellova-dvoji_zivot	9	82.18	
8.	p/n	kis-encyklopedie	8	149.76	
9.	p/n	Palahniuk-zalknuti	8	102.27	
10.	p/n	Irving-Rok_vdovou	7	32.57	
11.	p/n	king-carrie	7	111.05	
12.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	7	53.12	
13.	p/n	bernieres-mandolina	6	32.2	
14.	p/n	Topol-Chladnou_zemi	6	128.58	
15.	p/n	Steinbeck-Hrozny_hnevu	5	23.69	
16.	p/n	Steinbeck-Mysi_a_lide	5	140.09	
17.	p/n	Le_Carre-Single__singl	4	33.37	
18.	p/n	kohout-snezim	3	28.96	
19.	p/n	smith-o_krase	3	16.77	
20.	p/n	lodge-nejtissi_trest	3	25.34	
21.	p/n	Viewegh-VychovaDivekCR	3	55.35	
22.	p/n	grisham-klient	2	11.96	
23.	p/n	Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko	2	23.91	
24.	p/n	james-plany_touhy	2	11.68	
25.	p/n	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	2	11.14	

Kurva

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4.	p/n	Hasek- OsudyDobrehoVvSV	10	40.43	
5.	p/n	Roth-lidska_skrvna	9	61.44	
6.	p/n	Topol-Sestra	9	37.24	
7.	p/n	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	6	33.43	
8.	p/n	Fieldingova-panenka	6	46.94	
9.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	6	50.42	
10.	p/n	Le_Carre- Single__singl	5	41.71	
11.	p/n	Palahniuk-zalknuti	5	63.92	
12.	p/n	_PRESSEUROPE	4	1.42	
13.	p/n	Toole-Spolceni_hlupcu	3	21.1	
14.	p/n	bernieres-mandolina	2	10.73	
15.	p/n	mccarthy-C	2	15.58	
16.	p/n	Topol-Chladnou_zemi	2	42.86	
17.	p/n	smith-o_krase	2	11.18	
18.	p/n	king-carrie	2	31.73	
19.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	2	15.18	
20.	p/n	Pratchett- Dobra_znamen	2	15.24	
21.	p/n	Kundera-Nesmrtelnost	1	9.27	
22.	p/n	Irving-Rok_vdovou	1	4.65	
23.	p/n	Havel-Dalkovy_vyslech	1	15.48	
24.	p/n	larsson-muzi	1	5.57	
25.	p/n	McEwan-Pokani	1	7.9	

Hovno

	Filter	doc.id	Freq	i.p.m.	
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3.	p/n	Topol-Sestra	18	74.48	
4.	p/n	Toole-Spolceni_hlupcu	16	112.53	
5.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	12	100.83	
6.	p/n	Roth-lidska_skrvna	11	75.09	
7.	p/n	larsson-muzi	9	50.12	
8.	p/n	Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	9	50.15	
9.	p/n	king-carrie	7	111.05	
10.	p/n	franzen-rozhreseni	7	28.23	
11.	p/n	Irving-Rok_vdovou	6	27.92	
12.	p/n	Le_Carre- Single__singl	6	50.05	
13.	p/n	Fieldingova-panenka	6	46.94	
14.	p/n	klima-laska_a_smeti	6	76.42	
15.	p/n	bernieres-mandolina	5	26.83	
16.	p/n	Steinbeck- Hrozny_hnevu	5	23.69	
17.	p/n	Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	5	37.94	
18.	p/n	Viewegh- VychovaDivekCR	5	92.26	
19.	p/n	Topol-Chladnou_zemi	4	85.72	
20.	p/n	harris-mlceni_jehn	4	36.54	
21.	p/n	angellova-dvoji_zivot	3	27.39	
22.	p/n	Hasek- OsudyDobrehoVvSV	3	12.13	
23.	p/n	Kohout-Hvezdna_hodina	3	22.06	
24.	p/n	silva-tajna_sluzba	3	26.84	
25.	p/n	Palahniuk-zalknuti	3	38.35	

Prdel