Lost in translation? The arse-mothering, fuck-nosed, bugger-sucking challenge of translating swear words in Stephen Fry’s autobiography *Moab is my Washpot*
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Appendix
1 INTRODUCTION

As Ljung (2006) demonstrates in the history section of his *Svordomsboken* `Book on swear words`, swearing is an age-old phenomenon of language, dating back to ancient Egyptians (pp. 11–39). In the last few years, swearing has entered literature, cinema and the mass media as writers and directors want to portray natural and realistic language use (Fernández Dobao, 2006, p. 222). Previously, studies on swearing have been conducted from the viewpoint of, for example, neuroscience and sociolinguistics, but as the use of swear words in public language has increased in recent years, swear word research has found its way into the field of translation studies as well. In the wake of this development, studies of swearing and swear word translation have been conducted also in the Nordic languages (Rathje, 2014, p. 7). I was able to benefit from these previous studies by applying a definition and a typology of swearing that have gained approval by the Nordic researchers. In the present paper I use a definition of swearing outlined by Ljung (2011), according to which swearing is the use of taboo words, not to refer to the taboo word’s literal referent but to expresses emotions (p. 4). My research expands the study of swearing in literary translation.

This pro gradu thesis studies the characteristics of swear words and their translation and presents an analysis of the aspects a translator must take into consideration while translating swearing from English into Finnish. The material under analysis is drawn from Stephen Fry’s autobiography *Moab is my Washpot* and its Finnish translation *Koppava kloppi* by Titia Schuurman. I chose this particular work as my research subject because the use of swearing utterances in it seemed to me to be unusually frequent for a published work of literature: On the 432 pages of the original work, altogether 191 swearing utterances were found, which means that there is a swearing utterance on no less than every second or third page of the book. In addition, the characteristics of some of the swear words in Fry’s work seemed interesting. Mostly, the swear words Fry uses are fairly common English expletives, such as *bastard, bloody, fucking* and *shit*. However, in a few occasions the swear words used in the original text seemed quite unusual and previously unheard-of. These two characteristics aroused my interest to find out how Fry’s swearing would be translated into Finnish. Accordingly, I began my research with the aim of finding out whether all of the frequent swearing utterances of the original work were retained in the Finnish translation of *Moab is my*
Washpot? After my research revealed that the quantity of swearing does not remain the same in the Finnish translation of the autobiography, my research concentrated on the following research question:

- What are the reasons for omitting so many swear words from the Finnish version of Fry’s autobiography?

Additionally, I wanted to take a closer look at how the unusual English swearing was translated into Finnish. The second part of my research was therefore guided by the question:

- How has the translator dealt with swear words that are so unusual that they must have been invented by the author?

The aim of my research was by no means to judge the Finnish translation but to look into how swear words, which are cultural agreements, can be translated between such different languages as English and Finnish. More specifically put, I wanted to take a look at what characteristics of the original swearing utterances can be conveyed into the translated text. In my research I used Ljung’s (2011) swear word definition and his categorisation of swearing into pragmatic functions as the framework for analysing the original text and its Finnish translation. I used the research methodology of close reading in order to find all the swearing constructions from both texts. I also used Ljung’s theory as the basis to analyse the discovered swearing constructions in more detail and to compare the translation to the original work. Additionally, I added viewpoints from Hjort’s (2006) survey on the factors that influence Finnish translators’ word choices in swear word translation. Finally, Titia Schuurman, the translator who brought the original work to Finnish readers, was kind enough to give me some insight into her translation work.

The overall organisation of this research report is as follows: The following section 2 shortly introduces the research material. After that, section 3 takes a look at the position of swearing in today’s language use. Section 4 presents the theoretical background used in this research: subsection 4.1 clarifies the definition of swear words, subsection 4.2 takes a look at translation, 4.3 illustrates what factors influence the translation of swear words into Finnish, and subsection 4.4 presents the categorisation of swear words into pragmatic functions. After that, section 5 presents the findings of my analysis, and section 6 summarises the findings and discusses them shortly. Finally, section 7 offers the conclusion of the research conducted for this paper.
2 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH MATERIAL

The research material of this study consists of swearing utterances drawn from Stephen Fry’s autobiography *Moab is my Washpot* and its Finnish translation *Koppava kloppi* by Titia Schuurman. *Moab is my Washpot* was first published in Great Britain in 1997. It is the first of Fry’s – so far – three volumes of autobiographies. *Moab is my Washpot* depicts the first twenty years or so of Fry’s life recounting memories from his childhood in boarding school to his turbulent teenage years and relating incidents such as school expulsions, sexual awakening and credit card fraud. Fry’s first autobiography is said to be at the same time funny and sad, witty and touching, and most of all painfully honest. The extracts from *Moab is my Washpot* presented in this report are marked with an identifier MIMW followed by the page number on which the excerpt can be found in the 2011 reissue of the original work. Likewise, the examples from the Finnish version are marked with KK (from the Finnish title *Koppava kloppi*) followed by a page number to identify the page where the excerpt can be found.

According to British Humanist Association (n.d.), Stephen Fry was born in London in 1957. He is a Cambridge graduate and a man of many skills: Fry is known, for example, for acting on television, in films and on stage, for making documentaries, for reading for audiobooks as well as for hosting a quiz-show and writing both fiction and non-fiction. Nowadays, his writings can also be read through social media on his homepage and in his twitter feed. Fry is also known for using his public figure to promote charities and causes close to his heart.

Fry’s use of swear words in his first autobiography is both colourful and frank: he comes up with swearing utterances that have not been heard elsewhere, and he does not hesitate to express his emotions through them but uses swearing utterances frequently throughout his writing. Fry is a representative of the higher social classes, a Cambridge graduate and a man known for his skills of expressing himself through language. Yet he chooses to use language which is commonly thought to represent restricted vocabulary or be used by the uneducated and lower classes. Additionally, as Fernández Dobao puts it (2006), foul language is frowned upon and avoided by many “on the grounds that it is offensive, rude, vulgar and just unnecessary” (p. 222).
Titia Schuurman is the translator who brought *Moab is my Washpot* to the Finnish readers. Schuurman is a Helsinki-based translator who has been actively working in the business for the past 20 years translating into Finnish both literary and non-literary texts from English, French and Dutch ("Sanaemo," n.d.). According to Schildts & Söderströms (n.d.), the Finnish translation named *Koppava kloppi* was published in Finland in 2013, and Schuurman is also the translator of Fry’s second volume of autobiographies, *The Fry Chronicles*, or *Fryn aikakirjat*, and one of Fry’s novels, that is, *The Hippopotamus*, or *Virtahepo*.

The two languages of the research material of this study are thus English and Finnish. According to Rathje (2014), earlier research on swearing has “primarily been on swearing in the English-speaking parts of the world, whereas research on swearing in the Nordic languages is still sparse” (p. 7). This study takes advantage of the fact that the earlier swearing studies have focused on English by having an English original as the source text and applying theory that was formulated as the result of researching English. Ljung’s (2006; 2011) previous research provides examples of swearing also in Finnish, which indicates that the theory crosses language boundaries also into Finnish.

A special feature of this research material is the literary genre of the text being an autobiography. Recent research on swear word translations in the Nordic languages has been carried out in film subtitling and in literary fiction. According to Pekkanen (2006), autobiographies are on the borderline of the dichotomy between narrative and expository texts, which is traditionally seen as the rough division into types of texts (p. 83). Placing the autobiographies in between these two types means that they adopt features from both sides (Pekkanen, 2006, p. 83). According to Reiss (1977/1989), biographies aim at expressive narration while they are also informative of actual events (pp. 105, 108–109). As a biography is a description of real life events, an autobiography is essentially a self-portrait. It is also a description of other people’s characters. The author of the original work who writes about himself and about the people influencing his life must be aware of how swearing in the narrative and in the dialogue, by both him and by the other depicted characters, shapes the images he creates. Swearing is therefore a stylistic feature that should be conveyed to the translated text.
3 THE POSITION OF SWEARING IN TODAY’S LANGUAGE USE

In this section I will first go through some of the reasoning behind people’s opinions on whether it is acceptable to swear or not. After that, I will consider the opinions about swearing in public, especially regarding the media.

3.1 Opinions for and against swearing

Swearing has not always been seen in a negative light or thought of as being rude. Ljung (2011) even goes as far as to argue that in some languages good swearers are admired for their skills and swearing can be regarded as an art form (p. 64). According to Hughes (2006), the art form of trading ritual insults was previously known as *flyting* or “the fine art of savage insults”. It was popular in the Scottish court and among aristocrats and poets in the sixteenth century, and examples of it can also be found in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare. Nowadays, the genre of verbal duels can be heard among American black youths, and it is called either ‘playing the dozens’, ‘playing’ or ‘sounding’ (pp. 173–177).

However, many people find swearing disrespectful, offensive, blasphemous, rude or just unnecessary (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990, p. 14; Ljung 2011, p. viii). Some people argue against the use of swear words by saying that swearing is a weakness and that these speakers have a restricted vocabulary and therefore have to lower themselves to use ‘dirty language’ (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990, p. 63). Interestingly enough, according to Andersson & Trudgill (1990), people also justify swearing with the same argument: “swear words are words you use when you have no others at your disposal” (p. 64). But this type of language use is not seen as a weakness; rather, it means that there are situations in which no other words feel suitable (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990, p. 64). As Ljung (2011) puts it, the negative characteristics assigned to swearing actually give swear words weight and power of adding emphasis to what is said (p. viii).

Thus, the attitude toward swearing is polarised between two opinions. On the one hand, it is seen as not showing appreciation of language or of one’s interlocutors; therefore, it is unnecessary. And on the other hand, it is thought of as a tool to express emotions which makes use of the full capacity of language. Andersson & Trudgill (1990) state that swearing is thought by many to be
`dirty` or `bad` language and continue to note that this kind of labelling implies a division of society into who is expected to use `clean` language and who can get away with a slip in social behaviour and language use (pp. 64–66). Accordingly, “people who are cornerstones in the social structure are expected to keep their appearance and language pure and clean. Individuals on the edges of society – young people, the unemployed, alcoholics and criminals – can be expected to show less control over their social behaviour and language” (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990, pp. 65–66).

But also Andersson & Trudgill (1990) admit that it is not solely the person’s social standing that determines the use of swearing: swearing is expected to be absent from formal situations, but in informal situations even an eminent social character can change their language behaviour (p. 66). Andersson (2004) states that the fact that people do change their speech according to situations is a good indicator of our attitudes toward different usages of language; we have conventions of suitable language use which follow our attitudes toward language. (p. 73). In other words, society and individuals determine the offensiveness of language depending on the context it is used in.

The fact that people do change their language from one situation to another based on their opinion of what is suitable and what is not or what is expected or unexpected also demonstrates how people build an image of themselves with the language that they use (Andersson, 2004, p. 75). As Andersson & Trudgill (1990) state, swearing, especially when used frequently, is a `style-giver` (pp. 53–54). However, Andersson (2004) further notes how speech and writing situations are different in terms of swearing (pp. 75–76). In a discourse situation, because people can see each others’ reactions in terms of their choice of language, the interlocutor can apologise for the use of language that bothers or insults the other. In writing, since the writer and the reader are not communicating directly with each other, there is no chance for the writer to adjust their language to the individual reader (pp. 75–76). Also, as Andersson (2004) states, the written language is more regulated than speech (p. 77). Therefore, as a result, it can be said that swearing has a different weight in written language than it does in a speech situation.

Accordingly, swearing is a way of expressing emotions that evokes strong emotions and has advocates and adversaries. As was mentioned, a great deal of the offensiveness of swearing is to do with the situation. Next, I will consider swearing when it is used in the public sphere.
3.2 Swearing in the public sphere

Farb (1974) argues that people use ‘dirty language’ in places where such language is frowned upon, such as public forums and the media, specifically to draw attention to themselves. Another reason for swearing in public, according to Farb, can be that it is seen as a symbol of rebellion against the standards upheld by the society because those who uphold the status quo use polite language. Farb also continues that the use of obscene language in public in the American speech community is a device for causing confrontation, and finally, that “talking dirty” can be a way to mock the authority and thus ease the feelings of own insufficiency (p. 85). Despite these strongly negative associations and deplorable reasons given for the public use of swear words, it is evident that the use of swear words in public language has increased in recent years (see e.g. Hughes, 1991, pp. 184–204).

During this development, however, it has not been easy to find balance between using colloquial language on stage or television and keeping the audience from feeling shocked, although censorship of dirty or taboo words has relaxed over the years (Hughes, 1991, pp. 184–204). Similarly, Ljung (2011) notes how the media, particularly in the US and in Britain, has made tremendous efforts to determine the degree of offensiveness of swear words because of restrictions in broadcasting offensive material between the watersheds of 6 a.m. and 9 or 10 p.m. (pp. 8–11). Yet, the BBC has had to admit that “it is not possible to compile a definitive list of offensive words” especially knowing that “language is fluid, with new words and phrases regularly entering the public vocabulary” (Ljung, 2011, p. 9).

Fernández Dobao (2006) does not see the use of swear words in the language of the media as an expression of disrespect or of mocking the authorities (p. 222–223). She states that nowadays swearing has entered the domain of public language and become a natural part of it (p. 222). She also believes that authors and directors use informal and colloquial language in order to create a feel of naturalness and realism, and she states that the main purpose of bad language “is not so much to shock people but to make characters behave and talk as real people do” (pp. 222–223).

The restrictions on swearing in the public language vary greatly. While in Finland public swearing can be considered regrettable (Laukkanen, 2014) or, according to the editor of a Finnish swear
word dictionary, it can be deemed lazy language use and to be politically incorrect (Natri, 2014), its usage has not been seen to be so severely harmful that it should be regulated by law. In the US on the other hand, although the freedom of speech is the first amendment to the Constitution, the US Supreme Court recognises obscenities as one type of unprotected speech along with for example fraud and libel (Pinker, 2007, p. 323). Only in 2006, George W. Bush approved the Broadcast Decency Enforcement Act which ten-folded the fines for indecent language and threatens repeat offenders with the loss of their broadcast license (Pinker, 2007, p. 325).

Altogether since the 1960s and the “pivotal trial of the unexpurgated edition of Lady Chatterley’s Lover [on] the artistic suitability of terms denoting the genitalia and copulation”, the restraints on taboo language in published writing have relaxed (Hughes, 1991, p. 192). This is also proved by Schuurman (personal communication, October 23, 2014), who states that she has not received any instructions or restrictions from her editor with regard to translating swear words in Stephen Fry’s autobiographies or, in fact, in any other work she has translated.

In this section I have looked at the different takes on swearing in public forums. Next, I will take a closer look at what constitutes swearing and what translation is and how these two combine in theory.
4 THEORISING SWEARING AND TRANSLATION

Swearing has been the topic of many researchers’ work beginning with psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic studies, and more recently, concentrating on swearing from a linguistic, sociolinguistic or historical point of view (Ljung, 2011, pp. 3–4). In this study the English term *swearing* is used to denote a linguistic category: a particular type of linguistic behaviour with various functions and realisations, similar across language boundaries. Earlier studies on the subject have somewhat differing definitions of swearing. Next, I will introduce a definition that has recently found the acceptance of several researchers for what constitutes swearing (see Rathje, 2014).

4.1 Defining swearing

Anderson and Trudgill’s (1990) study on bad language begins with quite a wide analysis of bad language: they divide bad language under the headings of words (including, for example, swearing, slang and jargon), pronunciation (under which falls, for example, accent and diction), and grammar (pp. 14–25). However, concentrating more specifically on a subcategory they termed swearing, Anderson and Trudgill (1990) as well as Ljung (2006, pp. 12, 36–38; 2011, pp. 4–23) suggest that swearing should be determined by the following criteria: it is language use which contains a culturally taboo word, it is an expression that should not be understood literally, and finally, it is used to voice the speaker’s feelings and attitudes (p. 53). Ljung (2006) also adds that swearing should be thought of as formulaic language since many swearing expressions are “subject to severe lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints” (p. 4). Next, all of these features are discussed in more detail.

4.1.1 What is taboo?

According to Hughes (2006), the word *taboo* came into English with the denotation of `things that were forbidden` referring both to spoken words and performed deeds (p. 462). Hughes continues to explain that taboos are culture-bound and reflect society’s values; when we examine the things that should not be talked about, unmentionable things can change from gods and death to diseases, and from copulation and being poor to getting fired or the underclothes, just to mention
a few (pp. 463–464). But since absolute unmentionables are quite impractical, the term taboo has come to mean ‘offensive’ or ‘grossly impolite’ rather than ‘strictly forbidden’ and means actions that should, under social discretion, not be carried out and words that should not be mentioned (Hughes, 2006, p. 464).

However, not all offensive words are swear words. As Ljung (2011) outlines, “in most languages [...] the taboos violated in swearing fall into two quite different major groups, one involving religion and the supernatural, the other bodily waste, the sexual act and the sexual organs” (p. 5). Moreover, according to Andersson (2004), for a word to be considered a swear word it has to be obscene both with regard to its content and its form (pp. 47–49). What Andersson means, in other words, is that a swear word refers to something generally thought of as obscene and that the expression used for the referent must also be considered obscene for the word to count as swearing. Therefore, only words whose literal meaning denotes some taboo subject and whose form is also disapproved of qualify as swear words. Compare for instance the words shit and faeces of which only the first is obscene both with regard to its content and form while the second is neutral, or scientific, in terms of its form, and thus, cannot be counted as a swear word.

Ljung (2011) agrees with this definition to a certain extent and thinks it is essential that words are considered vulgar to be thought of as swear words: while words such as shit and fuck are thought of as swear words, words of technical or scientific nature, such as excrement or penis, or childish terms, like poopoo and weewee, will not be considered adequate as swear words (p. 7). But he also notes that this definition does not take into consideration religious swearing which names the ‘good’ spiritual powers, such as Christ and God, nor does it provide reasoning for why from the two vernacular words for having sex, fuck and shag, only fuck is considered a swear word (p. 8).

The reason why speakers of most European languages count religious names, or the ‘good’ spiritual powers, as swear words stems from the historical development of swearing. At the beginning, swearing was a form of “seeking to invoke a higher power to change the world, or support the truthfulness of a claim”, as Hughes (1991, p. 4) puts it. However, according to the Old Testament it is inappropriate to take in vain the name of the Hebrew God; therefore, the improper usage of the name of the deity became a taboo (Ljung, 2011, pp. 6, 48). Still, it should be noted that religious swearing is considered more offensive in Catholic societies, whereas sexual and
scatological (i.e. referring to excrement or excretion) swear words have become more common in England after the Reformation (Pinker, 2007, p. 330).

Swearing in Christian cultures also calls on the infernal powers, the ‘bad’ religious powers. The taboo involved in these swear words is a result of another kind of history, namely believing in word magic. As Ljung explains, word magic is the belief that a mere mention of the names of dangerous beings will conjure up the bad spirit and lead to serious consequences for the speaker (Ljung 2011, p. 6, 56–57). But as Ljung (2011) continues to point out, the devil is not quite as important in English swearing as it is in other protestant countries (p. 57).

Finally, I might try to explain the difference between fuck and shag and why some vernacular words end up being used as swear words while others do not. On the whole it can be argued that the vulgarity of a word, as well as the swear word status of any given word, are both social constructs, and ultimately, as Ljung (2011) states, “both the assignment of taboo and the choice of swear words among the words considered to be taboo are to a great extent a matter of chance [...]” (p. 7). In other words, it is not always clearly explicable why a particular theme is considered taboo or why some of the words referring to taboo subjects are used as swear words and others are not.

Before leaving the discussion of taboo words, I would like to note that euphemisms, or ‘minced oaths’, were not considered as swear words in this study based on the following definitions of the term. According to Hughes (2006), minced oaths are such modifications of the names of deity that uttering them does not constitute blasphemy but still leaves enough of the original that the intended meaning of the word remains clear (pp. 316–318). McArthur (1992) adds that minced oaths are softened versions of swear words, “modified so as to be used without giving offence” (p. 661). The modification can be either a creation of a nonsense equivalent, such as god becoming gosh, or substituting a swear word to an everyday expression of similar sound and length, such as when bloody becomes ruddy or damn becomes darn (p. 661). In short, a minced oath is a modification of a taboo word that is used in order to avoid using the taboo word itself. Thus, in the use of minced oaths the criterion set for swearing on using taboo words is not met.
4.1.2 Swearing does not refer to the literal meaning of taboo words

Not all researchers of swearing concur with the claim that swear words should not be understood literally. For instance, McEnery (2006) regards both the literal and the non-literal meaning of taboo words as swearing; he thinks the word *fuck* should be considered swearing in *We fucked*, when it means `had sex`, as well as in *Fuck off!*, which means `go away` (p. 32). Andersson (2004), on the other hand, does not outline all instances of taboo words as swearing (p. 81). According to him, if the word *hell* is used literally, in other words, to refer to the underground place where people do not want to end up after death, it is not a swear word (p. 18). But when the same word is used to denote an idea similar to `an unpleasant state of life`, such as in *My life is hell right now*, this type of expanded usage range of the word should be counted as swearing (p. 81).

Similarly, Ljung (2011) thinks that referentially used taboo words should not be counted as swearing and justifies his claim by differences in synonymy relations of the words (p. 12). He demonstrates this in the following way: in the literal usage of *We fucked!, fuck* could be replaced by all the other taboo words for having sex, such as *shag, screw* and *bonk* (p. 12). But this kind of synonymy does not apply in the case of swearing: *Bonk off! and Shag off! are not curses of the English language (p. 12).1* Ljung continues to point out that the same limitation of word choice exists in swearing interjections of anger and rage: for example *Fuck!* is a popularly used exclamation, whereas *Screw!, Bonk! and Shag! are not regarded as well-formed swearing (p. 12). In other words, when taboo terms are used in non-swearing contexts denoting their literal meaning, they (might) have many synonyms that can substitute them. But just because *fuck* is considered to be a swear word, it is not replaceable by other taboo words referring to the same literal meaning in the instances when the word *fuck* is used as a swear word.

On the other hand, as Ljung (2011) continues to point out, there is an interchangeability between taboo terms when they are used in swearing, i.e. non-literally to represent the speaker’s feelings (pp. 13–14). Accordingly, although words such as *fuck, damn* and *sod* represent clearly dissimilar literal meanings, these words are freely interchangeable in swearing, such as in curses *Fuck you!, Damn you! and Sod you!, or in interjections *Fuck!, Damn! and Sod it!* (p. 13). What this

1 The asterisk symbol (*) is used to indicate examples that are ungrammatical or are not part of the English swearing vocabulary.
interchangeability means is that the literal meaning of words does not determine their swear word status. More important is the fact that the word is used to indicate the speaker’s state of mind.

Consequently, because the definition of swear words applied in this research emphasises that the taboo word must not denote the literal referent of the word for it to count as a swear word, instances of taboo words in the original work, such as:

(1) MIMW372
For my sixteenth birthday she gave me a beautiful green and gold 1945 edition of Oscar Wilde's Intentions, which I have to this day, and a damned good fuck, the memory of which is also with me still. (NB, my underlining)

in which the word fuck is used to refer to sexual intercourse, or :

(2) MIMW304–305
`I'm so pleased to hear you have a French penfriend, Fry,’ said Ronnie. And he proceeded to translate the letter for me, replacing the obscenities with innocent little phrases of his own as he went, pretending for all the world that it was the most ordinary communication in the world. ‘I would like to suck your big fat cock’ became, ‘I look forward so much to visiting your country’ and 'Lick my wet pussy till I squirt’ emerged as, ‘There are so many interesting things to do and see in Avignon’ and so on throughout the letter.

in which the word cock refers to a boy’s penis and the word pussy refers to female sexual organs, were excluded from the research material.

But dividing words simply to two categories, suggesting any word can only be interpreted either literally or non-literally, is too simple a division. Also Ljung (2011) accepts there to be a problem in this simplistic division of words and expands his definition of swear words to comprise also the metaphorical meaning of words (pp. 14–18). In his theory, Ljung (2011) adopts a suggestion made by Stroh-Wallin, according to which if a taboo word’s literal meaning is still strongly represented in the construction that is analysed, it will make us decipher the word metaphorically and not consider it as swearing; if however, the original meaning of the word is barely detectable, the word should be interpreted as swearing (p. 15). According to this theorising, therefore, in a construction such as the following:

(3) MIMW136-137
He rubbed the knee he had already slapped in the manner of an older man, a man whose arthritis or war wound might be playing merry hell, but was none the less a companionable reminder of better days.
the lexeme *play merry hell* is a metaphorical expression, and in view of the original literal meaning of *hell*, it should be assigned a meaning similar to `something very unpleasant` and not be counted as a swear word. Similarly, according to this theory Andersson’s above mentioned definition of expanded usage range, which refers to the metaphorical interpretation of a word, is not enough to set a taboo word in the swear word category. In contrast, in the following sentence from Fry’s work:

(4) MIMW6

```
'Oh God, it's Fry's Turkish Delight. And what the hell are you doing by the window?'
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the word *hell* has an emphatic function in the phrase *what the hell* rather than lending itself to the literal interpretation or metaphorical interpretation of `something very unpleasant`. The word *hell* could also be replaced with the words *fuck* and *devil* in this utterance, and should therefore be regarded as an instance of swearing.

According to Ljung’s (2011) testing, this simple method based on the difference between literal, metaphorical and non-literal-non-metaphorical meaning of taboo words works well enough also on other kinds of taboo words and can therefore be used to test a word’s swearing status (pp. 16–18). As Stroh-Wallin (as cited in Ljun, 2011) states: “Swearing then may be defined as the use of taboo expressions which are neither literal nor predominantly metaphorical” (p. 18). In other words for an utterance to qualify as swearing, it is more important that it expresses the speaker’s state of mind than that it merely contains a taboo word. Swearing, therefore, is emotive language use.

4.1.3 *Swearing is emotive language*

As was mentioned above, for an utterance to count as swearing, it is necessary that a taboo word is used to express emotions rather than to refer to the literal meaning of the taboo word. Therefore, emotions are an essential part of swearing. According to Ljung (2011), language is emotive when it creates an idea of the speaker’s feelings and attitudes toward what he is speaking about (p. 21). The range of feelings that can be expressed with swearing is of course wide. Also in Fry’s autobiography the emotions expressed with swearing utterances are varied and include feelings from envy and annoyance to panic and adoration. In real life hearers make their
interpretation of the feelings or attitudes the speaker is expressing based on the linguistic and non-linguistic information available in individual speech situations (Ljung, 2011, p. 23). In literature, on the other hand, the mental state of the speaker is stated in the narration, such as in the following excerpt:

(5) MIMW325
Rudder the Captain of House himself came to escort me down to Frowde's office. The dear man was simultaneously distraught and furious.
"Damn you, Fry!" he cried, slamming the table. "Blast you!"

In this example the man is described as feeling distraught and furious after which he is depicted to state the curse Damn you to express these feelings. Or alternatively, the expressed emotions are deducible from the context, such as confusion and annoyance in the following excerpt in which Fry portrays his father looking for a lost file:

(6) MIMW194–195
It turned out that the previous night in the study my father had started to hunt about on his desk for a file that he needed.
"Bloody hell, you put something down for a second and it completely disappears...I mean what is going on?"

In this excerpt, Fry’s father is depicted as looking for something he has lost and then the utterance Bloody hell is put in his mouth to express his annoyance of the situation. However, although Andersson and Trudgill (1990) agree that swearing can be used to express emotions, they assert that not all swearing has to be expressions of emotions: they argue that if swearing occurs with great frequency, it is instead used as a ‘style-giver’ (pp. 53–54). While Andersson and Trudgill divide swearing into the categories of emotive and style-giving, according to Ljung (2011), for a construction to be admitted to the category of swearing, it is necessary that is expresses a person’s feelings (p. 21). Consequently, according to Ljung (2011), a division should rather be made between cathartic and non-cathartic swearing, that is, between outbursts of emotions as reactions to occurrences in the exterior world and non-reactive utterances of swear words which may express many emotive attitudes and are applied in the various functions of slot fillers and pragmatic markers (pp. 33–35, 83–96). I will discuss the functions of swearing utterances in subsection 4.4.
4.1.4 The grammar of swearing

According to Ljung (2011), swearing is formulaic language (pp. 18–21). By formulaic he means that a swearing utterance is a string of words which is retrieved from memory as a whole at the time of use as opposed to being created on the spot (pp. 18–19). Formulaic sequences also have the qualities of fixedness and lacking compositionality (p. 19). Fixedness means that there are restrictions on the syntactic and collocational variability: for example, the swearing utterance Go to hell! cannot be used in the negative form of *Don’t go to hell!, and as was mentioned before, the taboo word in Fuck you! cannot be replaced with other taboo words referring to having sex, such as *Bonk or *Shag (p. 19). Furthermore, as Andersson and Trudgill (1990) point out, not even the verb of motion in the sequence Go to hell! can be changed into another similar kind, such as walk or run (p. 59). Fixedness also means having anomalous syntax. Anomalous syntax means, for example, the way swear words may be inserted into words and phrases that are normally considered impenetrable, such as in absofuckinglutely or Henry the bloody Eighth (Ljung, 2011, p. 19).

Lacking the characteristic of compositionality means that “the meaning of the entire sequence may [not] be deduced from the meanings of the words it contains and the grammatical arrangements of these words”; therefore, swearing utterances such as Go to hell! and What the fuck do you mean? “resist semantic and syntactic analysis and have to be learnt as wholes” (Ljung, 2011, p. 19). But as Ljung (2011, p. 19) and Anderson & Trudgill (1990, p. 61) point out, in the majority of swearing utterances the grammar is the same as the syntactic and semantic rules of the ordinary language.

As was already stated above, in most languages swear words draw from the major taboo themes of religion and the supernatural, the bodily waste, the sexual act and the sexual organs (Ljung, 2011, p. 35). As a result, the words that commonly appear as swear words are, according to their literal meaning, nouns and verbs: nouns identify either heaven or hell or their inhabitants, like God, or specify waste matter, such as shit, or name a sexual organ, such as cunt (Ljung, 2011, pp. 37–39). When a swear word names a sexual act, such as fucking, it is a verb, but it can also be a noun if it identifies the person conducting the act, such as a bugger. (Ljung 2011, pp. 39–40). When the taboo words are used in the name-calling function of swearing, they gain new
denotative meanings, for example, the word **bugger** means ‘a man’ when it is used as an epithet (i.e. expressing a quality or attribute regarded as characteristic of the person or thing mentioned, Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.), and the word **shit** has the epithet meaning of ‘a contemptible person’ in the utterance *That stupid shit!* (Ljung, 2011, p. 130). However, because the taboo word does not refer to its literal meaning when it is used in swearing, the usage range of swear words is often wider than the word class of the taboo word. Additionally, taboo words used in swearing are sometimes developed into what Ljung (2006) calls **nya ord från svärorden** ‘new words based on swearing’ (p. 59–60). For example, the verb **fuck**, referring literally to copulation, can be used as a prefix with the pronoun **all** in the meaning of ‘nothing’ as in *He knows fuck-all about it* (Ljung, 2006, p. 130). Or the noun **arse**, referring in its literal meaning to the human posterior, can be used as a verb in the lexeme **arse around** having a meaning similar to ‘spend time doing unimportant things’ (Ljung, 2006, p. 60). According to Ljung (2006), an example of a Finnish new lexeme is **Minua vituttaa!** (‘I am feeling cunted’) (p. 139) in which the noun **vittu** ‘cunt’ has developed a new meaning of ‘feeling annoyed’ (*Kielitoimiston sanakirja*, n.d.).

In subsection 4.1 I have introduced the definition of swearing applied in this study following mainly Ljung’s (2011) theory and stating that swearing is the use of taboo words to express feelings rather than to denote the literal referent of the word. Next, I will take a look at translation.

### 4.2 Translation in a nutshell

As Munday (2001, p. 4–5) puts it, the term **translation** has more than one denotative meaning: it can be used to denote the subject field, the process of translating, or the translated text, in other words, the product. Additionally, Jakobson (1959/2012) identifies the following three types of the translation process:

- intralingual translation
- interlingual translation
- intersemiotic translation (p. 127).

Intralingual translation can be described as rewording, that is to say, it is the rephrasing of an expression of text within one language (Jakobson, 1959/2012, p. 127). The term interlingual translation on the other hand is used when describing the “interpretation of verbal signs by means
of some other language”, as Jakobson (1959/2012, p. 127) states. The third way of translating, namely intersemiotic translation, is the transference of verbal signs to non-verbal signs systems (Jakobson, 1959/2012, p. 127), such as a text into music, a film or a painting as Munday (2001, p. 5) exemplifies. This thesis focuses on the interlingual process of translation in the way Munday (2001) describes it: translation between two different written languages where the translator changes an original written text (the source text or ST) in the original verbal language (the source language or SL, here English) into a written text (the target text or TT) in a different verbal language (the target language or TL, here Finnish) (p. 5).

According to Newmark (1988), from the ancient times to the first half of the twentieth century, in the pre-linguistics period of translation, there were two important questions causing controversy when translation was discussed: whether translation is possible and what is the ideal of translation (p. 4). Vehmas-Lehto (1999) claims that nowadays the problems of translation between different languages are acknowledged but the general consensus is that translation is necessary and usually also possible (p. 25). The discussion of the ideal of translation, on the other hand, has produced different approaches to translation (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 26; Munday, 2001, p. 19). Munday (2001) states that there are two main ways of translation that have been the core of the ideal debate: translating `word-for-word’ and translating `sense-for-sense’ (pp. 18–19). He writes: “In these poles can be seen the origin of both the `literal vs. free´ and `form vs. content´ debate that has continued until modern times” (p. 20). The approach of literal translation tries to keep the TT’s form as faithful as possible to that of the ST’s whereas free translation communicates the ST’s content as accurately as possible, making the TL as natural as possible (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, pp. 27–29).

The two poles of the translation ideal have produced two main types of translation theory: the semantic and the communicative (Newmark, 1988, p. 39; see also e.g. Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 35). According to Newmark (1988), semantic translation attempts to present, to the extent that the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original whereas communicative translation aims at producing an effect on the readers of the TT as close as possible to that produced on the readers of the ST (p. 39). He continues to note that there is no one method of the communicative or of the semantic theory of translating, and that there are often parts of a text that need to be translated communicatively while other parts
require to be translated semantically (p. 40). Considering that swear words do not refer to the literal meaning of the taboo word, that there is an interchangeability between swear words with differing literal meanings when they are used as swear words, as well as the fact that swearing lacks compositionality, the communicative translation theory seems, by definition, more applicable to the translation of swearing.

Largely, not until the communicative theories of translation were developed in the 1960s and later, did the theories start to emphasise the cultural differences of the ST and the TT and stress also factors outside language (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, pp. 45–46, pp. 55–56). The concept of dynamic equivalence by Nida (as cited in Vehmas-Lehto, 1999) was the first to emphasise the reactions of the recipient of the translation and how the equivalence of ST and TT could be achieved by producing a similar effect on the recipient of the translation as was produced on the recipient of the original text (p. 56). What changed with this theory was the thinking that a translation may differ from the original text not only in linguistic form but also in terms of its meaning; that is to say, the text can be brought nearer to the culture of the recipient (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 56).

Functional equivalence theories have taken the meaning of dynamic equivalence even further: instead of concentrating on the reaction of the recipient of the communication, which is difficult to measure, functional equivalence focuses on the function of the ST and TT (Vehmas-Lehto, p. 70). What is meant by the function can vary: function can refer to the purpose of complete texts or function can refer to the use of smaller units than complete texts, namely words, utterances or phrases (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 70).

One way of determining the function of a text is to divide texts based on their type (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 72). According to Reiss (1977/1989), there are three types of texts: informative, expressive and operative (pp. 108–109). Consequently, Vehmas-Lehto (1999) argues that the translator should analyse the ST and its parts, work out what functions the text has and to create a hierarchy of the functions. The hierarchy then determines the most important aspects that must be translated (p. 73). After Reiss (1977/1989), biographies can be characterised as having expressive characteristics as their functional dominance, but they also have characteristics of the informative function (p. 105). According to Vehmas-Lehto (1999) the dominance of an expressive
function in an autobiography means that the translator should aim at conveying the connotative and emotive meanings of the text and to a lesser extent translate the denotative or referential meanings (p. 77).

There are also other text functions mentioned by translation theorists, and one that is also evident in the text of Fry’s autobiography is metalinguistic function. Metalinguistic function means that the language of communication is highlighted as the subject of the conversation (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 79). In the next excerpt from Fry’s autobiography, the narrator describes the kind of swear words that were used in Public School:

(7) MIMW232
I hated sport, ekker, games, whatever they wanted to call it. And it was a fuck sight harder to get off ekker at Uppingham than it had been at prep school. ‘A fuck sight’ was the kind of language one used at Uppingham all the time, out of the hearing of staff.

This is an example of how the author brings the language of swearing into focus and makes it the topic of the conversation. Swearing utterances of the metalinguistic text function found from the research material are categorised under the label ‘swear words talked about as swear words’, and more examples of how the function appeared in Fry’s text can be seen in the appendix.

The above-mentioned theories aim at achieving equivalence between the original text and the translation, but the definition of equivalence varies between the theories (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 90). Vehmas-Lehto (1999) continues to state that all the equivalence types, however, have their problems, and it has been said that even the functional equivalence of a translated text can never be equal with the original text because the recipients of the ST and TT live in different social and cultural surroundings (p. 91). Therefore, the theorists of translation have come to emphasise the concept of acceptability instead (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, pp. 91–92). According to Toury (1980), a translation is acceptable when it adheres to “the linguistic and literary norms active in the TL” (pp. 54–55). In other words, the translator aims at creating a translation that is fluent in the target language and conforms to the norms of the target culture (Hjort, 2006, p. 77).

Based on the concept of acceptability (or adequacy, see footnote 1) and on the viewpoint of how the translation is positioned in the target linguistic or literary systems, Reiss and Vermeer (as cited

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2 According to Vehmas-Lehto (1999), Toury’s use of these terms differs from some other researchers in the discipline: by acceptability, Toury refers to what others call adequacy, whereas what others call equivalence, Toury calls adequacy (p. 92).
in Vehmas-Lehto, 1999) formulated an idea known as skopos theory (p. 92). The theory is named after *skopos* which is a Greek word for ‘aim’ or ‘purpose’, and accordingly, the theory focuses on the purpose of the translation (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984/1986, p. 55). The ways of translation (methods and strategies) are therefore chosen and applied in order to reach the aim of the translation (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984/1986, p. 58). As Vermeer (1989/2012) points out, the skopos of the translated text can differ from that of the original (p. 193). For example, the translation can be a summary of the main points of the original. On the other hand, the aim of the translation can also be similar to that of the original, but also in that case, the translation is directed toward the target culture situation (Vermeer, 1989/2012, p. 193).

Some of the critique against skopos theory claims that the theory does not apply to literary texts since, in certain cases, literary texts are considered to have no specific aim (Vermeer, 1989/2012, p. 194). Vermeer (1989/2012) invalidates this by stating that “if no aim can be attributed to an action, it can no longer be regarded as an action”; therefore, the creation of literature also involves purposeful action (pp. 194–195). He also points out that the skopos of a translation can be divided into three senses: the goal of the translation process, the result of the translated text and the intention of the mode of translation (p. 194). Another objection to the theory is a claim that a translator might not have a specific recipient in mind, but this claim is overturned by Vermeer (1989/2012) who argues that as long as a translator is working toward a comprehensible text, he or she is in fact aiming it toward a group of people of a certain level of intelligence, either consciously or unconsciously (p. 197). Nord (1991) further points out that even though the skopos theory emphasises the function of the translation instead of its equivalence to the original, it does not mean that the translator is allowed to formulate *any* translation scope for a specific text: The “possible translation scope [...] is based on the conventional concept of translation regarded as valid in the cultures involved” (pp. 93–93). In normal intercultural communication a translated text is usually interpreted to conform to the conventional concept of translation; therefore, the reader of a translated text takes, for example, the intention expressed in the translated text for the authentic intention of the original author (Nord, 1991, p. 94). Consequently, Nord (1991) suggests that the underlying rule of skopos theory should be loyalty: The translator must remain faithful both to the sender of the ST and to the recipient of the TT (p. 94).
Based on the results of a survey conducted among Finnish translators, skopos theory, or the aim for acceptability/adequacy is the most popular strategy for translators. I will present more on the results of the survey in the next subsection.

4.3. Swear words in translation

Hjort (2006) writes about the factors that affect the selection of swear words in audiovisual and literary translation in Finnish (pp. 74–84). She bases her claims on the results of a questionnaire she presented to Finnish literary and audiovisual translators and on her research on the translation of swear words (p. 74). For the questionnaire Hjort (2006) received 89 answers, of which 46 she got from translators of literature and 43 from audiovisual translators (p. 76). In this subsection I will introduce results of that survey that are applicable in this context.

According to Hjort (2006), literary translators strive to conform to the norm of acceptability/adequacy as their macro level strategy (p. 77). Likewise, the majority of the translators surveyed by Hjort (2006) claimed that the original word choice and grammatical form should not necessarily be maintained even at times when it is possible in the TL (p. 77). This is an understandable strategy to use in swear word translation because, as stated above, the literal meaning of the words used in swearing has been lost and they are, in fact, utterances expressing emotions. At the same time however, even within a single translation project, a translator might deviate from the strategy he or she generally follows, and instead in one micro level translation decision use another strategy (Hjort, 2006, pp. 76–77). However, according to Hjort (2007), maintaining the theme of the swear word was seen as an important factor affecting the choice of words in swear word translation (s. 8).

The fact that translators prefer to strive towards idiomatic language use in the target text supports the idea that the most important aspect in swear word translation is to convey the function of the swear word, not the form of the swearing utterance (Hjort, 2006, p. 78). According to Hjort (2006), the objective of finding a word in the target language that functions in a similar way to the original word in the source language sometimes leads to the formation of pairs of words that might guide the translator’s choice: the pair comprises an utterance in the original language and an utterance in the target language that is often used as its translation, not because it is the literal translation...
but because it has other matching characteristics (p. 78). An example of a pair like this are the words *fuck* in English and *vittu* `cunt` in Finnish; they can both be used in various ways and they both are among the most powerful and offensive swearing utterances of their respective languages (Hjort, 2006, p. 78). In fact, Schuurman states to have used *vittu* as the Finnish equivalence to *fuck* in her translation of Fry’s *Hippopotamus* for the reason that *vittu* matched the original swear word in terms of register, alliteration and the speaker’s characteristics (personal communication, October 23, 2014).

Also the maintaining of the degree of offensiveness was stated as one of the important factors of swear word translation among literary translators (Hjort, 2006, p. 78). In comparison, the audiovisual translators highlighted that written swear words are more gross than spoken swear words, and therefore they thought that omitting swear words or toning them down is not censorship but instead it is a way of keeping the translated utterance’s degree of offensiveness similar to the original (Hjort, 2006, p. 78-79). When asked whether Schuurman used some kind of listing on the offensiveness of swear words in either the SL or the TL to help her in her translation work, she stated that she only used a scale of offensiveness of both English and Finnish swearing utterances which was based on her own language skills. She also mentioned that especially in Fry’s case when the author uses swear words that are his very own, she sometimes had to think carefully of the register and the context of the swear word to be able to translate a correct level of offensiveness (personal communication, October 23, 2014).

Another interesting point of view rising from Hjort’s (2006) survey is that, according to some of the literary translators, it is not acceptable to bring the translation too close to the target culture. Rather, a feel of the original culture and language should be maintained even in the translation. Accordingly, some of the translators stated that they avoid using certain Finnish swear words, such as *perkele* `devil`, because they bring an air of too much “Finnishness” into a translated text (p. 79). Interestingly enough, Schuurman used the word *perkele* only once in her translation of *Koppava kloppi* (KK81).

In addition to strategy and the effect of the original language, according to Hjort (2006), other factors affecting the translation of swear words (into Finnish) are instructions and feedback, collocations of the Finnish language, phonetic features, the translator’s own idiolect and the
translator’s personality (pp. 81–83). Hjort (2006) includes not only the orders of the employer as the instructions a translator gets but also the directions received during education or found in professional literature as well as the opinion of colleagues (p. 79). In other words, it is not only the translator’s point of view that is being applied, but the translation may be influenced by someone else’s perspective as well (Hjort, 2006, p. 79). According to Hjort’s (2006) study, audiovisual translators receive far more instructions in terms of swear word translation than the translators of literature do (p. 80). When literary translators do receive instructions, they are usually given by the editor in the form of corrections to an already translated text, and the editor may instruct to use milder or stronger swear words (p. 80). According to Hjort (2006), the advice translators get during their education from their university teachers is mostly to maintain the function and to avoid word for word translation (Hjort, 2006, p. 80).

Also the feedback a translator gets from the audience may influence his or her future work and choices in terms of swear word translation as Hjort (2006, p. 80) points out. But regarding Schuurman (personal communication, October 23, 2014), she stated that she never received any feedback from the readers in terms of her swear word usage.

Such linguistic features of the target language as collocation and phonetics also influence the translator’s word choice (Hjort, 2006, p. 82). It is the influence of collocation that particular interjections typically appear with swear words, such as voi ‘oh’ or ei ‘no’ in Finnish, or that some swear words appear in the company of other swear words, such as in vittusaatana ‘cuntsatan´ (Hjort, 2006, p. 82). Also phonetic features, such as alliteration, may influence the choice of a swear word (Hjort, 2006, p. 82). Indeed, Schuurman (personal communication, October 23, 2014) states that her swear word decisions are often influenced for example by alliteration and internal rhyme.

Moreover, a great influence on the swear word choice is the translator themselves. In the Finnish language there are hundreds if not even thousands of swear words to choose from, but typically, people only use a fraction of the available word range (Hjort, 2006, p. 82). According to Hjort (2006), both authors and literary translators use approximately 12 to 13 different swear words of which only about 2 or 4 are used widely and others far less frequently (p. 82). Hjort (2006) also points out that it is not unusual that a translated text reflects the translator’s values, ideologies
and social norms, either through intentional choice or subconsciously (p. 82). When asked about her own attitude towards swear words and swearing and whether it might influence her translation decisions, Schuurman (personal communication, October 23, 2014) merely remarked that she had never thought about her own attitude of swearing having had influence on her translation work. She did state to have avoided the Finnish swear word *vittu `cunt´* in one of her translation works because she finds the word offending especially towards women and women were thought to be the main audience of the particular text. In Fry’s works, on the other hand, she stated not to have found this kind of consideration to be relevant because, according to her, swear words and vulgarisms are an important part of Fry’s language use (personal communication, October 23, 2014).

Also the context of the story, the traits of the depicted characters and the style of the text affect the literary translator’s choice of words as does the consideration of variation of the used swear words (Hjort, 2007, p. 8). Schuurman (personal communication, October 23, 2014) stated that she did not use a translation memory in the translation of Fry’s autobiography, so probably, the aim for variation was not among the most important aspects of her swear word translations nor the aim of translating one English swear word always as the same Finnish swear word. She did name the context, the sentence in which the swear word appears and the speaker’s character as the main influences in trying to form a fluent Finnish utterance.

In this subcategory I have named some of the reasons Finnish translators have stated as having the greatest influence on their swear word translation. Next, I will introduce a categorisation of swearing utterances according to their form.

**4.4 Categorisation of swearing constructions according to their pragmatic function**

As was stated above, a defining feature of swearing is its reflection of the speaker’s emotions. Next, I will introduce more specifically defined forms of how swearing can be used to express the multiple feelings and attitudes on the scale of human emotions: the pragmatic functions of the use of swear words. In this study the categorisation of swearing utterances according to their pragmatic functions is used in the analysis of omitting swearing from the Finnish translation and in the analysis of the translation of the English swearing utterances that are Fry’s own inventions.
Ljung (2011) argues that the pragmatic function variants of swear words can be divided into two major form groups: stand-alones and slot fillers (p. 30). He continues that there is in addition a third smaller category that he has termed ‘replacive swearing’ which stands for swear words that may express several non-literal meanings (pp. 30, 162). French has an example of such a word in foutre: it has the literal meaning of ‘fuck’ but it can also be used as a replacive for the verbs do, give and put, and it is for the addressee to interpret, with the help of the context, which meaning the speaker intended (pp. 162–163). However, this category was not present in this research material. Following Ljung, a categorisation of swearing into pragmatic functions along with examples of each construction in both English and Finnish can be seen in figure 1. In the following sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 I will go through and exemplify the pragmatic functions in more detail.

Ljung (2011) names his interviews with native speakers as the primary source of information for his discussion of swearing constructions (p. viii). He also states to have used the spoken component and the written component of direct speech of the British National Corpus to find further examples (pp. 75, 85). Thus, the examples Ljung provides for the different swearing utterances are of spoken language. Consequently, Ljung’s typology of swearing functions is easily applicable to transcribed spoken language, in other words, to the dialogue part of Fry’s autobiography. However, the research subject of this study constitutes largely of narration: the total amount of 191 swearing constructions in the original Fry’s autobiography is composed of 60 swearing utterances in dialogue and 131 swearing constructions in narration.

The term dialogue is used here to denote material from Fry’s text that models speech including single lines of direct speech, conversations between two or more people, and also, for example, Fry’s lines in a television programme. As for the narrative, it includes the description of events and the author’s thoughts, depicted either as they occurred during the recounted events or as they occurred at the time of writing the text. The following examples of the pragmatic functions of swearing are discussed from the point of view of applying the theory on both dialogue and narration.
**STAND-ALONES**

**expletive interjections:** Fuck! Bloody hell! Perkele! Ei helvetti!†

**oaths:** For fuck’s sake! (Does not exist in Finnish swearing)

**curses:** Fuck the pair of you! Piru sinut periköön!†

**name-calling**
- insulating the addressee: Bastard! Paskapää!
- referring to third party: The son of a bitch! Se kusipää!
- describing either the addressee or a third party: You are such a bastard! Sinä oot kyllä yks paskiainen!†

**affirmations and contradictions:** The hell it is! Paskan marjat!†

**unfriendly suggestions:** Kiss my ass! Vedä vittu päähäs!

**ritual insults:** Your mother! (Is not in common use in Finnish)

**SLOT FILLERS**

**name-calling**
- **anaphoric:** John borrowed my car but the son of a bitch never told me about it. Matti lainasi autoani, mutta se paskiainen ei kertonut minulle siitä!†
- **noun support:** Have you met Basil? – Yes, he’s a clever bastard. (Does not exist in Finnish swearing)
- **deictic:** Those mothers make a hell of a noise. Noista perkeleistä lähtee järkyttävä melu!†

**intensifying:** You know damn well it is! Se on saatanan suuri!

**expressing dislike:** Damn heater! Helvetin patteri!†

**placing emphasis:** I wish they’d all bloody leave me alone! Älä nyt vittu päälle aja!†

**expressing subjectivity:** They fucking bought one drink between them! Ne ostivat jumalauta vain yhden olen ja jakoivat sen!†

N.B. The dagger symbol (†) is used to indicate my examples

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**Figure 1. Categorisation of swear words according to their pragmatic functions**
4.4.1 Stand-alones

The term stand-alones refers to swearing constructions that are complete utterances and may function on their own (Ljung, 2011, p. 30). The stand-alone types can be further divided into seven different kind of uses: expletive interjections, oaths, curses, name-calling, affirmations and contradictions, unfriendly suggestions, and finally, ritual insults (pp. 30–33).

Expletive interjections. Expletive interjections are often considered cathartic, that is, not aimed at others but outlets of the speaker’s strong emotions caused by different situations, such as pain, annoyance or surprise (Ljung, 2011, p. 30). Expletive interjections can consist of a single word or be short phrases or clauses, such as *Shit!, Son of a bitch!* or *I’ll be damned!* (pp. 74–83). The following excerpt is an example of a cathartic reaction from the dialogue of Fry’s text:

(8) MIMW119–120

I took small amounts from several people to lessen the chance of there being a fuss.

‘Bloody hell, I had a bob here at lunchtime...’ would have been the cry of any boy robbed of a whole shilling.
Whereas, ‘Tsh, I’m sure had tuppence somewhere...’ was less likely to raise a hue and cry.

In this excerpt a boy realises some of his money has disappeared from his pocket in the changing room and reacts to the surprising find with the cathartic utterance *Bloody hell.*

Ljung’s typology of stand-alone swearing functions applies easily also to the swearing constructions in the narrative when the narrative is similar to speech, that is, for example, describing the narrator’s thoughts. Then, the expletive interjection function of swearing is a cathartic outlet of the character’s emotions but only in thought and not said out loud. For example, in the following excerpt Fry describes his thoughts after he has stated he cannot participate in a scheduled game of sport because he supposedly has fencing instead. An older student, who is supposed to check that all the appointed people participate in the game, then says that he should be marked down for another activity if he will not take part in the game. This is when we read how Fry reacts to the situation in his mind with a swearing construction:

(9) MIMW238

‘Oh. No. I can’t.’
‘What?’
‘I’m fencing.’
‘Fencing?’
I had heard someone say this the other day and they seemed to have got away with it. The polly flips through his book. ‘You’re not on the list as a fencer.’

Bollocks, there’s a list. I hadn’t thought of that.

‘But Mr Tozer told me to turn up,’ I whine. Mr Tozer, known inevitably as Spermy Tozer, was big in the world of sports like fencing and badminton and archery. Uppingham’s Tony Gubba. ‘I had expressed an interest.’

In this excerpt Fry’s swearing utterance is a reaction to a surprising situation when he discovers there is also a list of people appointed to the fencing practices, something he did not expect. His reaction is just shown to the reader as his thoughts in narration, not as an imitation of spoken words in dialogue. If the reaction was spoken language, it would classify as an expletive interjection expressing surprise and perhaps a bit of fear of being caught in a lie.

Ljung (2011) does not, however, see expletive interjections as being solely cathartic: according to him, in fact most expletive interjections are what he calls pragmatic markers (pp. 86–95). Pragmatic markers are either responses to a previous statement in a conversation or are used to express the speaker’s attitude towards what he or she will state next or have just stated (pp. 86–95). The swearing construction of an expletive interjection can be said to express interaction and be an independent turn in a conversation, for example, when someone states Jesus! as an expression of disbelief at what the other person has just said (p. 90). Or a person might express their attitude towards the statement they themselves make by adding an expletive interjection to it, such as in God that’s clever! (p. 22). However, although representatives of these pragmatic marker subcategories of expletive interjection were among the research material, in the analysis of this research and in terms of the results gained from it, the division of the expletive interjections into cathartic reactions and pragmatic markers was found insignificant. Thus, in order to maintain a simple approach to a multifaceted theory, the different subcategories of expletive interjections are not presented in any more detail nor are they included in figure 1. However, they can be seen in the appendix.

The category of expletive interjections is a major category in the sense that it “attracts expressions from other categories of swearing whose primary function is not merely to express the speaker’s feelings”, as Ljung puts it (Ljung, 2011, p. 82). For example, the expression Son of a bitch!, originally used as a name-calling utterance to insult someone, has become an expression used to
comment on a situation and conveying, for instance, the feelings of irritation or surprise caused by the situation when it has turned into an expletive interjection (Ljung, 2011, pp. 82–83).

Oaths. Another type of stand-alone swearing construction is oaths. Oath-taking is one of the oldest forms of swearing (Ljung, 2011, p. 97). Originally, people used oaths to swear by something or someone in support of telling the truth, but later utterances such as By God! stopped being used as serious appeals to God and became a way to add emphasis to an utterance (pp. 30–31). According to Ljung (2011), in the English of today By God! and other similar utterances have been replaced by a construction of for…sake(s) in which various religious terms can be placed (p. 102). These have in turn developed further to oaths of the kind of (for) fuck(‘s) sake (p. 102).

The research material includes one oath construction in the dialogue part of the text. The following excerpt is an example of an oath in the form of for …’s sake which is used as expletive interjections:

(10) MIMW78
‘Right, in you get.’
‘Come on, boy!’
‘It’s not cold, for God’s sake…’
‘Legs! Legs, legs, legs! Get those legs working!’

In this example the utterance for God’s sake has the form of an oath but is used as an expletive interjection adding emphasis to the previous statement it’s not cold. Thus, although Ljung names oaths as a type of a stand-alone swearing construction, for the reason that swearing should not be understood literally, these constructions are, in fact, used as expletive interjections and only take the form of `serious´ oaths.

Ljung (2011) also states that the use of oaths is in decline in the European languages (p. 103). A statement which is supported by the difficulty to exemplify the swearing construction of oaths in Finnish. An example of an oath in Tammi’s (2007) dictionary of Finnish swear words beginning with the word kautta ‘by’ is for example Kautta kiven ja kannon ‘By the rock and the stump’, but as Tammi states, the phrase is closer to actual swearing by something than swearing in the sense of using offensive language (p. 219). While the English religious for…sake is the modern version of by God, in Finnish there is a similar structure herran tähden ‘for God’s sake’. But as Tammi (2007) notes, this structure is more of a lament than a swear word and is quite a discreet way of
expressing emotions (p. 95). Apparently, Finnish does not include other taboo words than the religious term relating to the Christian deity in this structure.

Based on the findings in the research material of the present study, it could be argued that the stand-alone swearing constructions of oaths can also be used in the narrative. For example, in the following excerpt from Fry’s text:

(11) MIMW7–8
He had been treated like a worm when he was small, now it was his turn to treat those under him like worms. He was ten, for heaven’s sake. He was allowed to wear long trousers.

In this excerpt the stand-alone swearing utterance that is in the form of an oath (for heaven’s sake) is used in narration like an expletive interjection is used in a speech situation: emphasising the preceding phrase. In other words, it gives extra strength to convince that a boy’s being ten years old is enough of a reason for him to exercise privileges of seniority over younger, new boys at school.

**Curses.** Another pragmatic function of swearing according to Ljung (2011, p. 107) is cursing. Cursing originally meant calling something evil on a person or a thing that is being cursed, and it has a long history, which can be traced back to ancient Egyptians (Ljung, 2006, p. 12). According to Ljung (2006), curses that have remained popular through the ages are wordings with May and its counterparts in other languages (p. 13), such as May the Devil take you! and May you burn in hell! (p. 115). But these are serious curses with the wish and believed ability to cause harm on someone even in cases where God or the devil are not actually addressed (Ljung, 2011, p. 108). Therefore, because these serious curses use the taboo word to refer to the literal meaning and because they are compositional (i.e. the meaning of the sentence can be deduced from the meaning of the words in it) rather than formulaic, these serious curses cannot be counted as swearing (Ljung, 2011, p. 108).

Non-serious curses can name God or the devil but not in the form of addressing either but rather as “formulaic constructions expressing the speaker’s dislike of something or somebody” (Ljung, 2011, p. 108). However, curses do not need to name either of the spiritual beings; they only need an appropriate predicate verb denoting a taboo, such as Fuck the pair of you! (Ljung, 2011, p. 108).
Ljung (2011) argues that the dated curse *the devil take* is replaced these days by the unfriendly suggestion of *Go to hell!* or a construction semantically so close to *the devil take* that it can be counted as a curse, namely *To hell with...!* (pp. 109–110). In his text Fry uses the verb *damn* in several cursing utterances, such as in the following example:

(12) MIMW222

`Oh, yes. The Unbelievable String Band is better than Jethro Tull.´
Carmichael smiled, `Er, I think you mean "The Incredible String Band", don't you?´
`Oh,' I said. `Damn. Yes.´

The previous excerpt is from the dialogue of Fry’s text and it uses the cursing utterance *damn* as a comment on the mistake he just made with the band name. In Fry’s text, a cursing utterance is also used in the narrative which describes the author’s thoughts as can be seen in the next example:

(13) MIMW192

Like Holmes he had a great musical gift; like Holmes he could be abominably rude to those close to him and charm itself to total strangers; like Holmes he delighted in piquancy and problemsolving for their own sakes, never for gain or fame; like Holmes he combined dreamy abstraction with ruthless logic and an infinite capacity for taking pains; like Holmes he was exceptionally tall, strong and gaunt. Damn it, my father even smoked pipes – for years he virtually lived inside a cloud of thick smoke.

In this excerpt the curse *damn it* is used to place emphasis on the following statement. Thus, similar to oaths, curses that fall within the definition of swearing only take the form of curses and are, in truth, used as expletive interjections.

It is possible to also curse the self: self-curses have the same aim as oaths, that is, to strengthen the speaker’s commitment to the truth of his utterance, like in *I’m buggered if I can remember!* or *Buggered if I can tell the difference!* (Ljung, 2011, p. 112). Self-curses have sometimes lost the conditional construction and are used as expressions of the speaker’s feelings and therefore turn into expletive interjections, such as *I’ll be damned!* (Ljung, 2011, p. 112).

**Name-calling.** The name-calling utterances are variants of swearing that can be categorised as belonging to both the stand-alone group and to the main group of slot fillers. Accordingly, the category of name-calling can be found in two places in figure 1, and examples of name-calling types are presented also in the subsection of slot filler constructions of swearing.
Name-calling draws from unfavourable, evaluative taboo nouns, and in the main category of stand-alone swearing utterances, these epithets are used in three different ways: insulting the addressee, referring to a third party, or describing either the addressee or a third party (Ljung, 2011, pp. 32–33, 125–127). As Ljung (2011) states, the type that insults the addressee directly can begin with You but does not have to, such as You bastard! or Son of a bitch! (pp. 127–128). An example of a name-calling utterance directed to insult the addressee from Fry’s text can be seen in the next excerpt:

(14) MIMW384–385
The burden of his tirade was the worry that I caused my poor mother and my poor father. Had I any idea?
‘Did I make them unhappy?’ I asked.
‘Of course you did, you young bastard,’ he snapped.
‘Unhappy enough to end their own lives?’
‘No,’ he called after me as I fled, ‘because they’ve got more guts.’

In this excerpt Fry describes how a man working for his father rebuked him after his attempt to end his own life as a teenager and calls him a bastard.

The second stand-alone manner of calling names, such as The bastard!, is directed towards a third party and it could either be a response to information provided of the person during a conversation or a comment to witnessing the third party behaving in a way regarded foolish by the speaker (Ljung, 2011, p. 127). No examples of the name-calling construction directed toward a third party were found in the dialogue part of Fry’s text. However a construction appeared in the narrative part of Fry’s text, which can be directed toward a third party but which Fry in this case uses to abuse himself:

(15) MIMW419–420
Barry had, when I had collected my wage packet at the end of my first week as a con, told me that the best way to make your burn go further is to pre-roll the cigarettes and lay them out to dry on the radiator pipe of your cell. I had dutifully done this and returned from Association to find every single one of my beautifully rolled cigarettes gone.
‘Lesson number one, matey,’ he said. ‘You can't trust no one on the inside.’
What an arse. The cell door is left open during Association, it is only closed when the occupant is ‘banged up’ inside.

In this excerpt Fry uses the name-calling utterance What an arse. It is a construction that could be used to abuse a third person; however, Fry uses it to call himself an arse, that is, ‘a fool’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006a, p. 42).
The third type of the stand-alone name-calling constructions uses the expletive epithet predicatively to express the speaker’s dislike of the addressee or a third party, such as in You are such a bastard! (Ljung, 2011, pp. 127–128). This type of name-calling construction was quite common in Fry’s text: although none of these constructions were present in the dialogue, in the narrative this construction appeared 26 times. In the following example there are altogether three instances of the predicative name-calling function:

(16) MIMW108
Everyone was more or less an arse most of the time, but I was arsier than just about everyone else in the school. In fact, in my case he would often go further – I was on many occasions a bumptious arse.

The predicative name-calling construction is used a lot by Fry to describe how he felt about other people and of himself, or, as in the previous example, how someone else felt about others and about him.

Additionally, a few cases appeared in the research material in which a swearing utterance expresses a negative opinion not of people but of entities such as the ground. For instance, Fry writes the following description of his childhood home and the estate gardener’s opinion on the soil:

(17) MIMW180
The Tubby brothers gardened, but they eventually left to be replaced by Mr Godfrey who ran the garden for many years and who delighted my brother and me by talking to himself a great deal in an endless stream of complaint about how the soil was ‘a bitch’ whenever it was cold.

In this excerpt Fry describes how the gardener used to direct insults towards the ground. In another occasion, the name-calling is aimed at a snobby attitude:

(18) MIMW91
If you can’t hear ‘Eine Klein Nachtmusik’, they say, without thinking of Robert Robinson and Brain of Britain, or Mozart’s ‘Musical Joke’ without Hickstead and the Horse of the Year Show galloping through you head, then you’re a philistine. Well that’s just the arse’s arse. The same snobbery is being applied now to pop music and we are starting to hear complaints about the Kinks being yoked to the Yellow Pages and John Lee Hooker turning into a lager salesman.

In this excerpt Fry uses a deictic name-calling construction (more on this construction below) to insult the opinion he describes some people have of commercialising classical music. Thus, clearly the action of name-calling can be targeted also towards other entities than just people.
It is also not solely negative feelings that can be expressed with swear words. Ljung (2006) points out how in Swedish a compliment on the taste of a meal just eaten can be expressed with the utterance *Maten var skitgod!* ‘The food was shit good!’ (p. 36). Also in the research material, there are a couple of occasions which are expressions of positive emotions. For example, the utterance in the following excerpt expresses admiration:

(19) MIMW85
Music takes me to places of illimitable sensual and insensate joy, accessing points of ecstasy that no angelic lover could ever locate, or plunging me into gibbering weeping hells of pain that no torturer could ever devise. Music makes me write this sort of mauling adolescent nonsense without embarrassment. Music is in fact the dog's bollocks. Nothing else comes close.

In this excerpt the expletive epithet *dog’s bollocks* ‘the best of its kind’ (*Oxford Dictionaries*, n.d.) is used in the construction of predicative name-calling to describe Fry’s positive feelings about music. Characteristics that support the inclusion of this construction into the category of swearing are that the utterance uses a taboo word, and does not use the taboo word in its literal meaning but to express feelings, and clearly the construction lacks characteristics of compositionality. Thus, not only negative but also positive feelings can be expressed with swearing.

In addition, the research material includes insulting swearing utterances that differ from the above stated definition of name-calling. One type of a swearing utterance that appeared several times in the research material is a predicative name-calling construction in which the construction does not contain an unfavourable taboo noun but instead an adjective. Fry commonly employs new lexemes such as *screwed up* and *fucked up* in this construction, such as in the following example:

(20) MIMW19
Jo, my adorable sister, wasn't sent away at all, as girls weren't by then. She was fairly fucked up as a teenager but arguably because of the very fact that she didn't go to boarding school.

These new lexemes in name-calling utterances comment on the mental state of the person described in an unfavourable way. These utterances should be counted as name-calling because they use new lexemes derived of taboo words which are not used in their literal sense but to express an unfavourable opinion of another person.
Also, a construction similar to the predicative name-calling appears in the research material, which denies that someone is of a certain unfavourable character, such as in the following example of Fry describing his brother:

(21) MIMW18–19
Roger, my adorable brother, was and is far from fucked up after all, and he was the first to be sent away and might reasonably be expected to have felt the greater sense of abandonment, there being no elder in whose footsteps he might follow.

In this excerpt a person is described similarly to the predicative name-calling function, only it is meant to characterise the person as lacking the feature under discussion. Thus, essentially, it is not a name-calling construction, but it is a construction that uses a taboo word, not in its literal sense but instead to describe the narrator’s feelings towards the person. Therefore, it could be assigned the status of swearing and placed under the stand-alone predicative name-calling constructions. In the appendix I have labelled these type of constructions as ‘predicative name-calling negation’.

Name-calling appears in the narrative of the research material also in a couple of additional ways. These utterances deviate from Ljung’s three determined name-calling types in the main category of stand-alone swearing constructions insomuch that I felt they needed to be placed into a category of their own. I will present these findings in more detail in subsection 4.4.3.

**Affirmations and contradictions.** Stand-alone swearing utterances can also be used to affirm or deny the preceding utterance in dialogue (Ljung, 2011, p. 32). Often, these expressions draw from scatological terms such as Pig’s arse it is! (Ljung, 2011, pp. 105–106). This utterance is also used by Fry as can be seen in the following example:

(22) MIMW173
Well, have we seen ‘a great change?’ Has the supremacy of the middle-classes ended? In a pig's arse has it ended. Even today, mutatis mundis, the character of the English is defined by the character of its (still rising) middle-classes and even today, the character of those middle-classes is defined by the character of the (still disproportionately) powerful public-school product.

In this excerpt Fry uses the denial Pig’s arse to comment on whether the supremacy of the middle-class has ended. This is the only occasion an affirming or denying swearing construction is used in Fry’s text. As can be seen from the example above, this construction is also applicable to a narrative text when it describes the narrator’s thoughts. According to Ljung (2011), contradicting
with swear word utterances is, for reasons unknown, far more common than affirming with using similar expressions (p. 32).

**Unfriendly suggestions.** Unfriendly suggestions are similar to name-calling in the way that they are both types of insults that express the speaker’s negative feelings which are directed towards another person (Ljung 2011, pp. 32, 114). Unfriendly suggestions are not to be taken literally, and utterances, such as *Go to hell!* as well as the demeaning suggestions *Kiss my ass!* or the Finnish *Haista vittu* ‘Smell a cunt’, are not real suggestions, “even if their literal meanings may encourage such an interpretation”, as Ljung (2011) states (pp. 32, 138–139). The only time an unfriendly suggestion was used in Fry’s work can be seen in the following example:

```
(23) MIMW414
It was on my second night's Association that a large con put his hand on my knee and told me that I was cute.
‘Ere, why don't you fuck off and leave 'im alone,' a Bristolian car-theif next to me said.
There was no fight. That was it.
```

In this excerpt Fry uses the unfriendly suggestion *fuck off*, meaning ‘go away’ (*Oxford Dictionaries*, n.d.), as the line someone told to a prisoner who was making advances on Fry.

**Ritual insults.** The last type of stand-alone swearing constructions are ritual insults. These are insults that are typically “disparaging remarks [...] involving reflections on the sexual mores of female relatives of the addressee, in particular mothers, and inviting some kind of verbal duelling” (Ljung, 2011, p. 114). Because of their predictable nature, ritual insults have developed to be used in their abbreviated form stating merely *Your mother!* or *Your mother’s!* (Ljung, 2011, p. 32). Ljung (2011) states also that, according to his research, these mother-themed insults are not in common use in the Finnish language (p. 121). There were no examples of ritual insults in Fry’s text or in the translated version. Furthermore, according to Ljung (2011), this type of swearing does not even exist in Finnish at least not in a scale of importance (p. 121).

In summary, the subcategories in the main group of stand-alone swearing utterances exemplify the pragmatic functions swearing constructions can be used for. But as Ljung (2011) states, his list of categories is by no means representative of the vast range of feelings that can be expressed with swearing (pp. 21–23). It is up to the listener, or the reader, to interpret whether, for example, the pragmatic function of name-calling expresses the speaker’s dislike of a person, or the
speaker’s feeling of disappointment toward the person and their actions, or the speaker’s feeling of anger in the situation, or perhaps all of these emotions at once. The theory of stand-alone swearing constructions is also applicable to swearing in narrative when the narration is similar to transcribed speech, that is, indirect speech or describing someone’s thoughts as ‘silent speech’.

4.4.2 Slot fillers

Now, the other major group of swear word functions is slot-fillers. Contrary to the stand-alone swearing constructions, slot-fillers “are not themselves independent utterances but are used inside larger units” (Ljung, 2011, p. 143). The most popular expletive slot fillers in British English are bloody and fucking, while other widely used examples are damn(ed), goddamn and the one mainly used in American English motherfucking (Ljung, 2011, pp. 143–144). As can be seen in figure 1, some of the name-calling constructions, namely anaphoric use of epithets, noun supports and deictic name-calling, belong rather to slot fillers than to stand-alone constructions. Other slot-filler functions are intensifying, expressing dislike, placing emphasis and expressing subjectivity (Ljung, 2011, pp. 33–34).

Anaphoric use of epithets. The name-calling construction of anaphoric use of epithets means that the expletive epithet refers back to an earlier mentioned word or to a person, such as in Martin borrowed my car but the bastard never told me about it, in which the epithet the bastard refers back to Martin. Or as in an example from Fry’s text, the target of an anaphoric name-calling construction is his colleague Hugh:

(24) MIMW96
I can’t remember why I had to sing and why Hugh couldn’t have looked after the vocal department as he usually did. Perhaps he had a mouth organ to deal with too. Hugh can sing splendidly, and play any musical instrument you throw at him, the son of a son of a son of a son of a son of a bitch.

This example of an anaphoric name-calling construction from Fry’s text appears in the narrative. The construction is used also in the dialogue of the research material.

Nouns supports and deictic name-calling. According to Ljung (2011), when epithets, such as bastard, are used as noun supports, they lose their negative charge and are instead used as ‘fillers’ to which adjectives may be hung, like in Have you met Basil? –Yes, he’s a clever bastard (p. 127–
The following excerpt from Fry’s text is a swearing utterance which combines the noun support construction with the type of deictic name-calling. It is from a part of the text in which Fry looks back at how he used to hate sports when he was young because he could not do them:

(25) MIMW236

Those poor buggers in the gym trying to get my hopeless weedy body to do something healthy like climb a rope or spring over a vaulting horse, they did their best. They weren't stupid, they weren't mean.

This excerpt is an example of both the noun-support name-calling and the deictic name-calling constructions. Deictic name-calling is a construction in which the expletive epithet ‘points to’ the thing it denotes which can only be deduced in the context it is used in (Ljung, 2011, p. 128). These three types of name-calling are not independent utterances and therefore Ljung (2011) categorises them into the slot filler group (pp. 34–35).

Intensifying. Intensifiers express either a high degree of the following adverb or adjective, such as in *It’s bloody marvellous* (Ljung, 2011, p. 33), or as in the following excerpt from the dialogue of Fry’s text:

(26) MIMW241

‘Where is it, Fry?’
‘Second on the left, you can’t miss it. Smells of urine and excrement.’
‘Don’t be clever. I gave you a triple tish call yesterday.’
‘You did? Are you sure you’re not thinking of my brother?’
‘Don’t be cheeky, you know bloody well.’
‘I’m afraid it entirely slipped my mind.’

In this excerpt the slot filler swear word *bloody* is used by another boy in a conversation with Fry to convey that Fry should know very well what the other boy is referring to, in other words, the swear word refers to the high intensity of the following adverb *well*. According to Ljung (2011), intensifiers can also express a high degree of a following gradable noun, like in *You bloody idiot!* (p. 148). Ljung (2011) further notes that expletives can also be joined to the following adjective or adverb to express intensification by forming a compound, such as in *pisspoor*, but he also states that this is not a very common practice in English (p. 33). Intensity can also be expressed in English by postposed *as-* and *like*-phrases, such as *They ran like hell* or *She’s fast as hell*, as well as with the phrase *a hell of a(n)* (Ljung, 2011, pp. 34, 16) which also appears in Fry’s text as the following example illustrates:

(27) MIMW233

Games mattered at Uppingham. If you had your First Fifteen colours, you were one hell of a blood. If you represented just your House, let alone the school in some sport, it gave you something, an air, a
reason to feel good about yourself, a sense of easy superiority that no amount of mental suffering with irregular verbs could threaten.

In this excerpt the phrase *one hell of a* is used to express a high degree of *blood*, in other words, if a boy was good at sports he was considered superior to the rest at school. And as this example shows, the intensifying slot filler can easily be used also in the narrative part of text.

**Expressing dislike or placing emphasis.** Expletives such as *bloody* and *fucking* can also be used to express dislike or to place emphasis on the following noun (Ljung, 2011, pp. 149–151). Although Ljung (2011) claims that it is sometimes difficult to separate these two functions, he argues that with the help of the context of the expression, it is possible to name which of them seems to be the main function (pp. 149–150). For example, in the following excerpt from Fry’s text, the function of the expletive seems to be to express contempt and dislike:

(28) MIMW214
I suppose those who do not like or approve of magic sense firstly that magicians are the kind of disreputable or vengefully nebbish outsiders who relish putting one over on others and secondly that they themselves, as the victims of a trick, are not quite confident enough in themselves to take it laughingly. They are the kind who tug violently at the magician's sleeves halfway through a performance or say, with snorting contempt, that it is, after all, only a bloody trick.

In this example the word *bloody* seems to be used as an expression of the audience’s dislike of a magicians performance by connecting it to the words *only a trick* which call the performance a mere act of illusion. In the next excerpt the main function of the same slot filler seems to be more that of placing emphasis:

(29) MIMW313
`Oh,` he said again. Then. `Why do you like me then?´
`Christ, Osborne,´ I said, getting a bit senior in my panic at the direction all this seemed to be going in, `I like most people. You seem harmless. You're polite and most importantly of all, you laugh at my bloody jokes. You fishing for compliments here or what?´

In this example the swear word *bloody* is placed before the word *jokes*, which seems to emphasise that Fry’s liking for his friend is based on the fact that he laughs at Fry’s jokes, and not at him. The excerpt number 28 also exemplifies how the slot filler expressing dislike/emphasis can be used in narrative text. Ljung (2011) also notes that “to place emphasis on a following element is by no means restricted to the position before noun phrases” (p. 151). Slot fillers, such as *bloody* and *fucking*, can be used as emphasisers before a range of clause constituents, such as in front of an infinitive, as in *I wish they’d all bloody leave me alone*, or before an adjective or an adverb, such as
in *We’re always fucking late* (Ljung, 2011, pp. 151–152). Furthermore, words like *bloody* and *damn* can be used to place emphasis also on preceding words, like on the superlative in *We got the worst damn place anybody could* or like on the determiner *every* in *Every damn call is $5.25* (Ljung, 2011, p. 152). Emphasis can also be expressed by placing a swear word after an interrogative such as in *Who the devil...?* or *Why the fuck...?* as well as by inserting the expletive into linguistic units that are normally considered impenetrable: into a word, such as *absobloodylutely*, or into a phrase, such as *Shut the fuck up!* as Ljung also (2011, pp. 34, 153) notes. This type of insertion also appears in Fry’s text in several occasions, such as in the following excerpt:

(30) MIMW236  
And you want to know the joke, the sick, repulsive joke?  
I love sports.  
I love ´games´.  
I a-fucking-dore them. All of them. From rugby league to indoor bowls. From darts to baseball. Can't get enough. Cannot get e-fucking-nough.  
Now I do, now.

In this example the slot filler *fucking* is placed into the words *adore* and *enough* in order to place emphasis on these words. Again, the example is from the narrative part of the text, exemplifying that the function can be used in narrative texts in addition to dialogue. In addition, as Ljung (2011) notes, emphasis can also be placed with stand-alone swearing utterances (p. 151), which was noted also above (see excerpt number 10).

**Expressing subjectivity.** Ljung (2011) categorises one final type of slot-filler swearing, and that is the type expressing subjectivity (p. 34). He calls swearing utterances such as *bloody, bloody well* and *fucking* in constructions such as *No you bloody can’t copy, I bloody well drank my beer* and *They fucking bought one drink between them* as expletive modal adverbials whose pragmatic function is to convey attitudes (Ljung, 2011, p. 34). An example of subjectivity from Fry’s text can be seen in the following excerpt in which the slot filler *bloody* is used to express the obvious quality of the speaker’s actions:

(31) MIMW246  
´This afternoon... ow! You're hurting me!´  
´Of course I'm bloody hurting you! Do you think I would be exerting this much pressure for any other reason? Go on. "This afternoon..." you said.´

In this example the slot filler *bloody* expresses the speaker’s attitude about stating the obvious nature of his actions. This example of the slot filler expressing subjectivity was the only one of
those appearing in Fry’s text in the dialogue part of the text. Six others exemplify that the same function can be applied to narrative text when the narrative conveys ‘silent speech’.

To summarise, the slot filler swear words are not independent utterances but are used to ‘replace’ neutral words, such as in example 26, in which the expletive bloody has replaced the adverb very, or they are used to add to the effect of the clause constituents next to which they are used (except for the expression of subjectivity which may have scope even further). Slot filler swear words, such as damn and bloody, can be used in pragmatic functions that express the emotion of dislike or indicate a personal opinion; in other words, these words are used to voice the speaker’s feelings and attitudes. Slot fillers can also signal a high degree and place emphasis, such as in I wish they’d all bloody leave me alone!. in these occasions the presence of the slot fillers in the utterance accentuates the expressed emotion; thus, their use is emotive language. The slot filler variants introduced in this subsection were mostly exemplified with expletives that are quite common in English. In Fry’s text, there are a few slot fillers which are unusual and quite clearly the author’s own inventions. More on these in subsection 5.3.

4.4.3 Swearing constructions that could not be placed under the two main categories

In addition to the above-mentioned types of swearing utterances, the research material includes also a few swearing construction which could not be classified under either of the two main categories. These include constructions that are quite close to the predicative name-calling constructions but which do not directly state that a certain entity (e.g. My car) is (e.g. was) of a certain kind (e.g. a piece of shit). For example, the next example shows how Fry has a negative impression of his younger self and thinks he was a weasly cunt, but instead of using a predicative structure and stating I was a weasly cunt he uses an illocutionary form of we’ll call me:

(32) MIMW120
There's more on this theme coming later. Let's just say for the time being that I was wicked. When I wanted money or sweets, I stole them and I didn't care from whom. From my mother's handbag at home or from the desks and hanging clothes of my fellow pupils. For the moment, we'll call me a weasly cunt and have done with it.

In this excerpt Fry is clearly describing himself with an unfavourable, evaluative taboo noun of cunt, not in its literal sense but to express his attitude toward his behaviour when he was young. Because this does not fit into the name-calling categories provided by Ljung, another category
labelled ‘narrative name-calling’ was introduced to include this and other utterances that use taboo words in a similar way. Also other types of swearing constructions appearing in the research material which included a swearing utterance but which could not be classified as representatives of any of Ljung’s name-calling categories were placed into the category of narrative name-calling, such as the following example:

(33) MIMW310

He carried the smell of pipe tobacco about with him and tolerated my arsiness, frivolity and absolute incompetence and lack of common sense in those fields of endeavour which came so naturally to him [...].

In this example the expletive epithet and taboo word arse is used in the form of my arsiness to express Fry’s unfavourable opinion of himself when he was younger. Therefore, it can be called a swearing construction and appointed to the category of narrative name-calling.

Additionally, utterances using new verb lexemes were found in the research material, and they did not fit into any of Ljung’s (2011) defined pragmatic functions of swearing. These include two occasions in which the utterance employs the verb lexeme arse about. The following excerpt is an example of such a construction:

(34) MIMW295

Aside from that, I can't remember what I actually did to justify my presence in the band, apart from a little incompetent hammering on the piano when Rick was playing the guitar or singing. I suppose I just arsed about entertainingly.

In this example the swearing construction includes the new verb lexeme arse about which replaces the verb of the sentence. This construction could not be placed into any of the above-mentioned categories of the pragmatic functions of swearing. However, also this construction conveys the author’s attitude toward his behaviour and uses the taboo word to express that attitude and not in the literal sense of the word. Therefore, also these two occasions fall within the definition of swearing as also Ljung (2006) notes in his earlier research (pp. 59–60, 130–132). Therefore, utterances using new verb lexemes are included in the research material of this study.

In subsection 4.4 I introduced the two major groups of swearing functions and their different manifestations according to Ljung’s (2011) theorising. In addition, I exemplified some swearing constructions that appeared in the analysed material but did not fit into the existing theory. Next, I will present the findings of my analysis conducted according to the following research questions:
What are the reasons for omitting so many swear words from the Finnish version of Fry’s autobiography? And, how has the translator dealt with swear words that are so unusual that they must have been invented by the author?
5 ANALYSING THE OMISSION OF SWEAR WORDS AND THE TRANSLATION OF UNPRECEDENTED SWEAR WORDS

In this section I will present the quantitative and qualitative findings of my research. In my research I analysed the omitting of swear words and the translation of more unusual swear words in the Finnish version of Stephen Fry’s original work Moab is my Washpot. At first, I will shortly present how the definition of swearing was applied in the analysis of swearing utterances in the research material in question. Following that, I will present the findings of analysing the omitting of swearing from Koppava kloppi (translated by Titia Schuurman) and discuss some possible explanations for the omissions. In the third subsection I will present the findings of my research into how the translator deals with swear words invented by the author of the original work.

5.1 The analysed material

In swear word research the researcher should not pay attention only to single swear words but also to longer formulas (e.g. Go to hell!) and frames (e.g. Who gives a ____?) (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990, p. 59). Therefore, it should be pointed out that in this study individual swear words were analysed as part of complete swearing utterances according to the applied typology of pragmatic functions. Thus, when there are several swear words, for example, in a line of dialogue which are all assigned separate functions, they are all analysed individually as in the next example (indicated with my underlinings):

(35) MIMW413
`You can fucking think of it what you fucking like. You will not call that cunt a fucking potty, you will call that cunt a fucking slop-pail, got it?`.

In the excerpt the first fucking was assigned the function of placing emphasis on the following word think. While the second fucking was assigned the same function, its emphasis is directed towards the word like. The word cunt, on the other hand, was placed in the category of anaphoric name-calling in both cases, and the third and fourth fucking received again the categorisation of emphasising the words potty and slop-pail respectively. But in cases such as the following excerpt:

(36) MIMW133
I picked up some huge pieces of builder’s rubble nearby and started to hurl them at the boys, roaring the kind of meaningless obscenities that only pure fury can put into the mind. `You shit spike wank turdy bastardheads... how do you fucking like it, you tossing tossers... that kind of thing.´
only the word *fucking* was assigned a solitary function of emphasising the preceding word *you*, while the other swear words were all part of longer formulas. In other words, the separate swear words in the name-calling construction of *You shit spike wank turdy bastardheads* as well as in *you tossing tossers* were seen as constituting only two swearing constructions. However, by definition there were bound to be overlapping functions in these longer swearing constructions such as in the previous excerpt in the utterance *You tossing tossers*. It is clearly an utterance of the stand-alone name-calling function as it has the characteristics of beginning with the personal pronoun *you* and using one of the major English expletive epithets, *tosser*, as the unfavourable, evaluative taboo noun to insult the addressee. However, this stand-alone swearing utterance contains also the slot filler *tossing* which could be defined as having the function of expressing dislike of the following noun. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, in this type of integration between stand-alones and slot fillers, the stand-alone function was seen as the overriding function, and the utterance *You tossing tossers* was assigned the pragmatic function of name-calling and counted as one instance of swearing.

After a careful study of the whole volume of Fry’s autobiography, which meant going through 432 pages of text in English and 381 pages of the story in Finnish, 191 instances of swearing were found in the original work, of which 149 were translated into Finnish with swear words. Thus, clearly not all of the swearing was conveyed into Finnish. Next, I will take a closer look at what was omitted and consider some reasons for it.

### 5.2 Omissions

In this subsection I will take a look at swear words that appear in the ST but which were omitted from the TT. From the total amount of 191 swearing constructions in the original text, 42 were omitted from the Finnish translation. Here, omission means that the swear word in the original text is either totally left out of the translated text or is expressed with an utterance that does not meet the criteria for swearing as presented earlier in section 4.1 of this paper.

An assumption that the total number of swear words would remain the same between the original text and the translation would be supported by several factors presented above in this report,
including the fact that swearing is as a way of expressing emotions, and its use in a work of literature is always a choice for the author. Then, as Finnish translators generally strive to follow the theory of acceptability, according to which a translation should conform to the norms of the target language while staying loyal to the original author, and as the dominating expressive function of an autobiography should mean that the translation conveys the emotive and connotative meanings of the text, it could be expected that a similar mode of expressing those emotions would be used in the translated text. In other words, even though translators do not feel that on the level of word choices the original should be maintained in the translation even if that would be possible, it could be expected that the stylistic choice of the original author (i.e. using swearing utterances) would be conveyed in the Finnish version as well since swearing is language use that is present in both English and Finnish. Also, because while the use of swearing utterances may be frowned upon, it is not restricted in Finnish. And finally also because the translator herself has stated that, as far as she could tell, her own values or social norms have not affected her translations, especially with Fry’s original works because she feels vulgarisms are an important factor in Fry’s language use.

Despite these several factors supporting the assumption, 22 % of the swearing utterances appearing in the original text were omitted from the Finnish translation. An apparent reason for omitting the act of swearing from the Finnish text was not evident every time an omission was detected. For example, in one of the two cases in which an English swear word was totally left out of the Finnish version, an instantly apparent reason for omitting the swear word was not found. In the following excerpt of the original utterance, the slot filler fucking is inserted in the phrase it doesn’t matter and the slot filler bloody emphasises the previous word what, which is also written in italics in the original. All together these emphasising tactics stress the fact that it does not make a difference which song people are singing; in any case Fry cannot join in:

(37) MIMW85
To see friends gathering round a piano and singing ‘Always Look on the Bright Side of Life’, ‘Anything Goes’, ‘Yellow Submarine’, ‘Summertime’, ‘Der Erlkönig’, ‘She’ll Be Coming Round the Mountain’, ‘Edelweiss’, ‘Non Più Andrai’ - it doesn't fucking matter what bloody song it is....
I CAN’T FUCKING JOIN IN

In the original version the sentence it doesn’t matter what song it is has two swear words in it to add emphasis to the utterances. In the translated version the phrase conveying the same meaning
ihn sama mikä laulu on kyseessä has only one emphasising swear word in it as can be seen from the next excerpt:

(38) KK81

MINÄ EN SAATANA SOIKOON VOI LIITTYÄ JOUKKOON

The Finnish version does not emphasise the utterance with several slot filler swear words or with italicising. The sentence does not have an inserted slot filler inside the phrase ihan sama `no matter`. It only has one emphasising slot filler, the word perkeleen `devil’s`, emphasising the previous word mikä `what`. In other words, one slot filler swear word is left out of the translation, but swearing is not altogether left out of the Finnish sentence.

As was stated already above, in English slot fillers can be placed into phrases and words to express emphasis. According to the Finnish grammar ("Voimasanojen paikka lausumassa", 2008), there can be several swear words in an utterance, and a swear word can be placed at the beginning or at the end of the utterance or inside it after, for example, a finite verb or an object. This is the rule Schuurman follows in the sentence following the analysed one: she has placed the swearing utterance saatana soikoon (`satan` and an auxiliary word used in Finnish curses similar to periköön in the example in figure 1 on page 27) after the finite verb en. Although in Finnish inserting swear words into single words is not a commonly known way of swearing, some examples suggest that swear words are inserted into phrases also in Finnish.³ For example Tammi (2007) suggests that the emphasising slot filler saatanan `satan`s` can be inserted into the same phrase that appears in Fry`s text: Se on nyt ihan saatanan sama onko siinä kirjoituksesssa virheitä vai ei `It`s all the satan`s same to me if the writing has spelling errors or not` (p. 433). Thus, Schuurman`s decision on not to place the swear word inside the phrase is grammatically correct, but according to some sources, the insertion of swear words can be done quite freely in Finnish, and could have been added into this phrase.

Now, as was stated above, there are different approaches to translation, and different translation theories produce different translation techniques. One technique from the semantic theories that

³ See e.g. how Moore and Tuominen (2014) suggest absobloodylutely and irrefuckingsponsible could be translated into Finnish (pp. 12, 289).
might have been applicable to this particular excerpt and its swear word translation is compensating. Differences between the SL and the TL force the translator to look for solutions to problematic parts of the text by taking into consideration the whole as Vehmas-Lehto states (1999, p. 38). This means that the translator sometimes must replace units of the SL with such units of the TL that are not directly equivalent even if the translator subscribes to the semantic translation theory (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 38). In other words, in order to avoid losses in style or meaning, the translator adds something or uses ways of expression different from the original text in some other part of the text (Vehmas-Lehto, 1999, p. 41). According to Barhudarov (as cited in Vehmas-Lehto, 1999), compensation can be applied in the translation of prose texts, for example, in the translation of dialects (p. 41). In the translation of swear words, and in this particular excerpt, compensation could be applied when a swear word does not sound natural in the TT in the same place as in the ST, and instead, a swear word is added to another more natural place of the TT in order to keep the general style of the original text. Thus, a slot filler swear word could have been placed either after the finite verb on or at the beginning or at the end of the sentence in order to retain in the target text the amount of swear words used in the original version. In brief, there is no immediately clear explanation for why the translator left the other swear word completely out of the Finnish sentence presented in the previous excerpt.

An explanation for the translator to leave out the other emphasising swear word from the Finnish version of the text could be sought from the objective of maintaining the degree of offensiveness of the sentence. This was one of the important factors affecting swear word translation according to Hjort’s research (2006, p. 78). As Moore and Tuominen (2014) suggest, the word bloody has previously been translated into Finnish with the expletives hiton, pirun and saamarin (p. 82), which, according to Tammi (2007), are all mild Finnish swear words (p. 581). The word fucking, on the other hand, has been translated as helvetin, vitun or saatanan (Moore & Tuominen, 2014, p. 223), which are all among the five main swear words in Finnish (Tammi, 2007, p. 581). Thus, by using the Finnish word perkele which is the second strongest Finnish swear word together with vitu (Kiuru & Montin, 1991, p. 37), the translator has used a Finnish swear word that is ‘equivalent’ to fuck, that is, similar to one of the original ones in terms of offensiveness. The other swear word bloody may be interpreted to be so mild that leaving it out does not really alter the level of offensiveness of the TL utterance compared to the original. Thus, the attempt to

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4 See pages 22–23 above for fuck and vitu forming a pair of words.
maintain the perceived relatively mild level of offensiveness of the original swear word could be argued to explain some of the omissions. Other, clearer explanations for the omissions of swear words in the Finnish version of Fry’s autobiography were also found. I will present my findings in the following subsections.

As stated, in the original English text, there are 191 swearing occasions. According to the division of swearing into two main categories presented in the previous section of this paper, 95 of them are stand-alone constructions and 73 are slot filler constructions.

Table 1. Percentages of translated vs. omitted swearing utterances in the Finnish version of Fry’s text according to the main categories of swearing typology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Translated</th>
<th>Omitted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stand-alones</td>
<td>73.7 % (70)</td>
<td>26.3 % (25)</td>
<td>(95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slot fillers</td>
<td>84.9 % (62)</td>
<td>15.1 % (11)</td>
<td>(73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not belonging to either of the two main categories</td>
<td>73.9 % (17)</td>
<td>26.1 % (6)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78 % (149)</strong></td>
<td><strong>22 % (42)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(191)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining 23 constructions were not included into either of the two main categories because they are neither independent utterances nor used in the previously stated functions of the slot fillers. These swearing occasions were instead labelled either as ‘narrative name-calling’, such as in “That my fucked-up-edness sprang from a sense of betrayal, desertion or withheld love I will not allow.” (MIMW18), or as ‘utterances using new verb lexemes’, such as in “I suppose I just arsed about entertainingly.” (MIMW295, see example 34 above). Additionally, the 23 swearing occasions that could not be labelled as stand-alone or slot filler swearing construction included also ‘swear words talked about as swear words’, in other words, swear words used in the metalinguistic function when the language of communication is highlighted as the subject of the conversation, like in “’A fuck sight’ was the kind of language one used at Uppingham all the time, out of the hearing of staff.” (MIMW232, see example 7 above). A division of the swearing utterances of Fry’s text into omitted and translated in the Finnish version according to the categories of stand-alones, slot fillers and constructions not belonging to either of these two categories is presented in table 1.
The analysis of translated and omitted swearing utterances in Fry’s autobiography shows that the percentage of omissions in the stand-alone functions is greater than that in slot fillers. What might explain this result? The stand-alone functions can independently constitute a line of dialogue, such as in the next example, which is a dialogue between Fry and another schoolboy, Gunn:

(39) MIMW277

‘In love are we? Where the hell did that pop up from?’

‘Who?’

‘Oh Jesus, Fry,’ said Gunn grinning with hideous superiority. ‘For such a good liar, you’re a terrible liar.’

In this excerpt Fry and a boy named Gunn are exchanging words and Gunn answers Fry’s question with a swearing utterance *Oh Jesus, Fry*. The slot fillers, on the other hand, are used inside larger units of language and can therefore – to some extent – be thought of as extra information. As was shown in the analysis of example number 38 above, if one slot filler swear word is omitted from a sentence, it does not necessarily have to mean that swearing is completely omitted from it. This difference between the main categories suggests that omitting slot fillers would have less effect on retaining the style of the original text in the translated version.

In a previous study conducted on omitting swearing from the subtitling of films, it was suggested that in audio-visual translation swearing might have to be omitted due to spatial and temporal constraints (Enell-Nilsson, 2014, p. 108). Enell-Nilsson (2014) continues to point out that swearing in stand-alone functions can be omitted due to the fact that it is often expressed also with facial expressions and tone of voice (p. 109). The omission of swearing in these situations can be a solution to prevent the swearing from becoming overemphasised (p. 109). But these explanations are of course not applicable to the translation of literature. In addition, because neither the narration nor the dialogue in literature gets help from the tone of voice of actors and from their facial expressions, both slot fillers and stand-alone swearing utterances seem equally important in their tasks to, for example, place emphasis on things or to convey a character’s emotional reaction to a situation.

Consequently, to explain the omissions in the work of a translator who considers vulgarisms as an essential part of the original author’s language use, attention must be paid to the pragmatic function of the swearing utterance together with the word choice of the ST. The following tables
1, 2 and 3 illustrate the proportions of omitted pragmatic functions under each main category as well as indicate the proportions of factors related to vocabulary that explain the omissions. Table 1 illustrates these features among stand-alone constructions, table 2 among slot filler constructions and table 3 among the constructions that could not be assigned under either of the two main categories.

**Table 1. Proportions of omissions in stand-alone constructions illustrated according to pragmatic function and some word choices.**

**Table 2. Proportions of omissions in slot filler constructions illustrated according to pragmatic function.**
Table 3. Proportions of omissions in constructions that do not belong to either of the two main categories and some word choices used in them.

As can be seen from the tables 1, 2 and 3 above, the omissions of swearing in the Finnish text appear mostly in the name-calling constructions in all of the three categories analysed. Also the use of blasphemous taboo words and new lexemes make up large proportions of the omitted swear words. Next, I will discuss the omissions in more detail, arranged according to the identified reasons.

5.2.1 Omissions explained by the use of name-calling constructions

The swear words which appear in the original English text but are omitted from the Finnish translation are mostly in utterances of the pragmatic function of name-calling in its various forms as can be seen in tables 1, 2 and 3 above. What explains the challenge of translating swearing in the name-calling constructions is a combination of the function and the word choices used in the utterances.

Among the stand-alone constructions an omitted swear word appears in the pragmatic function of name-calling in 17 occasions. As swear words are cultural agreements, at times, it becomes challenging for the translator to convey the meaning of the original epithet and the act of swearing in one word in the target language. In other words, it is sometimes challenging to find a Finnish swear word conveying the correct epithet meaning. The name-calling utterances might
prove challenging for a translator who wants to retain their swearing status, at least, if they accept Tammi’s (2007) opinion that in Finnish there are not many swear words that work also as epithets (p. 587). Tammi lists 17 taboo epithets that may be used like swear words, such as ääliö ‘idiot’ as an expletive interjection in the utterance No voi ääliö kuka ton skriivannu! ‘Oh idiot who wrote that!’ (p. 567). But if these words are analysed according to Ljung’s (2011) definition of swear words, according to which words used as swear words draw from the taboo groups of religion and the supernatural or the bodily waste, the sexual act and the sexual organs (p. 5), then words such as ääliö ‘idiot’ and tyhmä ‘stupid’ are literal denotations of a taboo subject, that is, of ‘a person lacking intelligence’. In other words, they are taboo words but are not swear words. After this analysis, only three words on Tammi’s (2007) list qualify as expletive epithets: mulkvisti (alternatively spelled mulqvist, derivative of the word mulkku ‘prick’ which is used as an expletive interjection), paska-aivo (‘shit for brains’) and runqvist (derivative of runkku ‘wanker’ which is also used in the function of expletive interjection)(p. 587). However, Tammi does not define the unfavourable characteristics that may be conveyed about someone by calling them with these derogatory terms of abuse (pp. 294, 332, 418–419). He does add that the word paska ‘shit’ has been used as a prefix to create other insulting epithets, such as paskahousu (‘shittpants’) meaning ‘a coward’, and suggests that also mulkku ‘prick’ has been used as a suffix to create new expletive epithets (pp. 331–332, 294). Overall, according to Tammi (2007, p. 587), the Finnish vocabulary for expletive epithets is quite narrow.

However, Schuurman’s choice of epithets used in name-calling utterances is not as limited as Tammi suggests. She, for example, uses both the word mulkku ‘prick’ and runkku ‘wanker’, which Tammi (2007, pp. 294, 418–419) suggests are used only as expletive interjections, as expletive epithets in name-calling constructions (see e.g. KK248, KK278, KK345, KK377). Nevertheless, there is not always a suitable existing swear word which could be applied to a name-calling construction in order to retain the act of swearing and to convey the meaning of the original English expletive epithet in one word. Then, because the Finnish name-calling utterance should convey a similar characteristic of the person being called names, the translator must resort to leaving out the act of swearing and only convey the epithet meaning of the English swear word. Thus, in 17 occasions among the stand-alone swearing utterances Schuurman did not use a taboo word to convey the epithet meaning of the original swear word in Finnish. For instance, in the following utterance from the original text Fry describes his opinion about music (see example 19 above):
Music takes me to places of illimitable sensual and insensate joy, accessing points of ecstasy that no angelic lover could ever locate, or plunging me into gibbering weeping hells of pain that no torturer could ever devise. Music makes me write this sort of maundering adolescent nonsense without embarrassment. Music is in fact the dog's bollocks. Nothing else comes close.

In this excerpt Fry uses the expletive epithet *dog’s bollocks* ‘the best of its kind’ (*Oxford Dictionaries*, n.d.) to describe how he feels about music. Since in Finnish there is no equivalent to a swearing utterance that conveys music as ‘the best type of artistic expression and entertainment there is’, the translator has had to leave out the swearing structure and communicate the declaration with a phrase that includes no obscenity:

(41) KK 80
Musiikki vie minut äärettömän, aistillisen ja järjettömän ilon huipulle, se koskettaa hurmion pisteitä, joita ei enkelämäisinkään rakastaja koskaan löytäisi, ja se syöksee minut itkevän, sopettelevan tuskan helvetteihin, joita ei pahintaan kiduttaja osaisi keksia. Musiikki saa minut nolostumatta kirjoittamaan tällaista sekavaa, keskenkasvuista hölynpölyä. Musiikki on kerta kaikkiaan rautaa. Mikään muu ei yllä lähellekään sitä.

The Finnish translation communicates Fry’s feelings with a phrase *kerta kaikkiaan rautaa* ‘absolutely iron’, *iron* here meaning ‘fabulous’ (*Kielitoimiston sanakirja*, n.d.). Thus, the epithet meaning of the original swear word is communicated in the Finnish version while the act of swearing is omitted. Hence, some name-calling swear words that occur in English cannot be translated as swear words in Finnish because it is more important that the epithet meaning of the swear word should be communicated in the TL.

In these cases, however, one might challenge the translators’ choice to leave out the act of swearing all together. Since there is no such epithet in Finnish that conveys both the abusive meaning and the swear word status of the English epithet, in order for the TT to maintain the style of the ST (i.e. expressing emotions with an act of swearing), the translator could have used an appropriate Finnish epithet that is not a swear word and add an emphasising slot filler into the phrase.

As was stated above in section 4.3 about swear words in translation, according to Finnish translators, it is important to convey the function of the original swear word in the target language. In the pragmatic function of name-calling this does not only refer to using an epithet
that conveys the same unfavourable, evaluative character of the person being insulted but is also connected to the target text epithet conveying a level of offensiveness similar to that conveyed by the English swear word. As Hjort’s (2006) research revealed, the maintaining of the degree of offensiveness was stated as one of the important factors of swear word translation among literary translators (p. 78).

It could be concluded that a swear word epithet is considered more offensive than an epithet which is not regarded a swear word. Thus, although the translation into Finnish in excerpt 41 can be claimed to be a successful translation of the epithet used in the English version, it could be argued that it is not as offensive as the original one which uses a taboo word. On the other hand, the translator may have thought that using two offensive words, an epithet and a swear word, would have made the offensiveness of the TL utterance higher than that of the original utterance which performs both the acts with one word. Especially when the original taboo word is as mild a swear word as bollocks is.

Also in the slot filler constructions, the different pragmatic functions of name-calling form the majority of the omitted swearing utterances. Of the total seven omitted name-calling constructions, three are explicable with a structure that does not exist in Finnish swearing, namely the use of expletive epithets as noun support. The next excerpt is an example that combines a deictic name-calling structure with the noun support structure (see example 25 above)\(^5\):

\[\text{(42) MIMW236} \]
\[\text{Those poor buggers in the gym trying to get my hopeless weedy body to do something healthy like climb a rope or spring over a vaulting horse, they did their best. They weren't stupid, they weren't mean.}\]

In this excerpt Fry describes how his PE teachers did their best in trying to get him to perform physical exercises, but with little success. Fry calls the teachers poor buggers which is a noun support name-calling structure, in other words, the epithet bugger loses its negative charge and is used as a ‘filler´ to which the adjective poor may be hung. This structure is not known in Finnish swearing. Consequently, noun supports are often translated into Finnish by adding a neutral word, such as tyyppi ‘chap´ or kaveri `mate´ to the adjective (Moore & Tuominen, 2014, p. 101), or with a noun that conveys the characteristics of only the adjective of the original phrase, like Schuurman has chosen to do here:

\(^5\) N.B. This construction is counted among the noun support name-calling structures in table 2.
As can be seen in this excerpt, the Finnish translation of the name-calling structure calls the teachers *surkimukset* `runts`. This is an epithet which describes the teachers in an unfavourable way as `pitiable` (Kielitoimiston sanakirja, n.d.) but which is not taboo enough to qualify as a swear word (does not appear in Tammi’s 2007 *Suuri kirosanakirja* `Dictionary of swear words`). In other words, as the negative charge of the swear word disappears in the English swearing structure, the Finnish translation is in fact a translation of the adjective *poor* and not that of the swear word *bugger*. Thus, some of the omissions in the Finnish translation of swear words can be explained with the original text using a structure that does not exist in Finnish swearing.

5.2.2 Omissions explained by the use of new lexemes in the original text

The original Fry’s text also had several occasions of new lexemes. Altogether, eleven cases of swear words omitted from the Finnish translation use new lexemes in the swearing utterances of the ST. This occurs in the pragmatic function of predicative name-calling in the category of stand-alone constructions and also among the swearing constructions that do not belong to either of the two main categories. In fact, among those seven omitted swearing constructions that do not qualify as either stand-alones or slot fillers, four are constructions with new lexemes. For example, in the next excerpt Fry uses the new verb lexeme *arse about* to describe his `idling’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006a, p. 43):

(43) KK220

Ne jumpasalin surkimukset, jotka yrittivät saada minun toivotonta, ruipeloa kenoään tekemään jotain tervettä, niin kuin kiipeämään köyttä myöten ylös tai loikkaamaan hypyarkun yli, tekivät kyllä parhaan sa. Eivät he tyhmiä olleet, eivätä ilkeitäkään.

(44) MIMW23–24

I will rule constraining lines and write the alphabet within them, and then I will write the same favourite words from those days: I have always especially loved the way italic tools will render the dots on the letters ‘i’ and ‘j’, thus –

\[ij\]

– so I take great pleasure in the look of words like –

*jiving ~ skiing ~ Hawaii ~ jujitsu*

– and most especially –

**Fiji ~ Fijian**

After a few days of this kind of arseing about, I will leave the lids off the pens, the nibs will go dry and the special ink will harden into a gummy resin. A week or so later I throw the whole kit away and wonder what the hell I have been playing at.
As there is no swear word in Finnish that would convey similar activity, the Finnish translation does not retain the swearing construction and, instead, conveys only the activity:

(45) KK28
Vedän rajaviivat ja kirjoitan niiden väliin aakkoset, ja sitten kirjoitan niiden aikojen lempisanani: olen aina rakastanut erityisesti sitä miten i- ja j-kirjainten pisteet piirtyvät kursiivistä, näin

joten pidän suuresti sellaisten sanojen ulkonäöstä kuin

jīvin ~ skiing ~ Hawaijī ~ jūjitsu
ja alvan erityisesti

Fiji, Fijian

Haihateltuani mutaman päivän tähän tapaan unohdan kynistä korkit, ja niiden terät kuivuvat ja erikoistussi hartsiksi. Joskus viikon päästä heitän koko setin pois ja ihmettelen, mitä hemmettiä oikein olen pelleillyt.

Thus, the Finnish version uses the verb *haihatella* `to daydream` to communicate the activity of wasting time while it discards the swearing aspect. Hence, some of the swearing vocabulary of English cannot be translated as swear words in Finnish because Finnish does not have swear words that would convey the characteristics referred to by the original swear word, and because it is important that the action or the condition communicated by the original swear word is communicated in the TL.⁶

Also Finnish has developed new lexemes from swear words, such as *Minua vituttaa!* (`I am feeling cunted`, meaning `I am infuriated`), as Ljung (2006, p. 139) points out. But it is also apparent that although Finnish has developed new swearing lexemes that are equivalent in meaning to the English new lexemes used in Fry’s text, Schuurman did not always use these swear words in her translation. More on this in the subsection 5.2.4.

5.2.3 Omission explained by mild offensiveness of the original swear words

Among the stand-alone swearing constructions in the original text, there are 35 cases of swearing constructions that can be labelled blasphemy, that is, they are `taking in vain’ the names of heaven or its habitants. The omissions of blasphemous swearing constitute 32 % of the total amount of omissions among the stand-alone constructions (8 out of 25) as can be seen in table 1

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⁶ See also example number 33 in which the new lexeme is not a verb but a noun.
above. As was stated above, swearing which uses the names of the ‘good’ religious beings is not considered very offensive in the protestant cultures anymore. Therefore, for example, the expletive interjections *my God* and *Jesus* in the next excerpt could be interpreted as only mild statements of criticism of Fry’s appearance and choice of clothes:

(46) MIMW34
Look at him... his shorts are all ruckled up and... *my God*... are those StartRite sandals, he’s wearing? *Jesus*...

The swearing construction *my God* and *Jesus* in the previous example of the ST are used to express the speaker’s sudden realisation of what Fry is wearing and his disapproving attitude toward what he notes about Fry’s clothes. The taboo expressions naming the Christian God and his son are translated as phrases *voi apua* ‘oh help’ and *ei ole totta* ‘that is not true’ in Finnish as can be seen in the following excerpt:

(47) KK38
Katsokaa nyt sitä... polvihousut ihan rypyssä ja... *voi apua* onko sillä StartRiten sandaalit jalassa? *Ei ole totta*...

In this example the Finnish translations of the utterances leave out the reference to the religious beings and instead convey the speaker’s attitude by exclaiming an interjection with no taboo word and stating that he cannot believe his eyes. Translating blasphemous utterances into phrases that have no taboo word in them presumably has to do with religious swearing not being considered very offensive. In Kiuru and Montin’s (1991) research, swear words denoting the Christian deity and heaven are ranked as mildest among those rated (p. 37). Thus, the translator has aimed at maintaining the mild level of offensiveness and in eight instances has left out any reference to heaven or its inhabitants. In 26 cases of translating blasphemous English swearing, Schuurman has used swear words that Tammi (2007) identifies as mild, for example, *herran tähden*, *hitto* and *jumaliste* (pp. 95, 115, 186). Only once, she has translated an English blasphemous swear word, namely *God*, into *helvetti* ‘hell’ which is one of the main five Finnish swear words (along with *jumalauta*, *vittu*, *saatana*, *perkele*) as Tammi (2007) calls them (p. 581). But also in this case Schuurman has used the one word Tammi (2007) classifies as the mildest of them (p. 79).

Also in the main category of slot fillers, after the name-calling constructions, the most reasonable explanation for the rest of the omissions is the translator’s aim to maintain the relatively low degree of offensiveness of the English swearing. The omitted English slot filler swear words in utterances that are not name-calling constructions are *bloody* and *fucking* (they make up 36 % of
the omitted slot filler swear words). It is reasonable to assume that Schuurman estimated these English swear words as moderately mild in terms of offensiveness. Therefore, even though the act of swearing was left out of these utterances in Finnish, the translation remains loyal to the original degree of offensiveness. The translator might have assessed these swear words as mild based on her own perception of the offensiveness of the original word or, for example, because of the character stating the utterance. For example, in the following excerpt from the ST, the swearing is the talk of a young teenage boy:

(48) MIMW265
Pollies will bicycle alongside whistling or twanghumming Claptonian guitar-licks, their boaters tipped at what they hope is an angle that says, ‘Boaters are fucking square, man. I wear mine, like ironically…’ Yes, but you still wear it. You don't have to, you know.

In this original text excerpt, the pollie, that is, the prefect boy is calling the boater hat, which is part of the school uniform, square and emphasising the perceived quality of the hat with the slot filler fucking. In the Finnish version of this excerpt, the swear word is left out and the hats are called ihan hämyjä ‘completely weird’:

(49) KK244

The translator might have considered the context and the character expressing only a mild dislike of the hat; therefore, she has left the slot filler swearing construction out of the translation. Comparing this interpretation with that of the same original swear word in example 38 translated as perkele also exemplifies how the same word may be interpreted as mild or as gross depending on the context. More on the effect of the context in subsection 5.2.4.

Among the swearing constructions found in the research material that do not fit into any of the stand-alone or slot filler pragmatic functions, the narrative name-calling utterances use expletive epithets to speak of people’s characters, opinions or their doings in an unfavourable tone. The epithet use in these utterances is similar to that in the stand-alone name-calling utterances in which a single word conveys an unfavourable epithet meaning and can be considered a swear word. Thus, the same reason can be applied to explain why a swear word was omitted from the

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7 See also example number 38.
Finnish translation of these constructions: the English expletive epithet cannot be translated into Finnish with one word that would convey both the epithet meaning and be considered a swear word. See for example the next excerpt in which a point of view is considered wank:

(50) MIMW168

It is one of the great ironies of British (anti-) intellectual life that a nebulous sense of twentieth-century relativism has taken hold, somewhere deep down, and is used to damn and distrust the logical and the rational. Thus a point of view about art can be dismissed as 'pretentious' and 'wank' — in other words, as not solid, not real, airy-fairy and arty-farty — while at the same time any logical, rational defence of it is dismissed as 'just opinion' or 'semantics' in a world in which, 'let's face it, everything is relative anyway...'

In this excerpt Fry talks about how the British might call someone’s attitude toward art as wank which has the epithet meaning ‘nonsense’ (noun) (Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, p. 2065) while the taboo word draws from the theme of sexual activities and denotes masturbation (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). In the Finnish version, however, the translator has used the word länkytys ‘discuss back and forward about something without getting anywhere’ (Urbaani sanakirja, n.d.) to express the same opinion of another person’s statement about art as can be seen in the next excerpt:

(51) KK153

Brittiläisen (epä-)älyllisen kulttuurin suuriin paradokseihin kuuluu se, että jonnekin syvälle upeudeksiin on juurtunut epämääräinen mielikuva 1900-luvun relativismista ja sitä mielikuvaa käytetään loogisuuden ja racionaalisuuden tuomitsemiseen ja epäilemiseen. Niinpä taidetta koskeva näkemys voidaan kuitata "viistasteluna" ja "länkytyksenä" — toisin sanoen sitä ei pidetä kunnollisena ja todellisena, se on "hennon heppoista" ja "tekotaiseellista" — ja samalla sen kaikki loogiset ja racionaaliset perustelut taas kuitataan "pelkkänä mielipiteenä" tai "semantiikkana" maailmassa, jossa "kaikki nyt on kuitenkin suhteellista..."

As can be seen in this excerpt, the translator has used a Finnish word which expresses the epithet meaning of the original swear word but which is not a taboo word. The translator could have used the Finnish swear word paskaa `shit` as it has the epithet meaning of `nonsense`, but on the other hand, it is also a gross Finnish swear word (Tammi, 2007, pp. 330–331); thus, its use would have raised the offensiveness of the translation from the moderately low level of offensiveness of the original word wank. Accordingly, it could be argued that the translator’s assessment of the original swear word’s relatively mild level of offensiveness explains some of the omissions.
5.2.4 Omissions explained by the context of the swear word

The context of the swear word was found to have an effect on omitting swear words from the Finnish version of Fry’s text as was illustrated already in example 49 above. The `context’ the translator must consider in their work covers the character stating the utterance, as in example 49, the setting described by the story, as well as the style of the text.

The following excerpt is an example on how the context of the setting of the story affects the omission of swear words. The original text’s new lexeme pissed off is used in the following excerpt to describe a child feeling ‘annoyed’ (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.):

(52) MIMW210
I don't suppose an active dog could have a better life than in the boarding-house of a school. No matter how pissed off a boy might be with existence, authority of himself, there was always room to share food and affection with a dog. A dog allowed an adolescent, struggling to be manly, cynical and cool, to romp and giggle and tickle and tumble like a child.

The English swear word expresses the state of annoyance with a lexeme based on the taboo word piss `urine’ (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). The Finnish version of the same excerpt conveys the mental state by discarding the swearing and using the adjective sydämistynyt (`hearted’), meaning `angry’ (Kielitoimiston sanakirja, n.d.):

(53) KK189

The translator has used an adjective that is not an expletive to describe the child’s feelings although she would have had the choice to use the Finnish new lexeme vittuuntunut `cunted’ which has the same meaning `angry’ (Kielitoimiston sanakirja, n.d.) and is also a swear word. The decision to do so could be based on the context in which the word appears: the excerpt of the text describes the presence of a dog affecting the feelings of a teenage boy and talks about affection and the possibility for a teenager to behave like child. In other words, describing a warm and positive surrounding in which an early teenager could be carefree like a child. The presence of a lexeme that is based on the expletive vittu `cunt’, which is among the most powerful and offensive swear words in Finnish (Hjort, 2006, p. 78), can easily be seen as a too strong contrast, possibly
guiding the reader’s attention away from the portrayal of the positive effect of the dog to the use of swear words.

Additionally, the translator must consider the context on the level of the text; occasionally, alliteration and word play are the characteristics that need to be conveyed from the ST to the TT. Because ‘context’ can be examined on the level of both the story and the text, a single English word may be translated with retaining the word’s swear word status or omitting it depending on its setting as can be seen in the few next examples. The excerpts exemplify the varying translations of the word *arse* which means either ‘a fool’, ‘a despicable person’ or ‘something unpleasant’ when used as an epithet (Dalzell & Victor, 2006a, pp. 42–43). In an excerpt that describes Fry’s time spent in prison, there is a name-calling utterance that Fry uses to refer to himself as he realises that his inmate has fooled him (see example 15 above):

(54) MIMW419–420

Barry had, when I had collected my wage packet at the end of my first week as a con, told me that the best way to make your burn go further is to pre-roll the cigarettes and lay them out to dry on the radiator pipe of your cell. I had dutifully done this and returned from Association to find every single one of my beautifully rolled cigarettes gone.

‘Lesson number one, matey,’ he said. ‘You can't trust no one on the inside.’

What an *arse*. The cell door is left open during Association, it is only closed when the occupant is ‘banged up’ inside.

In the original text the author uses the expletive epithet *arse* in a name-calling construction that expresses the emotions he has when he realises how foolishly he has acted and let someone trick him. The corresponding Finnish excerpt does not include a swear word; instead, it calls Fry an *ääliö* ‘idiot’, in other words, the translation conveys the epithet meaning of the original swear word but not as a swearing utterance:

(55) KK380

Kun olin ensimmäisen rangaistusvankiviikkoni lopulla noutanut palkkapussini, Barry sanoi, että paras tapa saada tupakka riittämään pitempään on kääriä sätktä valmiiksi ja panna ne kuivumaan sellin lämpöpatterin putken päälle. Tein kuuliaisesti työtä käskettyä, ja seurusteluhuoneesta palatessani sain huomata, että joka ikinen hienosti käärimäni sätkit olisi poissa.

"Ensimmäinen oppitunti, kaveri", Barry sanoi. "Häkissä et voi luottaa khenkään."

Mikä *ääliö*. Sellin ovi jätetään auki seurustelun ajaksi, se on kiinni vain silloin kun asuksa on sisällä, "posessa".

The Finnish version only calls Fry with the epithet *ääliö* ‘idiot’. This, or variedly *idiotti* ‘idiot’, *pelle* ‘clown’ and *typerys* ‘fool’ are the Finnish words often used to translate the English expletive
epithet *arse* (Moore & Tuominen, 2014, p. 19) although they all neglect to convey the swearing aspect of the original word.

Conversely, in an excerpt about Fry’s time at school, the author describes *arse* as one of his teacher’s favourite expletive epithets to use (see example 16 above):

(56) MIMW108

His favourite word, one for which I have a great deal of time myself as a matter of fact, was Arse. Everyone was more or less an arse most of the time, but I was arsier than just about everyone else in the school.

In this excerpt Fry describes what his teacher’s favourite word was and how he used to use it to call people names. In this case the expletive epithet is translated into Finnish as a new lexeme *perseääliö* ‘arseidiot’ which is in fact so new and unusual that it must be the translator’s own invention:

(57) KK101

Hänensä lempisanansa, joka itse asiassa kuuluu minunkin suosikkeihini, oli perseääliö. Kaikki olivat perseääliötä suurimman osan aikaa, mutta minä olin vielä perseääliömpi kuin muut.

In this excerpt the original expletive epithet calling everybody a fool is translated into Finnish with a new word that combines two words referring to a person’s buttocks and stupidity. This extraordinary Finnish word is explicable with what follows, that is, the original text continues with a word play in which Fry is called a *bumptious arse* which he thinks calls him an arse two times (see example 16 above):

(58) MIMW 108–109

In fact, in my case he would often go further – I was on many occasions a bumptious arse. Before I learned what bumptious actually meant I assumed that it derived from ‘bum’ and believed therefore with great pride that as a bumptious arse I was doubly arsey – twice the arse of ordinary arses.

In this excerpt from the original text, there is a word play with the words *arse* ‘buttocks’ and *bumptious* ‘irritatingly self-assertive’ which includes the word *bum* ‘buttocks’ in its spelling (expletive meanings from Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). To get this word play to work also in Finnish, the translator came up with a new lexeme *perseääliö* `arseidiot`. This new word combines the word for the unfavourable characteristic that the English epithet *arse* identifies (ääliö `idiot`) with a word naming the taboo referent of the word, that is ‘buttocks’ (perse `arse`). The new word is preceded with a word that both alliterates with the new expletive epithet and denotes the same characteristic, in this case, *pölvästi* ‘fool’ (Kielitoimiston sanakirja, n.d.):
As can be seen from this excerpt, the translator had to come up with a new expletive epithet to get the word play and alliteration of the original text to work also in the Finnish version. This word play also added a new swear word quality into the Finnish expletive epithet, a quality that is not present in the more usual translations of the word *arse*. Consequently, the English expletive epithet is not translated as a swear word in a prison context but is translated as a swear word in a school context. Thus, the context a translator must take into consideration is a comprehensive concept: it covers both the story, in other words, the setting of the recounted events, and the text, or the mode of expression. Accordingly, a single word may be translated as a swear word in one context and as a word not qualifying as a swear word in another.

In this subsection, I have presented the findings of analysing the omissions of swear words in the Finnish translation of Fry’s autobiography and discussed the possible reasons behind the omissions. To summarise, it could be argued, that the construction of the original swearing utterance and the translator’s estimation of the mild offensiveness of the original swearing utterance are the most common reasons for the omission of swearing utterances from the Finnish text. However, the reasons are not unambiguous but instead there may be several reasons affecting the translation simultaneously. As was stated, for example the pragmatic function of the swearing utterance and the perceived level of offensiveness of the original swear word together influenced the omission of several of the swear words in the Finnish version of the text. The translator’s perception of whether a swear word is mild or offensive is affected, among other things, by the context in which the expletive appears.

As was seen in the previous example (number 59) a translator might at times have to invent new Finnish words to convey the original author’s play with words also in the ST. In Fry’s text there are a few swear words that are clearly his own inventions, and the second part of my study concentrates on how much inventiveness the translator put into the translation of these
utterances. Thus, I will present the findings of examining the translation of swearing utterances that are deviant from the ones generally used in English next.

5.3 Swearing à la Fry

In this section I will present some of the more unusual swearing utterances found in Fry’s autobiography. The majority of the research material represents such swearing utterances that are commonly used in English as also the earlier excerpts from Fry’s text exemplify. Those classified as unusual in this report are either exceptionally long swearing utterances or use unprecedented swear words or both. These are in fact such original swearing utterances that they can easily be credited as Fry’s own inventions.

5.3.1 Simplifying the original swearing utterance

One of the more unusual swearing utterances in Fry’s text is a direct name-calling construction. This utterance does not draw from just one unfavourable, evaluative taboo noun but includes four modifying words into the utterance as well as can be seen in the following excerpt (see example 36 above):

(60) MIMW133
I shall never forget the red mist that descended over me, years later, when I once saw youths throwing stones at some ducks in a park in King’s Lynn. I picked up some huge pieces of builder’s rubble nearby and started to hurl them at the boys, roaring the kind of meaningless obscurities that only pure fury can put into the mind. ‘You shit spike wank turdy bastardheads… how do you fucking like it, you tossing tossers…’ that kind of thing.

In this excerpt the swearing utterance is a clear-cut example of the name-calling function: it begins with the personal pronoun you and uses the unfavourable, evaluative taboo noun bastardheads to insult the addressed youths (bastards meaning an ‘unpleasant or despicable persons’, Dalzell & Victor, 2006a, p. 102). The expletive epithet is preceded with four additional qualifying words describing what kind of bastardheads Fry thinks the boys are.

Ljung (2011) lists the first of them, namely shit (noun), as one of the major English epithets and assigns it the epithet meaning ‘contemptible person’ (p. 130). The word spike on the other hand is less clear in its modifying meaning. Spike (noun) means ‘a thin, pointed piece of metal, wood or
another rigid material’ (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). It is not among Ljung’s (2011) list of the major English expletive epithets (p. 130), nor do Moore and Tuominen (2014) include it in their dictionary on the translations of English swear words. If one definition of the word could give it a somewhat sensible meaning when used in a name-calling utterance, it would be that of Dalzell & Victor’s (2006b) as they explain it in their Dictionary of Slang to mean ‘a hypodermic needle’ or ‘a mixture of heroin and scopolamine or strychnine’ (p. 1834). Thus, when the word spike is used as an adjective, it could be defined as ‘drug abusing’.

The third word, wank, assigns the attribute of ‘pathetic or self-indulgent’ to someone (Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, p. 2064). And the last one of the modifiers, turdy, is the adjective form of turd (noun) which, as well, means a ‘contemptible person’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, p. 2017). Thus, all of these four qualifying words are seen as attributes to the name calling utterance of you bastardheads. Altogether three of the words in this name-calling utterance refer to the boys describing them as deserving contempt, one calls them self-indulgent and the one more unusual word claims they are drug addicts.

None of the modifying words of the SL utterance are among those which Ljung (2011) names as expletives most often used inside larger units as slot fillers in British English, such as bloody, fucking, damn, damned, or sodding, that express emphasis, dislike or high degree of the epithet (pp. 143–145). Instead, all the modifying words added before the final epithet have epithet meanings; consequently, in the process of translating this utterance into Finnish, the translator is yet again faced with the challenge of finding epithets in the TL that convey similar meaning to the target language audience as the original swear word epithets have conveyed to the source language readers. This is what Schuurman’s version of the name-calling incident reads:

(61) KK121–122
En ikinä unohda sitä raivohulluutta, jonka valtaan jouduin vuosia myöhemmän King's Lynnessä, kun näin teinipoikien heittelevän sorsia kivistä polyamoraan niitä poikia kohti karjuen sellaisia merkityksettömiä törkeyksiä, joita vain puhdas raivo voi nostattaa mielen. "Senkin saatana paskat runkkarit kusipäiset mulkut... miltäs saatana nyt tuntuu, senkin vitun runkut..." ja niin edelleen.

In this excerpt Fry abuses the boys with a name-calling construction made up of as many words in Finnish as he does in the original version in English. As in English a name-calling utterance may
begin with the word you, similarly in Finnish a name-calling utterance may begin with the word *senkin* ("Voimasanojen kielioppia", 2008). The unfavourable, evaluative taboo noun used to insult the youths differs from the English version (*bastardheads*) in the way that it does not draw from the theme of illegitimacy although, according to Hjort (2007), translators see the maintaining of the original swear word’s theme as an important factor in the translation of swearing. This is because although Finnish does have a word for a person born out of wedlock (äpärä), it is not typically used as an expletive.

As was discussed above, Finnish does not have a wide vocabulary for expletive epithets. Accordingly, Schuurman has applied variants of all the three expletive epithets that remain from Tammi’s list when analysed according to Ljung’s definition of swear words.\(^8\) Thus, Schuurman uses the adjective *paska* ‘shit’ (meaning ‘worthless’), the epithet *runkkari* ‘wanker’ (meaning ‘self-indulgent’) and the epithet *mulkku* ‘dick’ (meaning ‘a despicable, obnoxious man or a fool’) in this utterance (Jarva & Nurmi, 2006, p. 233, 285, 363). Consequently, the translation conveys the epithet meaning of the original swear words as is essential for a loyal translation of a name-calling utterance. The fourth modifier used in the Finnish utterance, namely *kusipää* ‘pisshead’ which means ‘disgusting’, is commonly used in Finnish as the translation of the epithets *bastard* and *turd* appearing in this utterance (Moore & Tuominen, 2014, pp. 65, 521; Jarva & Nurmi, 2006, p. 159). Thus, it continues on the same line of characterising the boys as obnoxious.

Whereas the English version has the diverging word *spike* in the utterance, Schuurman begins the name-calling utterance with the expletive *saatanan* ‘satan’s’ which has no epithet meaning but expresses a high degree of the following adjective *paskat* ‘shitty’. Using a slot filler, in other words, a conventional modifying swear word, deviates from the construction of the original version of the utterance. Another deviating feature in the Finnish utterance is the use of two epithets. Instead of using the adjective form *runkkaava* ‘wanking’ as the third word of the utterance, the Finnish utterance uses the noun *runkkarit* ‘wankers’. And as already stated, the final epithet of the utterances is *mulkut* ‘dicks’. Therefore, it could be argued that the Finnish swearing utterance, in fact, includes two consecutive name-calling utterances: *saatanan paskat runkkarit* being the first and *kusipääset mulkut* the other.

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\(^8\) See page 54 for more careful explanation of this.
Also, Schuurman has translated all of the additional words within the name-calling utterance into common taboo words in Finnish while the original has four familiar taboo terms and the diverging spike. The Finnish swear word beginning the utterance, *saatana* (‘satan’), draws from the theme of the devil which is one of the two most common themes for taboo words in Finnish with the sexual organs (Ljung, 2006, p. 137). The expletive is also among the five main swear words in the Finnish language (Tammi, 2007, p. 581). Consequently, while Fry’s utterance is an exceptionally long swearing utterance that includes one strange word choice, Schuurman’s use of two epithets splits the utterances into two shorter name-calling constructions. Schuurman also discards the one unusual expletive and uses a common Finnish slot filler. It could be argued, therefore, that the Finnish translation simplifies the original utterance, in terms of structure as well as vocabulary.

5.3.2 Modifying the extraordinary nature of the original swear words

Another one of Fry’s own swearing utterances is a challenge for the translator in two ways: it uses unheard-of expletives and it uses them in a complex way. The following excerpt is from Fry’s original work from a passage in which the author describes how much he appreciates music and people’s ability to play instruments and sing and how miserable it makes him feel that he is not able to join in the singing. Fry writes that he cannot sing or even hum a melody even though he can hear the music in his head, and the reader finds out that this is clearly painful for him because he accompanies his statement with several swearing utterances of which one is an inserted emphasiser of a significant length, as can be seen in the example (see also example 37 above):

(62) MIMW85–86

_I CAN’T FUCKING JOIN IN_

I have to mime at parties when everyone sings Happy Birthd… mime or mumble and rumble and growl and grunt so deep that only moles, manta rays and mushrooms can hear me.

I’m not even tone deaf, that’s the arse-mothering, fuck-nosed, bugger-sucking wank of the thing.

_I’M NOT EVEN TONE FUCKING DEAF_

I’m tone DUMB.

In the excerpt the swearing utterance *the arse-mothering, fuck-nosed, bugger-sucking wank of* is inserted in the phrase *that’s the thing* which refers back to the previous sentence that states how he is able to hear the music in his mind. Inserting an expletive element into linguistic units that are normally considered impenetrable is a means to apply the pragmatic function of expressing emphasis (Ljung, 2011, p. 153). According to Ljung (2011), this is usually realised with slot-fillers such as *bloody, fucking* and *damned* (p. 143). Accordingly, the phrase in Fry’s text could be
emphasised in the following way: *that’s the bloody thing*. In Fry’s case, however, the emphasising function inside the phrase *that’s the thing* is performed with a string of swear words, very likely in order to strengthen the effect. Moreover, the expletives Fry uses are not among the most popular British English expletive slot fillers. Instead, they are quite exceptional.

The first swear word of this string is *arse-mothering*, which is not included in any of the swear word or slang dictionaries. *Arse* on its own could be understood as a noun meaning ‘a fool’ or as an adjective of ‘valueless’ or ‘unpleasant’ or ‘dislike for whatever reason’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006a, pp. 42–43). *Mother* (noun) on its own can mean ‘a male homosexual who introduces another man to homosexuality’ or be short for *motherfucker* meaning ‘a difficult thing or situation’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, pp. 1234–1325). Thus, the words *arse* and *mother* do not have a set meaning when they are put together, but the two-word expletive could be interpreted to mean ‘unpleasant and difficult situation’. The second expletive, *fuck-nosed*, is, at least according to the Urban Dictionary (n.d.), derived from *fuck knows* and depicts someone utterly unaware of things. *Bugger-sucking*, on the other hand, seems to be another one of Fry’s own inventions as it is not included in any of the slang dictionaries. *Bugger* on its own refers literally to ‘a person who takes part in anal sex’ or in an epithet use to ‘a disagreeable person’ or ‘an unpleasant thing’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006a, pp. 284–285).

In this context however, *arse-mothering* as well as the next two expletives in the string, function as modifiers of the expletive *wank* and express a high degree of the noun. As a string of intensifiers, the separate meanings of the expletives are not important. They could all easily be replaced by the more generally used *fucking, bloody* or *damned* without changing the function of the insertion. In that case, only the oddity of the expletives would diminish. Accordingly, Fry’s concoctions of expletives are uncustomary words used in a customary construction as slot filler intensifiers.

Fry’s way of adding emphasis to the phrase *that’s the thing* is not unusual only in the way that he inserts several uncustomary expletives in a place where one, more traditional would do. He also uses a swearing utterance which is structurally unusual as the inserted element. As stated, habitually the inserted element is an emphasising slot filler of the type of *fucking* and *bloody*, as in the following excerpt from Fry’s text: “I have got a name,’ said Bunce, rising, ‘but it's none of your
bloody business.” (MIMW7). In this case however, Fry does not merely replace the one word traditional emphasisers with his own exceptional ones, in which case that’s the bloody thing would turn into that’s the arse-mothering, fuck-nosed, bugger-sucking thing. Instead, he uses a structure in which a string of unusual expletives intensify yet another expletive. In other words, he claims that his tone-dumbness is wank to an extraordinary extent, in which the expletive epithet wank (noun) means ‘nonsense’, as Dalzell & Victor state (2006b, p. 2065).

To summarise, the original swearing utterance is an unusually structured inserted expression of emphasis. However, as Schuurman translates the utterance, she does not use as complex a structure in Finnish. Schuurman’s version reads:

(63) KK81
MINÄ EN SAATANA SOIKOON VOI LIITTYÄ JOUKKOON
Kun juhlissa lauletaan jokolla Paljon onnea vaan, minun täytyy vain liikuttaa huuliani… joko liikuttaa huuliani tai sitten mumista ja murista ja äristä ja ähkä niin syvältä, että vain kontiaiset, paholaisrauskut ja sienet kuulevat ääneni.
Eikä minulta edes puutu sävelkorvaa, sehän tässä onkin se kaikkein saatanallisin ja vittukuonoisin ja persläpisin ja runkkumaisin juttu.
MINA EN EDES OLE SAATANA SAVELKURO
Minä olen sävelMYKKÄ.

In the excerpt the swearing utterance kaikkein saatanallisin ja vittukuonoisin ja persläpisin ja runkkumaisin ‘the most satanic and cuntmuzzled and arseholed and wankerish’ is used to modify the Finnish phrase sehän tässä onkin se juttu ‘that is the thing here’. As was noted above, inserting swear words into phrases to express emphasis is not a common way to swear in Finnish. Accordingly, the Finnish swearing utterance is placed before the word juttu ‘thing’ to express high degree of it. In other words, the translator has changed the function of the swearing utterance from placing emphasis to expressing high degree, and thus, used a swearing utterances that conforms to the norms of the TL.

Instead of calling the thing a wank and modifying that epithet with three adverbs of degree as the English version does, the Finnish version describes the juttu ‘thing’ with four unfavourable adjectives. The word choices of Schuurman are not quite as extraordinary as Fry’s are in the original version. Saatana ‘satan’ is a well known and the most offensive Finnish swear word (Kiuru & Montin, 1991, p. 37). Persläpi ‘asshole’ is in Tammi’s dictionary (2007), although it is only portrayed as an expletive interjection depicting ‘something unpleasant’ (p. 363). Runkkumainen ‘wankerish’ is derived from runkku ‘wanker’, an epithet in the theme of sexual activity usually
used as an expletive interjection (Tammi, 2007, pp. 418–419). The only one of the Finnish expletives in this utterance that is not in any of the dictionaries is vittukuonoinen ‘cuntmuzzled’. It could be argued that this is Schuurman’s own invention and an attempt to convey the unusual quality of the original swear words found in the English version of this utterance. Perhaps Schuurman was inspired by the *fuck-nosed* expletive of the original when she came up with the word as they both have a sex referencing taboo word paired up with a part of face.

In conclusion the Finnish expletives are not quite as extraordinary as the English ones. A couple of the themes of the English expletives have remained in the Finnish swear words, namely, scatology and the sexual act of masturbation. The other two words for sexual acts have given way to one from the theme of sexual organs and one swear word drawing from the popular religious theme in Finnish swearing, the devil. Yet again, the use of an expletive referring to the devil and the sexual organs, the two most common themes of Finnish swear words, draws the Finnish swearing utterance a little closer to the target culture. To summarise, the Finnish version of the utterance does not have as unusual swear words or as complex a structure as the original has. Instead, the translator has brought the utterance to conform well to the Finnish language.

5.3.3 Replacing an unusual swear word with a common utterance

The third and the final one of Fry’s own inventions is not an atypical example in terms of the function of the utterance; it is a case of expressing dislike of PE teachers and insulting their comments. It is rather, once again, a case of unusual expletive epithet. Although, in this case, a more commonly known swearing utterance can be argued to have been the inspiration for this personal variation because of similarity in theme. Fry writes the following:

(64) MIMW234

Then they had the nerve, these barely literate pithecanthropoids in their triple-A tee-shirts and navy blue tracksuit bottoms, with their pathetically function-rich stop-watches around their thick, thick necks, to write school reports citing ‘motor development percentiles’ and other such bee's-wank as if their futile, piffling physical jerks were part of some recognised scientific discipline that mattered, that actually mattered in the world.

In this excerpt the deictic name-calling utterance *such bee's wank* points to what the PE teachers have written in the school reports. Fry’s intended denotation of the expletive epithet is of course unknown but it could be argued that Fry seeks inspiration for this new name-calling utterance
from the commonly know expletive *bullshit*, meaning ‘stupid or untrue talk or writing’ or ‘nonsense’ (*Oxford Dictionaries*, n.d.). In his version Fry keeps the subject of animals but changes the taboo word from representing a scatological theme and instead uses the sexual activities theme. To interpret the symbolic meaning of the swear word even further, Fry changes the animal from bull to bee, which is a great change in the animal’s size and, therefore, in the size of the output of their action, whether it be defecating or masturbating. Perhaps it is also an allusion to the insignificance of the deed referred to. In other words, he refers to behaviour so disrespectful that it is worthy of only a small-scale disdain. The form of the lexeme on the other hand is probably more inspired from the utterance *pig’s arse* which is a contradicting response arguing something previously said is ‘nonsense’ (Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, p. 1481).

However, it could be argued that this new concoction of a swear word, as well as the word *bullshit* from which it possibly gets inspiration from, are both metaphors: the epithets describe things that are so insignificant and stupid they can be compared to faeces and paradoxical sexual activity. According to Ljung’s (2011) definition of swear words, if a taboo word’s literal meaning is powerfully present in the analysed construction and leads to a metaphorical interpretation, the word should not be considered as swearing (p. 15). Therefore, when the word *shit* is used in a sense that refers to ‘rubbish’, ‘something of no value’ or ‘nonsensical talk’, it carries strong allusions to the literal meaning of faeces as ‘waste matter remaining after food has been digested and discharged from the bowels’ (*Oxford Dictionaries*, n.d.). Nevertheless, even Ljung (2011) defines *shit* as one of ‘the major English expletive epithets’ which has the meaning of ‘contemptible person’ (p. 130). This can be justified with the principle of interchangeability, according to which words that have clearly dissimilar literal meanings can be freely interchangeable in swearing, such as both *shit* and *bastard* can be used to call a person ‘contemptible’ (Ljung, 2011, p. 130). Thus, the application of Ljung’s definition of swearing and especially the aspect of metaphorical interpretation is not straightforward and can cause contradiction or unclear situations.

Nevertheless, the matter is not necessarily so ambiguous from the point of view of a translator. Due to bodily waste being a taboo theme used in swearing both in English and in Finnish, both of these languages have words that draw from that subject and which people consider to be swear words (Tammi, 2007, p. 330; *Oxford Dictionaries*, n.d.). The words drawn from this theme also
have similar functions in both languages; *Shit!* and *Paska!* are both used as expletive interjections expressing for example the realisation of being in a hurry, as in *Voi paska, nyt mä oon myöhässä* ‘Oh shit, I’m late now’ (Jarva & Nurmi 2006, p. 285; for the use of shit as an expletive interjection in English see Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, p. 1720) and *shitty* and *paska* are adjectives meaning ‘awful’ or of ‘poor quality’ (Jarva & Nurmi, 2006, p. 285; Dalzell & Victor, 2006b, p. 1727). In other words, even though swear words should not be understood literally, the translator can use *paska* as the translation of *shit*, both of which denote the same literal meaning, because they are both used in similar functions as swear words in their respective languages. Despite the fact that according to the strict definition of swear words these words should not be counted as such if they are used in situations in which the literal meaning is strongly represented.

As bee’s-wank is not a common English swear word, Schuurman could have chosen to come up with a new swearing utterance in Finnish as well to convey the author’s innovative swearing. Instead, Schuurman has chosen a more traditional Finnish expletive as can be seen in the text excerpt of the Finnish version:

(65) KK218

Ja sitten ne hädin tuskin lukusaitoiset puoliapinat koripallonlippapaikoissaan ja laivastonsinisissä verkkarin housuissaan ja säälittävän tekniset ajanottokellot paksunpaksun niskansa ympärillä kehtasivat kirjoittaa todistuksiin lausuntoja "motorisen kehityksen virstanpylväistä" ja muuta sellaista hevonpaskaa, ikään kuin heidän turha, mitätön hukkimisensa kuuluisi johonkin tunnustettuun tienteeneään jolla oli maailmassa merkitystä, todellista merkitystä.

In her translation Schuurman uses the word *hevonpaska* ‘horseshit’ which is by no means an unusual Finnish expletive. In fact, it is one of the words suggested by Tammi (2007) when he exemplifies how swear words can be formed by placing the word *paska* ‘shit’ either in front or after another word, such as *paska-aivo* ‘shitbrain’ or *hevopaska* ‘horseshit’, (pp. 331–332). On a more closer analysis, *hevonpaska* is actually more similar to the English term *bullshit* than to the one used in the original text: *hevonpaska* ‘horseshit’ keeps both the scatological and the large animal themes, while the taboo word *paska* ‘shit’ conveys the idea of something of no value or nonsense (Tammi, 2007, p. 331). However, the Finnish version does not refer to insects or other small animals in a way that would stress the worthlessness of the action it comments on.
By using a swear word that is well known in Finnish, Schuurman’s translation blends naturally into the rest of the language. Because the swear word is known to a Finnish audience, perhaps it is more offensive than a new invention is for the English readers. But using commonly known swear words has the advantage of conveying the act of swearing without confusing the reader with unknown lexemes.

In this subsection of presenting my analysis, I have introduced some of the most unusual swearing utterances from Fry’s text and their perhaps not so unusual Finnish translations. The next section of this paper offers a summary of the main ways in which my research answers the questions presented in the introduction.
6 DISCUSSION

The autobiography *Moab is my Washpot* gives the account of the first twenty years or so of Stephen Fry’s life depicting the author growing from a child who steals money from his classmates, school staff and his mother in order to buy sweets to a teenager who steals credit cards to travel around the country in pursuit of his new love interest, a boy. All this is depicted in a way that seems realistic but also with such hindsight that arouses the reader’s sympathy for the protagonist.

Part of the realistic narration of the story is the recurring use of swearing utterances in the characters’ speech and thoughts. Swearing can be said to be a stylistic device for the author to convey varying emotions as well as a technique for character building. Some readers may possibly disapprove of the use of ‘offensive’ language by a public figure with public school and Cambridge education, a high social standing and a career based much upon his ability to utilise language, thinking that he could have been able to convey those emotions in alternative ways of narration. As Pinker (2007) notes, authors should consider how often they really want their audience to be reminded of excrement, urine and sex. [...] Especially since writers “have the luxury of choosing their words off-line from the half-million-word phantasmagoria of the English lexicon” (p. 369). But it could also be argued that coarse language can be a suitable device to be used in the story that recounts honestly some highly personal experiences and for portraying the author, as well as the other characters, as ordinary people whose feelings anyone can identify with. Or at least anyone who does not condemn the expression of emotions through swearing.

An autobiography is dominantly expressive by function; thus, the translator should aim at conveying the connotative and emotive meanings of the story and to a lesser extent translate the denotative or referential meanings. In other words, the translator should aim rather at communicative equivalence than at semantic equivalence and maintain the original author’s choice of the mode of expression. Because the inclusion of swearing into a publication of literary work has undergone lessening of restrictions and because the translator of *Moab is my Washpot* had not got instructions to reduce or soften the swearing occurring in the original, it could be expected that swearing in the original is translated as swearing in the target text. Especially, since Finnish translators generally strive to follow the theory of acceptability, according to which a
translation should conform to the norms of the target language while staying loyal to the original author.

However, since swear words are cultural agreements, a fact which unavoidably produces differences between English and Finnish swearing, and since there are various reasons affecting the translation of swear words into Finnish, sometimes the characteristics of the original swearing utterances do not conform with the norms of the target language; thus, the translating of an English text with swear words occasionally leads to omitting the swear words from the Finnish version. Accordingly, the first part of my research revealed that the quantity of swearing does not remain the same in the Finnish translation of the autobiography. Of the 191 swearing utterances in the English version, 149 were translated into Finnish while 42 instances of swearing were omitted from the translation. Consequently, my research concentrated on analysing what kind of differences there are in swearing utterances and in swear words between English and Finnish and on finding explanations for omitting so many swear words from the Finnish version.

A couple of recurring reasons were found for the omission of swear words from the Finnish text. The explanations for omitting swearing from the Finnish text were not always unambiguous but linked to each other. The first two identified reasons were connected to the pragmatic function of name-calling. Since the Finnish vocabulary for expletive epithets is quite narrow, the translator is faced with a challenge of finding Finnish epithets that would be considered swear words and would convey similar characteristics of the person or thing called names as the original does. Because it is important to convey the name-calling function and the characteristic named by the original swear word, the translator must leave out the act of swearing and convey only the epithet meaning of the English swear word. Also, because English uses the swearing construction of noun support, which does not exist in Finnish, in which the swear word loses its negative charge and is instead used as a ‘filler’ to which an adjective may be hung (you jolly bastard), the Finnish version can translate the meaning of the adjective and either leave out the ‘filler’ word or replace the expletive with a neutral word (senkin iloinen veikko).

Another explanation found for the omission of swearing from the Finnish version was also connected to vocabulary, namely new swearing lexemes used in the original text. Because languages are in a constant state of development, and new lexemes are formed also of swear
words, at times, the omission of a swearing utterance from the Finnish version was based on the fact that Finnish does not express, for example, a certain action with a swear word which an English new verb lexeme does (arse about, ‘to idle’); therefore, the translator must resort to a ‘clean’, non-taboo verb to denote the activity (haihatella ‘to daydream’).

Also, the use of mild swear words in the original text was argued to be one explanation for the omission of swear words from the Finnish text. This was shown to have an effect particularly on the translation of blasphemous swear words used in Fry’s autobiography as among the stand-alone swearing constructions up to 32 % of the omissions consisted of blasphemous swearing. Also other types of English swear words were assessed as fairly mild in terms of offensiveness and thought to be translated with non-taboo words because of that. The assessment of a swear word’s mildness was argued to be based on the translator’s own rating as well as on the context of the swear word which includes various aspects, such as character and alliteration.

The assessment of the offensiveness of a swear word is, of course, always subjective. Landers (2001) argues that no matter what kind of personal standards of decency and morality the translator conforms to in terms of language use, they cannot apply these on the text they are working on (p. 151). However, according to Hjort’s (2006) research, religious ideologies can affect language use especially in terms of swearing (83). Also Pekkanen (2006) states that literary translation is a duet between the author and the translator: especially in literary texts (compared to expository texts) the personality of the author, and also that of the translator, are part of the writing process and therefore, the voice of the translator cannot be subdued completely (p. 83).

Schuurman stated that her own standards of decent language would not have affected her translation, but as Hjort (2006) notes, the text might reflect the translator’s values without her being aware of it (p. 82). As was noted, the omission of swear words did not always seem reasonable. The translator’s own assessment of the mildness of the original swear word may, at times, be the only explanation, for example, for why a compensatory swear word was not added to the Finnish utterance in such cases in which Finnish has no equivalent expletive epithet to the original swear word and must omit the act of swearing to convey the epithet meaning. Perhaps, the translator has felt that adding an extra slot filler swear word to the Finnish name-calling utterance that already conveys the epithet meaning of the original swear word would be adding to
the offensiveness of the utterance and therefore, has left out the swearing function. Since the degree of offensiveness of the SL swear word was stated in an earlier research to have an effect on the translation of swearing, this is argued to explain some of the omissions in the Finnish version of Fry’s autobiography. Yet, this kind of deduction can be claimed to be only speculation, and it could have been justified to contact the translator again to get more insight into these findings.

The second part of my research, the analysis of how the swear words that Fry has invented have been translated into Finnish, revealed that the more unusual swear words and swearing utterances in the original have been translated as mostly discarding the oddities of the original utterance. It could be argued that some of the expressiveness of these utterances suffers as a result. However, reducing the oddities was a way to produce a translation that is fluent in the target language. The aim of staying loyal to the original author and producing an acceptable translation in the TL is not easily achieved. For how much can a translator play with language before their readers start to feel like it is not a ‘good’ translation or before the readers start to feel that the translator is not using intelligible and natural language, or is not loyal to the original anymore when inventing their own new words?

Based on the findings of the research conducted for this paper, it could be concluded that the translation of swearing is not a simple task, and the translator must consider several aspects while conveying the style and the message of the original author into the target text. The findings of this research are in line with the findings of an earlier research in terms of what affects the translation of swear words into Finnish. The analysis in this research paper also illustrates how English and Finnish differ from each other in terms of the constructions of swearing utterances in the pragmatic function of name-calling. This research paper also demonstrates the challenge the differing swearing vocabulary of English and Finnish cause for the translator. The translator of Moab is my Washpot has mainly followed the norm of acceptability which, according to earlier research, is the preferred convention of Finnish literary translators. It results in a fluent TL text which is loyal to the original although the swearing is not as frequent or as extraordinary in the target text as it is in the original work, in other words, some of the swearing of the ST is lost in translation.
7 CONCLUSION

In this paper I have presented the findings of researching the omission of swearing and the translation of unusual swearing in the Finnish version of Stephen Fry’s autobiography *Moab is my Washpot*.

This study benefitted from the previous research on swear words as I was able to use the definition of swearing and the pragmatic functions assigned for swearing in my analysis. My research adds to the study of swearing in literary translation and extends it to the genre of autobiographies. It also adds to the yet sparse research in swearing in the Nordic languages. The results obtained in this study arise from one original work translated by one translator and may not therefore be applicable to other literary translations. However, the results of this study conform to the results of previous research on the factors affecting the translating of swearing into Finnish.

The analysis of this research may provide useful insight for translators feeling challenged in their attempt to translate English swearing utterances into Finnish. A weakness in this research can be claimed to be the fact that the quantitative results were the result of only a careful reading of the original and translated texts. Thus, I may have missed some of the swearing utterances. Additionally, the identified reasons for omitting swear words from the Finnish version of the text, according to which the analysis part of this research paper was organised, were partly overlapping and linked to each other. However, I wish to have pointed out several aspects affecting to the translation of swearing and to the omission of swear words in translation.

Ideas for future study that rise from the subject of this research could be to research how authors build characters with the use of swearing. Also, it would be interesting to see if there is much difference between swear words used in texts translated into Finnish compared to original Finnish writings. Another interesting research subject could be to find out whether the level of offensiveness of swear words varies between different genres of translated literature. Additionally, I would be interested to find out if translators use swearing to communicate emotions even if the original text does not have expletives in it.
References

Primary sources

Secondary sources


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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text type</th>
<th>form</th>
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<th>English swear word</th>
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<th>Finnish swear word</th>
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<td>narrative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(dislike)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>added</td>
<td>How am I ever going to apologise to that miserable, furious, wretched thirteen year-old, huddled in a scared bony heap on the changing room bench trying to work out how to shuffle to the showers without being seen? All he has is his anger, his fury, his verbal arrogance, his pride. Without that, he would shrivel into a social nothingness that would match his shrivelled physical nothingness. So forgive him the impenetrability of his rage, forgive him his insolence and the laughing cockiness he is prey to: they are just a ragged towel. A towel to hide his shame, to cover up the laughable no-cockiness he is prey to.</td>
<td>mulkkumainen</td>
<td>sexual organs</td>
<td>MIMW237</td>
<td>Miten minä koskaan voinkytää anteeksi siitä saattilävätilä, raivokasta ja surkealta kolmeoistavuuttaa, joka kyyhköi polkoakaan, luisevana myytynä pukuhuoneen penkilä yrityän keksiä, miten ilmenee suihkuun tultaessa nähdyksi? Hänelä ei ole muuta kuin kuikkuuva, raivosna, sanallinen ylimielisyytensä ja ypytensä. Ilman sitä hän kuitenkin sosiaalisen mitättömyyden, joka vetäisi verota hänen kuitunneelle fysialiselle mitättömyydeelle. Antakaa siis anteeksi hänen raivonsa kohtuuttomuus, antakaa anteeksi hänen vihansa, hävyttömyytensä ja mulkkumainen naruransa: ne ovat pelkkä risainen pyyhe. Pyyhe, jonka taikko voi kätkeä hapeansa ja peittää naurottavan mulkuttomuutensa.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>dialogue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(stand-alone)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>added!</td>
<td>I once stood on top of my desk, took out a gat gun (one of those air pistols that fires pellets but looks to the uninitiated to be a deadly automatic weapon) and shouted in a hysterical Cody Jarret voice, 'I've had it. Had it, I tell you! Just one move, and you're dead. You're all dead.' Everybody passed themselves and Ronnie did the best he could.</td>
<td>helveti</td>
<td>viekön</td>
<td>MIMW304</td>
<td>Kerran nousin seisomaan pulpetilleni, otin esiin pyssyn (selaisen ilmipistoolin, jolla ammutaan ilmaluoja mutta joka maalikin silmissä näyttää tappavaan automaatiasemalta ja) ja kiljuin hysteeriseen Cody Jarret -tyyllin: &quot;Nyt riitti. Nyt helveti viekön riitti! Jos saatteetkin niin kuolleita. Te kaikki kuoleatte?&quot; Kaikki pelastiivät niin että pissaivat houusiinsa, ja Ronnie teki paansa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>'predicative name-calling negation'</td>
<td>sexual organs</td>
<td>arse</td>
<td>The younger Bisset quite suddenly and inexplicably announced one term that he had changed his name to Tilney, something we all rather envied and I, personally, decided to emulate at once. I informed the master on duty that from now on I was to be referred to as Whatenough, Peregrine Ainsley Whatenough, but was told not to be an arse, which struck me as unfair. Looking back, one assumes the Bisset/Tilney name change was something to do with step-fatherage, a broken home and other things that were kept from us.</td>
<td>ääliö</td>
<td>disability</td>
<td>MIMW72</td>
<td>Eräänä lukautena nuorempi Bisset ilmoitti aivan ääliä ja selittämättä, että hän oli muuttanut sukunimensä Tilneyksi, ja me olimme kaikki kateellisia ja varsinkin minä päätin heti jäljitellä häntä. Ilmoitin vakavalle opettajalle, että tästä lähti minua tulisi kutsua nimellä Whatenough, Peregrine Ainsley Whatenough, mutta hän kielsi minua olemasta ääliä, mikä oli minusta epäreilua.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative (thought)</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>stand-alone, name-calling expressing annoyance and realisation of how stupidly he acted</td>
<td>sexual organs, arse</td>
<td>MIMW419-420</td>
<td>Barry had, when I had collected my wage packet at the end of my first week as a con, told me that the best way to make your bum go further is to pre-roll the cigarettes and lay them out to dry on the radiator pipe of your cell. I had dutifully done this and returned from Association to find every single one of my beautifully rolled cigarettes gone. ‘Lesson number one, mate,’ he said. ‘You can’t trust no one on the inside.’ What an arse. The cell door is left open during Association, it is only closed when the occupant is ‘banged up’ inside.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>predicate name-calling expressing dislike</td>
<td>sexual organs, arse</td>
<td>MIMW108</td>
<td>His favourite word, one for which I have a great deal of time myself as a matter of fact, was Arse. Everyone was more or less an arse most of the time, but I was arser than just about everyone else in the school. In fact, in my case he would often go further — I was on many occasions a bumptious arse.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>‘name-calling’</td>
<td>sexual organs, arse</td>
<td>MIMW108-109</td>
<td>Before I learned what bumptious actually meant I assumed that it derived from ‘bum’ and believed therefore with great pride that as a bumptious arse // was doubly arsey — twice the arse of ordinary arses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>predicate name-calling</td>
<td>sexual organs, arses</td>
<td>MIMW108-109</td>
<td>I was on many occasions a bumptious arse. Before I learned what bumptious actually meant I assumed that it derived from ‘bum’ and believed therefore with great pride that as a bumptious arse // was doubly arsey — twice the arse of ordinary arses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>predicate name-calling expressing dislike</td>
<td>sexual organs, arse</td>
<td>MIMW108</td>
<td>Everyone was more or less an arse most of the time, but I was arser than just about everyone else in the school. In fact, in my case he would often go further — I was on many occasions a bumptious arse.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>slot filler</td>
<td>emphasis by inflixing</td>
<td>sexual organs, mother, sexual activities</td>
<td>MIMW86</td>
<td>I CAN'T FUCKING JOIN IN. I have to mime at parties when everyone sings Happy Birthday...mime or mumble and rumble and growl and grunt so deep that only moles, manta rays and mushrooms can hear me. I'm not even tone deaf, that's the arse-mothering, fuck-nosed, bugger-sucking wank of the thing. I'M NOT EVEN TONE FUCKING DEAD. I'm tone DUMB.</td>
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<td>function to degree</td>
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<td>saatanallinen in vittukuosio in persäläinen runkumäinen</td>
<td>religion/supernatural in sexual, sexual activities</td>
<td>KK81</td>
<td>MINÄ EN SAATANA SOIKKO OVI LIITTYÄ JOUKKOON. Kun juhlissa lauletaan joukolla Paljon onnea vaan, minun täytyy vain liikkuttaa huuliani, joko liikuttaa huuliani tai sitten mumista ja muraista ja ärästä ja ähkiä niin syvältä, että vain kontiaiset, paholaisrauskut ja sienten kuulevat ääneni. Eikä minulta edes puutu sävelkorva, sehan tässä onkin se kaikkien saatanallahin ja vittukuosioihin ja persäläisiin ja runkumäisiin jutut. MINÄ EN EDES OLE SAATANA SÄVELKUOZERO. Minä olen sävelMYKKÄ.</td>
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If you can't hear ‘Eine Klein Nachtmusik’, they say, they can’t understand how glorious it is, how perfect it is, and how perfect it was – it’s like the sound of great music being yoked to the Yellow Pages and John Hooker turning into a lager salesman.

As a child, I assumed that it derived from ‘bum’ – ‘bumptous’ – ‘arsy’ – twice the arsy of ordinary arses.

Before I learned what ‘bumptuous’ actually meant I assumed that it derived from ‘bum’ and believed that it therefore had to do with the arses of boys. I was doubly arsy.

There were some who, like me, who were arsy in those fields of endeavour which came so naturally to them, and who could never be condescended to or embarrassed by the talk of other people. I was one of those people, and I found it difficult to express my pleasure in the look of words like jiving, skiing, Fiji, and most especially, Fiji. I was used to a little incompetent hammering on the piano when Rick was playing the guitar or singing. I suppose I just arsed about entertainingly.

I will rule constraining lines and write the alphabet dots on the letters ‘i’ and ‘j’, so I take great pleasure in the look of words like jiving,skiing,Havaiji, and most especially, Fiji. Fiji, Fiji, Fiji; Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji, Fiji.

I leave the lids off the pens, the nibs will go dry and the special ink will harden into a gummy resin. A sway of the pen will make a tiny spot and wonder what the hell I have been playing at.

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<tr>
<th>dialogue slot filler</th>
<th>name-calling with noun support</th>
<th>illegitimacy</th>
<th>bastard</th>
<th>MIMW308</th>
<th>When Mark and Guy subsequently leave school and find each other again in their twenties, after university, working in the same merchant bank it becomes cool, of course, to revert back to surnames. Bloody hell! It’s Taylor! ‘Hallett, you old bastard!’ All very puzzling and absurd.</th>
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<td>dialogue stand-alone</td>
<td>name-calling</td>
<td>illegitimacy</td>
<td>bastard</td>
<td>MIMW384-385</td>
<td>The burden of his tirade was the worry that I caused my poor mother and my poor father. Had I any idea? ‘Did I make them unhappy?’ I asked. ‘Of course you did, you young bastard,’ he snapped. ‘Unhappy enough to end their own lives?’ ‘No,’ he called after me as I fled, ‘because they’ve got more guts.’</td>
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<td>‘narrative name-calling’</td>
<td>illegitimacy</td>
<td>bastard</td>
<td>MIMW56</td>
<td>At one point during the court-martial, which Melchett rather unsportingly chairs himself, he refers to Captain Blackadder in a loud splutter of mad rage as ‘the Flanders pigeon-murderer’. That was the phrase this man had been shouting across the street. Not bastard pigging murderer at all...</td>
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<td>narrative –</td>
<td>‘narrative name-calling’</td>
<td>illegitimacy</td>
<td>bastard</td>
<td>MIMW56</td>
<td>This often happens. I remember a few years ago being angrily yelled at from across the street by a complete stranger. Simply purple with fury this man was, shaking his fist and calling me a bastard pigging murderer. I assumed he was someone who didn’t like my politics, my television appearances, my sexual preferences, my manner, my voice, my face – me.</td>
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<td>narrative slot filler</td>
<td>anaphoric name-calling</td>
<td>illegitimacy</td>
<td>bastards</td>
<td>MIMW360</td>
<td>I took a job at the Cawston Winery, a little plant that produced kits for home brewing and home wine-making. My job involved making cardboard boxes, millions of the bastards. The rest of the time however, was spent writing poems and starting novels.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative slot filler</td>
<td>deictic name-calling</td>
<td>animals and sexual activity</td>
<td>bee’s-wank</td>
<td>MIMW234</td>
<td>Then they had the nerve, these barely literate pithecanthropoids in their triple-A tee-shirts and navy blue tracksuit bottoms, with their pathetically function-rich stop-watches around their thick, thick necks, to write school of reporting cursing ‘motor development percentiles’ and other such bee’s-wank as if their futile, piffling physical jerks were part of some recognised scientific discipline that mattered, that actually mattered in the world.</td>
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I explained the nature of my problem. 'I see,' said Mr Joseph, folding his hands together, like Sherlock Holmes at the commencement of a consultancy. And what is deee...how you say?...deee cue that comes before you must start singing for dis programme? I had explain that the words that immediately preceded my sing were in fact 'Hit it, bitch...'. So. Your friend, he is saying 'Hit it, bitch'...and next music is starting and you must be singing? Yes'


The hypnotist's voice, at once both far away and incredibly close, made the suggestion that when I hear the words 'Hit it, bitch...' I would feel totally relaxed and confident, as if alone in the bath, unjudged, unselfconscious and unembarrassed. It was only afterwards, winding down as usual in the Zanzibar, the early pre-Groucho watering-hole of choice amongst 1980s comedians, photographers, artists and the like, that it occurred to me that the bloody man had only released me from my singing burden for that one single occasion. 'Hit it, bitch...' had been my trigger and this one Saturday night the moment of its activation. He had not freed me of my musical inhibitions permanently.

Tuba the Tubby brothers gardened, but they eventually left to be replaced by Mr Godfrey who ran the garden for many years and who delighted my brother and me by talking to himself a great deal in an endless stream of complaint about how the soil was 'a bitch' whenever it was cold. Given that he was an old man who consumed a large quantity of roll-ups every day, no doubt the frosty earth was indeed a bitch and I hate the picture of us giggling at him.


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| narrative | stand-alone | oath used as an expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) | religion/supernatural | blasphemo us by Christ | MIMW374 | Phil and Dale got me a job at Christmas as a waiter at the Hotel de Paris in Cromeri. In a week I earned a hundred pounds, and 
by Christ I learned it. I think I must have walked two hundred miles between kitchen and restaurant, silver-serving from breakfast to late, late, dinner. | totta viekön no taboo word | KK342 | kuunteleville kaniineille ja naakoille. | Phil ja Dale järjestivät minun joululoman ajaksi töihin Hotel de Paris -hotelliin Cromeriin. Tienasin tarjollisena sata puntaa viikossa, ja ne olivat totta viekön ansainnutakin. Kävelin varmasti kaksisatama mailia kettään ja ravintolani väliinä tarjoillen ruokaa aamiaisesta aina myöhässälliseen asti. | function to emphasize |
<p>| dialogue | stand-alone | expletive interjections (pragmatic marker) | religion/supernatural | blasphemo us Christ | MIMW139-140 | 'How many times do I have to tell you,' I howled. 'I haven't been to the village shop!' 'Yeah, yeah, yeah. Sure you haven't. And what have we got here then?' If the memory weren't so absurdly anachronistic, I could almost swear that Pollock ripped open one of the flying saucers and put his tongue to the sherbet like a Hollywood cop tasting white powder. 'But it's not from the village shop! It's not, it's not!' There was no getting through to this idiot. 'Christ, you're for the high jump this time,' said Pollock, turning away with all my spoils. | hitto religion/supernatural but very mild | KK127 | Montako kertaa minun pitää sanoa, ulvoin. 'Minä en ole käynyt kyläkaupassa!' 'No niin niin. Et varmaan olekaan. Mitäs tässä sitten on?' Ellei muistikuvani olisi niin absurdiin anakronistinen, voisin melkein vannaa, että Pollock repäisystyi lentäytyneen lautasen auki ja koitti kielinkärjeltään muujauhoa samaan tyyliin kuin poliisit Hollywood-elokuivissa maistavat valkeaa jauhetta. 'Ei ole kyläkaupasta! Ei ole, eile!' Se idiootti ei vain tajunnut. 'Hitto, nyt saat kyllä kepistä oikein pahemman kerran,' Pollock sanoi ja kääntyi pois mukanaa. | |
| narrative | stand-alone | expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) | religion/supernatural | blasphemo us Christ | MIMW143-144 | 'Well...I mean, everyone knows, you're a bit of a...you know...' I allowed myself to stumble, too tactful to finish the thought. Bunce's face grew dark. 'A bit of a what?' he said, in something close to a growl. 'Well,' I said gently, 'a bit of a goody-goody.' He flushed and looked at the ground. I may just as well have charged him with complicity in the holocaust. 'It's okay,' I said. 'I'm the idiot. I don't know what it is with me. I just can't help being bad.' He looked up at me, suddenly and for the first time annoyed with himself because he just couldn't help being good. Which is what I had wanted him to feel. Christ, I smart, I said to myself. Perhaps this is what is meant by 'approaching genious'. Do I know how to play a person like a fish, or do I not... | jessus religion/supernatural to finish the thought. Bunce's face grew dark. 'A bit of a what?' he said, in something close to a growl. 'Well,' I said gently, 'a bit of a goody-goody.' He flushed and looked at the ground. I may just as well have charged him with complicity in the holocaust. 'It's okay,' I said. 'I'm the idiot. I don't know what it is with me. I just can't help being bad.' He looked up at me, suddenly and for the first time annoyed with himself because he just couldn't help being good. Which is what I had wanted him to feel. Christ, I smart, I said to myself. Perhaps this is what is meant by 'approaching genious'. Do I know how to play a person like a fish, or do I not... | KK130-131 | &quot;No...katsos, kun kaikkihin tietäviä että sinä olet vähän...sellainen...&quot; Rupeisin taketeltemaan ja jätin laitteen tahden kaikista. Bunce kasvot kyynrivyvistä. &quot;Vähän millainen?&quot; hän sanoi lähes murhaen. &quot;No,&quot; sanoin lempesti, &quot;vähän sellainen kilti poju.&quot; Hän punastui ja katsoi maahan. Yhtä hyvin olisin voinut syyttää häntä halsuistaan suoraan. &quot;Ei se mitään,&quot; minä sanoi. &quot;Minähän tässä se älykääpiö olen. En tiedä mikä minua vaivaa. En vain voi olematta paha.&quot; Hänen katsahti veistä, viiltänyt kurkkuani auki korvasta korvaan. &quot;Hän katsaa, että minä halusinkin häntä tuntevan. Jesus että'n minä olen väkipäivä, tuumin itsesseni. Eikä sanat &quot;lähes nero&quot; tarkoittavatkin juuri tätä. Osaanko minä narrata ihmistä kuin kalaa vai enkä osaa...&quot; | |
| dialogue | stand-alone | expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) expressing interactivity | religion/supernatural | blasphemo us Christ | MIMW313 | 'Oh,' he said again. Then. 'Why do you like me then?' Christ Osborne, 'I said, getting a bit senior in my panic at the direction all this seemed to be going in, 'I like most people. [...]' | herran tähden religion/supernatural to finish the thought. Bunce's face grew dark. 'A bit of a what?' he said, in something close to a growl. 'Well,' I said gently, 'a bit of a goody-goody.' He flushed and looked at the ground. I may just as well have charged him with complicity in the holocaust. 'It's okay,' I said. 'I'm the idiot. I don't know what it is with me. I just can't help being bad.' He looked up at me, suddenly and for the first time annoyed with himself because he just couldn't help being good. Which is what I had wanted him to feel. Christ, I smart, I said to myself. Perhaps this is what is meant by 'approaching genious'. Do I know how to play a person like a fish, or do I not... | KK287 | &quot;Ai&quot;, hän sanoi jälleen. Sitten: &quot;Miksi sinä sitten pidät minua?&quot; &quot;Voi herran tähden, Osborne&quot;, minä puuskahdin hiukan ylimieliseen vanhemman pojan sävyyn kauhuisiin suunnaan, johon keskustelu näytti johtavaa, &quot;minähän pidän ylimpäästään useimmista ihmistä [...]&quot; | |
| narrative | stand-alone | expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) | religion/supernatural | blasphemo us Christ | MIMW430 | Who on earth could be sending me telegrams? Christ, maybe it had something to do with the court case. | voi luojaa religion/supernatural to finish the thought. Bunce's face grew dark. 'A bit of a what?' he said, in something close to a growl. 'Well,' I said gently, 'a bit of a goody-goody.' He flushed and looked at the ground. I may just as well have charged him with complicity in the holocaust. 'It's okay,' I said. 'I'm the idiot. I don't know what it is with me. I just can't help being bad.' He looked up at me, suddenly and for the first time annoyed with himself because he just couldn't help being good. Which is what I had wanted him to feel. Christ, I smart, I said to myself. Perhaps this is what is meant by 'approaching genious'. Do I know how to play a person like a fish, or do I not... | KK388 | Kuka ihmeesä voisi lähettää minulle sähköitä? Voi luojaa, ehkä se liittyi jokin oikeusjuttuuni. | |
| narrative | stand-alone | expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) expressing | religion/supernatural | blasphemo us Christ | MIMW230 | It is a mark of the man's fundamental good nature that he didn't whip out a knife there and then, silt my throat from ear to ear and trample on my body in hobnailed boots. The look he gave me showed that he came damned close to considering the | herrajumala religion/supernatural to finish the thought. Bunce's face grew dark. 'A bit of a what?' he said, in something close to a growl. 'Well,' I said gently, 'a bit of a goody-goody.' He flushed and looked at the ground. I may just as well have charged him with complicity in the holocaust. 'It's okay,' I said. 'I'm the idiot. I don't know what it is with me. I just can't help being bad.' He looked up at me, suddenly and for the first time annoyed with himself because he just couldn't help being good. Which is what I had wanted him to feel. Christ, I smart, I said to myself. Perhaps this is what is meant by 'approaching genious'. Do I know how to play a person like a fish, or do I not... | KK214 | Opettajan ystävällisestä perusluonteesta kertoo, että hän ei siinä paikassa tempeleitä esin veistä, vaan viinit kurkkuan auki korvasta korvaan ja polkenut minua maahan naulopohjaisilla kengillä. Hänen katsensa kertoi, että hän oli... | |</p>
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<th>role</th>
<th>stand-alone</th>
<th>expletive</th>
<th>interjection</th>
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<th>religion/supernatural</th>
<th>blasphemo us</th>
<th>Christ Jesus</th>
<th>idea</th>
<th>Christ</th>
<th>I could be a cheeky, cocky little runt.</th>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>vo jesus</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
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<td>KK281</td>
<td>Minä olen ovela, voi jesus miten olen ovela. Hän ei olisi voinut kymmenen sekunninkaan vertaa kuvitella, että olin tiippaaan kiiostunut hänestä, ei ainakaan lopputomien satunnaisen kohtaanistimme perusteella eikä niiden kiiostuksenaiheiden perusteella, jotka meille olivat sattumuosin yhteisiä.</td>
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<td>KK38</td>
<td>Tämä herättäisi lähä kuuluvia tuhahdusia ja lisää tähänkin huonoon astumiseen. Oiliekinpitua! Yhteensakuo, voi helkkari... Ei, se oli seitamätäntä.</td>
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<td>KK75</td>
<td>&quot;No niin, veteen siitä.&quot; &quot;Anna mennän nyttä!&quot; &quot;Eihän se hitto vie kylmää ole..&quot; &quot;Jalat!&quot; &quot;Jalat, jalat! Liikuta naita jalkajasi!&quot;</td>
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<td>KK288</td>
<td>Nätti! Hitto, että minä inhosin sitä sanaa. Nätti poika, nätti poika... vain joku mukautainen, vähä-älynen hetero voisi pitää Matthewta nättindä.</td>
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<td>helvetin</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
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<td></td>
<td>KK89</td>
<td>&quot;Ei tämä mitään leikkii ole, Fry! Ja kaks, kolme ja...&quot; Tällä kertaa minä yritin yritän toisissani ja saan sanoja sustani. Olin päänä vasta toiseen säkeeseen, kun Hemuss lakasi soittamaan, Krik sihahti heti perään: &quot;Sinähän vedät han helvetin pieleen!&quot; ja koko sali remahtii saman tien kiljuvaan ivanauruun.</td>
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<td>luoa</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
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<td></td>
<td>KK147</td>
<td>Ja maksut sitten...Ältäni kuoltaan löysin hänen paperiaan Uppinghamin maksutulokset: Luoa miten hänestä huijattin! Uskaltan olettaa, että se kaikki on nyt muuttunut.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>KK282</td>
<td>Rakastin myös mahdollisuutta seurata, miten tarkkuen n j opeutettiin lukien parit, ja luoa miten pientaroinkaan muiden poikien ihailussa, kun he kerääntyivät ympärilleni ja henkilöivät ihmeään nähdessään, miten nopeasti sormeni kiitivät näppämillään ilman että edes katsoin niitä.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Herran tähden, miten tyhmä voi ihminen olla? Ennen heidän esittäytymistään mielessäni ei hettekkää käynyt, että he voisivat olla jotain muuta kuin pukeutumiseltaan ja sukupuoleteltaan epätyyppillää huonesivuja.

Minähan olin herran nähköön hulluna karkkeihin. Suuni lukuista hammaspaiakat ja poskihampaiden kohdalla ammottavat aukot todistivat, että olin hulluna karkkeihin vielä pitkään silloinkin, kun olin jo liian iso sellaiseen.

Mitä hän siis tekee? Hän menee kylmän rauhallisesti herra rehtorin kansliaan, näkee pinnon kirjeitä ja paketteja, jotka osdottavat postimerkkejän, jättää oman pakettinsa pinon päällä ja lähtee. Vanha Dealey vie koko nivaskan postitoimistoon ja minun pakettini saa postimerkin muiden mukana, hän tuumii itseään.

Mitäpä hän saattoi tietää, että herra rehtori sattuisi tulemaan kansliaan ennen kuin Dealey olivien postit ja tunnistaisi sen erittäin persunnallisen käsialan, joka kuuluu kaikkein häpeämättömille luurikkaille, joka tällä koululla on koskaan ollut kunnia saada oppilaakseen? Voi hyvä luojat, voi hyvä luojat... se pilailuvälineliikkeen tilaus... ne yhteen teipaut olot. Olis unohtanut koko juttun.

Hyvä luoja, katsoisiko hän ainakin toiseen suuntaan? "Kuollut kontiainen, äiti sanoi. "Voi hyvä luojat, kuollut kontiainen..." "Jumalaste, Fry!" Cromie karjui astellen edestakaisin kansliassa kuin pussipiru häkissä. "Alle tunti sen jälkeen, kun olen onnittellut sinua häikäilemättömyydestä, olet täällä taas ja todistat että kyse ei ole häikäilemättömyydestä vaan jukkeudesta, törkeydestä, purunnoista räisydyestydestä!

Minähan olin herran nähköön hulluna karkkeihin. Suuni lukuista hammaspaiakat ja poskihampaiden kohdalla ammottavat aukot todistivat, että olin hulluna karkkeihin vielä pitkään silloinkin, kun olin jo liian iso sellaiseen.

"Good Christ, Fry!" Cromie yelled, pacing up and down the study like a caged Tasmanian devil. 'Not an hour after I congratulated you on your nerve than you're back here proving to me that it's not nerve, it's cheek, it's rudeness, it's bloody insolence!'

Kun lähestyn, hän seisoi salkkunsa vieressä mutta katsoi toiseen suuntaan ja tutki katsellaan muista suunnista saapuvien poikien joukkoa. Hyvä luojat, katsokiko hän aina toiseen suuntaan?

"Good heavens, darling," my mother said. "Whatever is that smell?" 'Dead mole, what do you think?' I said crossly as I stamped up the back stairs.


"[...] In Braddy’s English set today, you won’t believe it, but he was going on about bloody Hamlet and his mother and he used the word ‘frendshens’ about them... I mean, Jesus, how stupid can you get? Doesn’t he realise Freud wasn’t born until hundreds of years later? [...]"

Karkkiä ystävääni innostuneena olin varmasti pannut paketin pyydälle käpääidesäni salalaisikkoa. Voi laupias tavata...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>narrative</th>
<th>stand-alone</th>
<th>expletive</th>
<th>religion/supernatural</th>
<th>blasphemy</th>
<th>MIMW247</th>
<th>He thought I was queer? Queer for putting an arm round him when he had cramp? Jesus.</th>
<th>voi hemmetti</th>
<th>religion/supernatural but very mild</th>
<th>KK229</th>
<th>Hönenkö mielestään minä olin hinti? Hintti siki, että panin käsiwarten hänen harteilleen, kun hänellä oli suonenveto? Voi hemmetti.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW317</td>
<td>’I’m fourteen actually,’ he said. ’It was my birthday last week. Jesus, he was only... what, six months younger than me?’</td>
<td>herrannäaika</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>KK290</td>
<td>’Itse asiassa olen neljätoista,’ hän sanoi. ’Syntymäpäiväni oli viime viikolla.’ Herranäaika, hänkö oli vain... mitä, puoli vuotta minua nuorempi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW34</td>
<td>Look at him... his shorts are all rucked up and... my God... are those StartRite sandals, he’s wearing? Jesus...</td>
<td>ei ole totta</td>
<td>no taboo word</td>
<td>KK38</td>
<td>Katsokaa nyt sita... polvihousut ihan nypysää ja... voi apua... onko silla StratRiten sandaalit jalassa? Ei ole totta...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW192</td>
<td>A schoolfriend on first catching sight of him exclaimed, ’My God – it’s Sherlock Holmes! My heart sank on hearing this, for Sherlock Holmes had long been as passion.</td>
<td>Herrantähdén</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>KK174</td>
<td>Kun eräs kouluverenni näki isän ensimmäisen kerran, hän huudahdi: ”Herran tähden, sehan on Sherlock Holmes!” Se sai mieleni mustaksi, sillä Sherlock Holmes oli pitkään ollut intohimoisen harrastukseni.</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW34</td>
<td>What is this squidge, this fly, this nothing doing in our mature room, where we were maturely sharing a mature joke with Mr Kett? Look at him... his shorts are all rucked up and... my God... are those StartRite sandals, he’s wearing? Jesus...</td>
<td>voi apua</td>
<td>no taboo word</td>
<td>KK38</td>
<td>Mitä tuo vetelys, tuo ötökka, tuo mitätömyys tekee meidän isompien luokassa, jossa juuri nauroimme isompien tapaan isompien viitille herran kanssa? Katsokaa nyt sita... polvihousut ihan nypysää ja... voi apua... onko silla StratRiten sandaalit jalassa? Ei ole totta...</td>
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<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW218</td>
<td>’What?’ Caswell let his left hand fall from its ministrations to the glossy locks: Oh Christ, surely I hadn’t got it wrong? Maybe he had misheard.</td>
<td>voi apua</td>
<td>no taboo word</td>
<td>KK204</td>
<td>’Mitä?’ Caswellin venä käsi valahiti alas, kiihtivästi kiharosta, joita hän oli sukunut. Voi apua, en kai ollut sotken? Ehkä hän kuuli vaarin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dialogue</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW139</td>
<td>He struck me across the face. ’Don’t be cheeky, you little creep. Empty your pockets.’ Because of that fall at Chesham Prep my nose has always been immensely sensitive to the slightest percussion. The least strike will cause tears to spring up. In those days the tears were added to by the humiliating realisation that they looked like real tears: ’Oh for God’s sake, stop blubbing and empty your pockets. There is nothing like a false accusation to cause even more tears.</td>
<td>hemmetti vieskön</td>
<td>religion/supernatural but very mild</td>
<td>KK127</td>
<td>Hän loi minua kasvoihin. ”Ala sinä riukuksi siitä viisastele. Tyhjennä taskusi.” Cheshamin kouluessa sattuneen kaatumiseni jäljiltä nenäni on aina ollut äärettömän harkkä keveimalleen iskule. Pienninä liöntö nostattaa kynneleet silmiini. Siihen aikaan kynneet liittyivät vielä se nöyrzyttävää tietoisuus, että ne näyttäytyivät oikealta ikuita. ”Lopeta nyt hemmetti viesköön tuo volto tus ja tyhjennä taskut.” Mikään ei liioi liisaa kynneleet niin kuin peruspeitto syysö. Vaanumme ovat iilukkai aikoina jäänekkästi koultaen. ”Hittit, siihän on marmelaji-Fry, ja mitä helvetettä sinä siinä iikunapikaalla teet?”</td>
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<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW6</td>
<td>The door to our carriage slid open with a loud bang. ’Oh God, it’s Fry’s Turkish Delight. And what the hell are you doing by the window?’</td>
<td>hitsi</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>KK13</td>
<td>Vaanumme ovat iilukkai aikoina jäänekkästi koultaen. ”Hittit, siihän on marmelaji-Fry, ja mitä helvetettä siinä siinä iikunapikaalla teet?”</td>
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<td>expletive</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>blasphemy</td>
<td>MIMW109-110</td>
<td>Angus in his day beat me many times, always with gentle sorrow. Mid Kemp sliced me from time to time with a rather mad, rather frightening glazed boredom. Cromie beat me more than anyone since his reign as proper headmaster coincided with my rise from infancy to boyhood, from naughtiness to wickedness. When he beat me it was always with a grim resignation. ’Oh God, it’s you again...’ he would bark when he arrived at his study to find me waiting outside the door, the approved station for those who had been sent for a trashing. ’And what is it this time?’</td>
<td>voititto</td>
<td>religion/supernatural but very mild</td>
<td>KK102</td>
<td>Angus löi minua aikoina monesti, aina lempeän murheellisena. Mid Kemp käytti minuun aika ajoin peokelekkurian kasvoillaan varsin mielpiluolinen ja pelottava, lasituneen ikäväystynyt ilme. Cromie löi minua enemmän, joten kukaan, sillä hänén kautensa varsinsaina rehtorina alkoi samaan aikaan kun minä vartin pitkälappeesta poikakään, tuhuma paahksi. Minua lyödessään hän näytti aina synkeän alustuneena. ”Voi hitto, sinäkö taas...”, hän tiukas, kun hän käsittelään tullessaan tapasi minut even ulkopuolesta, keppirangoista.</td>
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</table>
dialogue stand-alone expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) expressing interactivity religion/supernatural blasphemo us Oh Jesus MIMW277 "In love are we? Where the hell did that pop up from?" Who? "Oh Jesus, Fry," said Gunn grinning with hideous supermony. 'For such a good liar, you're a terrible liar.' āh, hemmetti religion/supernatural but very mild KK255 "Ollananko sitä pihkassa? Mista helvetistä tuo tupsahti?" "Kuka?" "Ah, hemmetti, Fry," Gunn sanoi ja viimisti hirvittävän ylemmystentuntoisesti. "Noin hyväksi valehtelijaksi sinä olet ihan surkea valehtelijä." "Mikä nyt tällä kertaa?"

narrative stand-alone expletive interjection (cathartic) religion/supernatural blasphemo us Oh Lord MIMW218 'Okay, here's the deal. Go to Carmichael's study and tell him that the Incredible String Band is better than Jethro Tull.' Oh Lord, what had I got myself into here?  

narrative stand-alone expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) expressing interactivity religion/supernatural blasphemo us Oh Lord MIMW289 'Green ink, Fry?' Well sir, for English essays. I think it's more stylish.' Oh Lord. Very well.'  

narrative slot filler emphasis — bloody MIMW138 I stood up now, and squeezed my eyes tight in horror as I heard the rustle of paper bags in my trouser pockets. This would be no time for illegal sweets to tumble from me like coins from a one-armed bandit. 'It's alright, there's no need to look so frightened. Off you go.' 'Thank you very much and I'm sorry, sir.' 'Go and sin no more, that's all I ask. Go and sin no bloody more.'  

narrative slot filler emphasis — bloody MIMW86 The tunes are there in my head. There they are all right, perfect to the last quarter-tone of pitch and the last hemi-semi-quaver of time. The 'Haffner', 'Fernando', [...] even the opening bars of Till bloody Eulenspiegel, I can play them all effortlessly in my head.  

narrative slot filler emphasis/subjectivity (conviction) — bloody MIMW123 So, foraging through the headmaster's desk one afternoon I had happened upon a list which called itself Eleven Plus results, listing Intelligence Quotient Results or some such guff. I noticed it because my name was at the top with an asterisk typed next to it and the words 'Approaching genius' added in brackets. Cromie, the headmaster had underlined it in his blue-black ink and scrawled, 'Well that bloody explains everything...'  

narrative slot filler emphasis/subjectivity (conviction) — bloody MIMW126 The discovery of Cromie's scrawled 'Well that bloody explains everything...' next to my name determined me to investigate his study on every available occasion. I did not like the idea that things were being written about me without my knowing it.  

narrative slot filler emphasis/subjectivity (conviction) — bloody MIMW113 Penkoessani sitten eräänä ilta-päivänä rehtorin työpöydänä olin sattunut löytämään luetteloon, jonka otsikkona oli "Eleven Plus -tulokset" ja johon oli listattu "älykykysoamäärätulokset" tai jotain vastaavaa roskaa. Painin sen merkille, koska yksönen oli minun nimeni, jonka jälkeen oli kirjoitettu koneella asterkii ja sulkeisien sanat "Lähes nero". Rehtori Cromie oli alleliviiväin tämän sinimustalla mustekynällään ja raapustan sen jatkoksi: "No sehan piru vie sellittäken kaiken..."

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>narrative</th>
<th>slot filler</th>
<th>dislike</th>
<th>bloody</th>
<th>MIMW166</th>
<th>The Jews still manage, in some people’s eyes, that supremely clever trick of being to blame both for capitalism and its excesses through their control of banks and financial institutions and for socialism and the liberal consensus that threatens the very stability of capitalism and the free market. It’s their bloody torah and their damnable talmud, simply encourages too much of reading things into things and too much smug rabbinical clever-clever cleverness.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>heikkarin</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>KK152</td>
<td>Joidenkin ihmisten silmissä juutalaiset supremaan clevere trick of being to blame both for their religious/supernatural and their damnable capitalism and its excesses through their control of their financial institutions and for socialism and the liberal consensus, which suoranaisesti uhkaa kapitalismin ja vapaaiden markkinoiden vakautta. Niillä on se helkkarin tooransa ja kirottu talmudins helkkarin tooransa ja kirottu talmudins nokkelaan nokkeluuteen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| dialogueslot filler | emphasis | bloody | MIMW167 | It is a cliché among healthy schoolboys to say, “You can read anything into anything.” Bloody hell, all this Shakespeare stuff. I mean they read too much into it. In Braddy’s English set today, you won’t believe it, but he was going on about bloody Hamlet and his mother and he used the word “Freudian” about them...I mean Jesus, how stupid can you get? [...]

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>narrative</th>
<th>slot filler</th>
<th>dislike</th>
<th>bloody</th>
<th>MIMW214</th>
<th>I suppose those who do not like or approve of magic sense firstly that magicians are the kind of disreputable or vengefully nebby outsiders who relish putting one over on others and secondly that they themselves, as the victims of a trick, are not quite confident enough in themselves to take it laughingly. They are the kind who tug violently at the magician’s sleeves halfway through a performance or say, with snorting contempt, that it is, after all, only a bloody trick.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>hemmetti</td>
<td>religion/supernatural but very mild</td>
<td>KK193</td>
<td>Luullakseen ihmiset, jotka eivät pidä taikuudesta tai hyväksy sitä, näkevät ensimmäikin taikurit epäilyttävinä tai säättävänä kaukaisina ulkopuolisin, jotka nauttivat muiden hujaamisesta, ja toiseksi heillä ei ollut niittävästi itsekuvaamusta, jotta he ottaisivat asian huomiossa joutueensa itse takatempun uhriksi. He ovat niiot ihmiset, jotka nykyivät taikurik kiihkeästi hihasta puolella moralisilla esitystän tai sanon halveksivasti tähäntä: hemmetti, tuohon on pelkkä tempoo.</td>
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<td>dialogueslot filler</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
<td>bloody</td>
<td>MIMW241</td>
<td>‘Where is it, Fry?’ ‘Second on the left, you can’t miss it. Smells of urine and excrement.’ ‘Don’t be clever. I gave you a triple tish call yesterday.’ ‘You did? Are you sure you’re not thinking of my brother?’ ‘Don’t be cheeky, you know bloody well.’ ‘I’m afraid it entirely slipped my mind.’</td>
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<td>saakelin</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
<td>KK224</td>
<td>“Missäs se on, Fry?” ”Toinen ovi vasemmalla, ei voi ole rauhallista.” ”Ale vaikka, nyt vain pelkkä kuuma alamaisuo.”</td>
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<td>dialogueslot filler</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
<td>bloody</td>
<td>MIMW272</td>
<td>‘Now calm down, Stephen,’ you are saying. ‘We know you’re a poof. We know too, because let’s face it you’ve rubbed our bloody noses in it enough times, that you don’t deny sex, or the sex-drive in you. Don’t kid us that this “holy flame” of yours was some kind of pure abstracted love with no erotic overtones.’</td>
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<td>omitted!</td>
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<td>KK250</td>
<td>Tiedämme myös, koska olet suoraan sanoen vääntänyt sen <em>ruuturangan</em> ja tarpeeksi monta kertaa - että et kielaa seksiä et et omia sukupuoliviettäisiä. Älä yritä uskottelu, että se sinun ‘pyhää tuleis’ oisit ollut jotain puhdasta, abstraktea rakkautta ilman eroottisia taka-ajatuksia.”</td>
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He carried the smell of pipe tobacco about him and tolerated my address frivolity and absolute incompetence and lack of common sense in those fields of endeavor which came so naturally to him. He was innocent of the bloody pool! even if my idea of making use of the source—a resource, as it would be called today—was pointlessly to tip-tap away like a temp in a typewriter pool.

The erotic in life did not occupy me or engage my attention much because I was still neither physically developed nor sexually aware enough to make use of the matter... It doesn't fucking turn up to 'test'...
Penthouset, tirskahduket, wast, ja Kleenex-rasit kiersivät lukuopesta toiseen. whole idiom to detail

narrative | swear word talked about as a swear word | bloody | MIMW232 | It was one of the first things I had noticed about the difference between Stouts Hill and Uppingham, the language, just as for Robert Graves in Goodbye To All That it had been the transition from Charterhouse to the Royal Welch Fusiliers that had marked a startling move up in the swearing stakes. From a world of ‘bloody heck’ and the occasional ‘bale’ I had been hurled into a society where it was ‘fuck’, ‘wank’, ‘bollocks’, ‘cunt’ and ‘shag’ every other word. To say that I was shocked would be ridiculous, but I was slightly scared. |

voi helkkarin | religion/supernatural | KK217 | Se oli ensimmäisiä eroja, jotka huomasin Stouts Hillin ja Uppinghamin välillä, se kielenkäytö, aivan kuten Robert Gravesin omeamäkikerrasen. Goodbye To All That siirtyminen Charterhousen koulusta Royal Welch Fusiliers -jalkaväkirykmenttiin oli merkinnyt hätähdityttävää kasvua kiroilun määrissä. ”Voi helkkarin!” ja satamansen "saatan" maanimusta olen sinkoutunut yheisöön, jossa joka toinen sana oli "saatan", "vatty", "nukku", "peese" tai "paska". Olii

narrative | slot filler | dislike | bloody | MIMW99 | It was only afterwards, winding down as usual in the Zanzibar, the early pre-Groucho watering-hole of choice amongst 1980s comedians, photographers, artist and the like, that it occurred to me that the bloody man had only released me from my singing burden for that one single occasion. 'Hit it, bitch...' had been my trigger and this one Saturday night the moment of its activation. He had not freed me of my musical inhibitions permanently. |

helkkarin | religion/supernatural | KK92-93 | Vasta jälkeen pää, kun tavallisesti tapaani jäädyttelyä Zanzibarissa, jossa koimailta, vaikutajat, taiteilijat ja sen sellaiset hengialivot 1980-luvun alussa ennen kuin Groucho-klubi avattiin, tajusin että se helkkarin ukko oli vapautanut minun laukaisimeni ja tämä yksi lauantai oli yhdenä aktivoinniin jättänyt. Tässä ei ollut vapautunut minua estoistaan pysyvästi.

dialogue | slot filler | emphasis | bloody | MIMW144 | ‘Good Christ, Fry!’ Cromie yelled, pacing up and down the study like a caged Tasmanian devil. ‘Not an hour after I congratulate you on your nerve than you’re back here proving to me that it’s not nerve, it’s cheeck, it’s rudeness, it’s bloody insolence!’ I stood on the carpet, bimag my time. ‘Did I, or did I not, boy, was it last time that if you dared so much as to smell that blasted shop again I would have your guts for grarters? Well?’ ‘But, sir...’ ‘Answer me, damn you! Did I, or did I not?’ |

pirunmoisesta | religion/supernatural | KK131 | ”Jumalast, Fry!” Cromie karjui astellen down the study like a caged Tasmian devil. ”Alla tunti sen jälkeen, kun olen onnetellut sinua häikäilemättömyydestä, olet täällä taas ja todistat että kyse ei ole häikäilemättömyydestä vaan julkeudesta, törkeydestä...” ”Mason näytti pöllämystyneeltä. Hypnotisoija ei ollut vapautanut minua estoistaani pysyvästi.

dialogue | slot filler | emphasis | bloody | MIMW313 | ‘I’ll let you in to a secret, Matteo. The reason I hate games so much, and don’t you dare tell anyone this, is simple... I’m no bloody good at them.’ ‘Oh,’ he said again. Then: ‘Why do you like me then?’ |

perhanan | religion/supernatural | KK287 | ”Matteo, minäpä kerron sinulle salaisuuden. Syy siihen, että ihonan urheilua niin kovasti - alää sitten kerro tätä keneellekin - on yksinkertainen... Minä olen siinä ihan perhanan huono.” ”Ai,” hän sanoi jälleen. Sitten: ”Miksi sinä sitten pidät minut?”

dialogue | slot filler | emphasis | bloody | MIMW7 | The reply came as something of a shock. ’I have got a name,’ said Bunce, rising, ’but it’s none of your bloody business.’ Mason looked stupefied. |

hitto vie | religion/supernatural | KK14 | Vastaus oli melkoisen jättö. ”On minulla nimi”, Bunce sanoi ja nousi. ”Mutta se ei hitto vie kulu sinulle.” Mason näytti päällämystyneeltä.

narrative | slot filler | deictic name-calling expressing envy and dislike | bloody | MIMW236 | They could peachcock around without toothbrushes, they could jump up and down and giggle as bell-end slapped against belly-button, and heavy ball-sack bounced and swung, they could shampoo their shaggy pubes and sing their brainless rugby songs in the hiss of the shower-room, it was all right for |

piruliisita saakelin vittupäätiä | religion/supernatural , sexual organs | KK219-220 | Ne kyllä voivat kukkia kookkinsa ympärinsä ilman pyyheettä, ne voivat hyppää yöllä alas ja hiihtää, kun terska läiskyy vasten napaa ja raska


them, the muddy, bloody, merciless,

apemen cunts.

I took small amounts from several people to lessen the chance of there being a fuss. Bloody hell, I had a bob here at luchtime... would have been the cry of any boy robbed of a whole shilling. Whereas, 'Tsh, I'm sure had tuppence somewhere...' was less likely to raise a hue and cry.

It turned out that the previous night in the study my father had started to hunt about on his desk for a file that he needed. 'Bloody hell, you put something down for a second and it completely disappears... I mean what is going on?'

It was considered rather cool and adult amongst second, third and fourth years to be on first name terms. 'Hi, Mark,' Guy! How's it going? When Mark and Guy subsequently leave school and find each other again in their twenties, after working in the same merchant bank it becomes cool, of course, to revert back to surnames. 'Bloody hell! It's Taylor!' Hallett, you old bastard! All very puzzling and absurd.

A culture that demands people apologise for something that is not their fault: that is as good a definition of a tyranny as I can think of. We British are not, praise the Lord, in Stalinist Russia, Nazi Germany or Baptist Alabama, but that does not mean, and has never meant, that we must therefore reside in the fields of Elysium.

Toisen, kolmannen ja neljännnen vuoden oppilaita pitivät varsin tyyliläiskään ja aikuismainsen käyttää toisistaan etnisiä. "Moi, Mark!" "Guu! Mitä kuuluu?" Kun Mark ja Guy sitten päättävät koulunsa ja törmäävät uudelleen parikymppisinä päädyttäänpäin opiskelujensa jälkeen samaan liikkeenä. Tässä on tietenkin tyyliläädestä palata jälleen sukunimien. "Hallett, sehan on Taylor!"

"Fry, Aloukkalaisten tugbyn. Talon kentällä."

"Ei käy. En voi."

"Moi?" "Minä olen menossa miekkailemaan.

| narrative | stand-alone | curse used as an expolitve interjection (cathartic) | sexual organs | bollocks | MIMW85 | Bollocks to Salleri and his precious, petulant whining. Maybe it is worse to be able to make music just a bit, but not as well as you would like to, I'd love to find out. | paskat | scatologic al | KK81 | Paskat minä Sallerista ja hänen äristästä, sievistevästä rukutuksestaan. Voilai olla että on pahempaa pyystä musiikkiomaani ihan vain vähän, mutta ei niin hyvin kuin haluaisi. Minusta olisi ihanoa saada tietää se. |
| narrative | – | swear word talked about as a swear word | sexual organs | bollocks | MIMW232 | From a world of ‘bloody hell’ // and the occasional ‘balls’ // I had been hurled into a society where it was ‘fuck’ // ‘wank’ ‘bollocks’ // ‘cunt’ and ‘shit’ every other word. To say that I was shocked would be ridiculous, but I was slightly scared. | runkkku | sexual activity | KK217 | "Voii heikkari!" // ja satunnaisen "saastaa" maailmasta // olin sinkoutunut yheisöön, jossa joka toinen sana oli "saastaa", "vitu", "runkkual", "pena" tai "paska". Olii nautelija saanu, että olin järkyttynyt, mutta huukan se minua pelotti. |
| narrative | slot filler | noun support in deictic name-calling | sexual activity | buggers | MIMW236 | Those poor buggers in the gym trying to get my hopeless weakley body to do something healthy like climb a rope or spring over a vaulting horse, they did their best. They weren’t stupid, they weren’t mean. | surkimukset | no taboo word | KK220 | Ne jumpasalini surkimukset, jotka yrivitivät saada minun toivotonta, ruipeo kohtaa tekemäni jotain tervettä, niin kuin kipeämään köyttä myoten yöls tai lokkaamana hyppyrankun yli, teki kyllä paanahaan. Eivät eh tiehyymi olleet, eivätkä ilkeitäkään. |
| narrative | – | ‘narrative name-calling’ | sexual organs | cunt | MIMW234 | There’s more on this theme coming later. Let’s just say for the time being that I was wicked. When I wanted money or sweets, I stole them and I didn’t care from whom. From my mother’s handbag at home or from the desks and hanging clothes of my fellow pupils. For the moment, we’ll call me a weasley cunt and have done with it. | vittuopia | sexual organs | KK218 | Niin, aina olen joku Jamie, hyvä jätä Jamie, nopsa ja näppärä, vikkeleja ja ketteriä pikkua Jamie. Jamie hallitsi rugbyn aloituskilpailun, hän osasi kivuta köysä kuin joku Arthur Ransome sankari, lennähtää yöls ikkunankarmeja, loikata yli hyppyrakkujen, pyöristää nousevaa kännykkää altanaan, tehdä kiihkureissa kuperkeikojat etuperin ja takaperin ja ponkaista taas yöls napatik pikkukarit tuikkeen ja välkikun hyvää kuoottia ja kiinteittä ja sääpää pientä jamieisualiussa. Vittuopia. |
| dialogue | slot filler | deictic name-calling | sexual organs | cunt | MIMW316 | 'That’s what friends do in a natural world. It’s affection and support in a universe where we all need affection and support. But in this place it’s "queering" and it makes people point and sneer. You and I know it’s friendship, but when someone like that vile cunt in your House tries it on with you, he kids himself that it’s your fault. [...]’ | kusipää | scatologic al | KK289 | "Se on luonnollinen osa ystävyystä. Se merkitsee kintymystä ja tukea maailmassa, jossa me kaikki tarvitsemme kintymyystä ja tukea. Mutta tässä paikassa se on "homoula" ja ihmiset naureskelevat sille ja osoittelevat somella. Me kaksi tiedämme, että se on ystävyystä, mutta kun joku sellainen tyyppi kuin se kusipa näkii sinun talousa yrittää sitä sinun kannassasi, hän uskotelee itselleen, että se onkin sinun syytäsi. [...]" |
| narrative | stand-alone | predicate name-calling expressing dislike | sexual organs | cunt | MIMW379 | I didn’t wash, I didn’t take interest in others, I was argumentative with the two people who were most unconditionally prepared to show me their love - my mother and my sister, crushing their every enthusiasm with cynicism, arrogance and pride; I was rude and insulting to my brother, to everyone around me. I was the cunt of the world, filled with self-loathing and world-loathing. | kusipää | scatologic al | KK345-346 | En peseytynyt, en olut kiinnostunut muista, riitelin niiden kahden ihmisen kanssa, jotka olivat valmiita rakastamaan minua kaikkein ehdottomimmin - äiti ja sisareni kanssa, murskasin heidän kaiken innoituksensa kynnyseellä, yllemilisydellä ja ylepettelyllä; olin karkea ja loukkavaa veljäni ja koko ympäristöni kohtaan. Olin maailman suurin kusipää, pursin
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<td>&quot;You can fucking think of it // what you fucking like. You will not call that cunt // a fucking potty, you will call that cunt // a fucking slop-pail, got it?&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Ei se ole potta! Se on laskiämpäri!&quot;</td>
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<th>predicate name-calling</th>
<th>with deictic name-calling</th>
<th>sexual organs</th>
<th>cunt</th>
<th>MIMW416-417</th>
<th>mulkku</th>
<th>sexual organs</th>
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<td>&quot;Barry, as it happens, couldn’t read at all, so I set about teaching him. He was who dubbed me ‘The Professor’, which was to become my prison nickname. Most people are ‘that cunt’ but the possession of a nickname puts you a little higher up the ladder than the others.&quot;</td>
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<th>paska</th>
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<td>&quot;We were walking towards Association one evening the following week when Barry and I thought it would be amusing to drag our heels on the floor, which always left a black rubber mark. I stopped doing it as I heard approaching footsteps and Barry was caught mid-streak. ‘Hughes! Off Association two days.’ ‘But, sir!’ said Barry. ‘Don’t whine, you miserable cunt. Three days.’&quot;</td>
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<th>cunt</th>
<th>MIMW232</th>
<th>perse</th>
<th>sexual organs</th>
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<td>&quot;From a world of ‘bloody heck’ // and the occasional ‘bally’ // I had been hurled into a society where it was ‘fuck’ // ‘wank’ // ‘bollocks’ // ‘cunt’ and // ‘shit’ every other word. To say that I was shocked would be ridiculous, but I was slightly scared.&quot;</td>
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<th>mulkkun</th>
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<td>talked about as a swear word</td>
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<td>&quot;I might use long words from time to time and talk rapidly or name-drop culturally here and there and display any number of other silly donnish affectations, but this gives the impression that I might admire a similar manner or nature in others, then it makes me just want to go ‘bubbly-bubbly-bubbly-snibby-wib-wib floppit’ for the rest of my life, read nothing but Georgey Heyer, watch nothing but Emmerdale, do nothing but play snooker, take coke and get drunk and use no words longer than ‘wankee’ // and ‘cunt’.&quot;</td>
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<th>dialogue</th>
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<th>expletive interjection (pragmatic marker) expressing interactivity</th>
<th>religion/supernatural</th>
<th>damn</th>
<th>MIMW222</th>
<th>hitsi</th>
<th>religion/supernatural but very mild</th>
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<td>&quot;Oh, yes. The Unbelievable String Band is better than Jethro Tull.&quot; Carmichael smiled, ‘Er, I think you mean “The Incredible String Band”, don’t you?’ ‘Oh,’ I said. ‘Damn. Yes.’&quot;</td>
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<th>curse used as an expiective interjection (pragmatic marker)</th>
<th>religion/supernatural</th>
<th>damn her</th>
<th>MIMW429-430</th>
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<td>Somehow I managed to overtake John on the narrow stairway and I leaped for the dangling receiver. 'Mother! Did a letter come?' No, darling. No letter. 'Oh... Bless her, but damn her too, why did she have to call if there was no letter?'</td>
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<th>religion/supernatural</th>
<th>damn it</th>
<th>MIMW192</th>
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<td>Like Holmes he had a great musical gift; like Holmes he could be abominably rude to those close to him and charm itself to total strangers; like Holmes he delighted in piquancy and problemsolving for their own sakes, never for gain or fame; like Holmes he combined dreamy abstraction with ruthless logic and an infinite capacity for taking pains; like Holmes he was exceptionally tall, strong and gaunt. Damn it, my father even smoked pipes — for years he virtually lived inside a cloud of thick smoke.</td>
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<th>damn it</th>
<th>MIMW161-162</th>
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<td>What is camp? A much misunderstood word. Everyone has their own feel for it, here is mine. Camp is not in rugby football. Camp is not in the Old Testament. Camp is not St Paul. Camp is not in Latin lessons, though it might be in Greek. Camp loves colour. Camp loves light. Camp takes pleasure in the surface of things. Camp loves paint as much as it loves paintings. Camp prefers style to the stylish. Camp is pale. Camp is unhealthy. Camp is not English, damn it.</td>
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<th>damn you</th>
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<td>I stood on the carpet, bidding my time. 'Did I, or did I not, boy, warn you last time that if you dared so much as to smell that blasted soap again I would have your guts for garters? Well? 'But, sir... 'Answer me, damn you! Did I, or did I not?'</td>
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<th>expiective interjection (cathartic)</th>
<th>religion/supernatural</th>
<th>damn you</th>
<th>MIMW325</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Rudder the Captain of House himself came to escort me down to Frowde's office. The dear man was simultaneously distraught and furious. 'Damn you, Fry!' he cried, slamming the table. 'Blot you!'</td>
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<td>It is a mark of the man's fundamental good nature that he didn't whip out a knife there and then, slit my throat from ear to ear and trample on my body in hobnailed boots. The look he gave me showed that he came damned close to considering the idea.</td>
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<td>For my sixteenth birthday shen gave me a beautiful green and gold 1945 edition of Oscar Wilde's Intentions, which I have to this day, and a damned good fuck, the memory of which is also with me still.</td>
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<th>damn her</th>
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<td></td>
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</table>
At prep school an English master called Chris Coley had awoken my first love of poetry with lessons on Ted Hughes, Thom Gunn, Charles Causley and Seamus Heaney. His predecessor, Burchall, was more a Kipling-and-nothing-else-damned-poofery sort of chap, indeed he actually straight-facedly taught U and Non-U pronunciation and usage as part of lessons: ‘A gentleman does not pronounce Monday as Monday, but as Mundy.’

Music takes me to places of illimitable sensual and insensate joy, accessing points of ecstasy that no taboo word could ever devise. Music makes me write this sort of maudling adolescent nonsense without embarrassment. Music is in fact the dog’s bollocks. Nothing else comes close.

Nothing else comes close.

Now I do, now.

There were au pair girls at Chesham, German or Scandinavian usually, there was Mrs Worrell who scrubbed, there was Roger and in the evenings, there was the terrifying prospect of Father. But in my memory there is Mother at the typewriter (once she loudly said ‘fuck’ forgetting I was under her chair) and there is me, gazing into the blue and orange flames.

Meiillä oli Cheshamissa au pair -tyttöjä, yleensä saksalaisia tai skandinaaveja, ja rouva Worrell, ja Roger, ja illan oli Mutter, lauantaina tapahtuessa. Meidän oli varsin mielenkiintoa kuulla, että hänen äitiään halusi laittaa stainless steel sanaan käännöksi, voin vain kysyä, onko siihen suorastaan mukavaa vasta? Olen antanut tämän tiedon, koska minulla on tällainen arkkakaike.
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<th>sexual activity</th>
<th>fuck knows</th>
<th>MIMW111</th>
<th>Maybe you are right. Maybe I am a woeful and pathetic specimen. Maybe I do suffer without knowing it the disastrous consequences of a barbaric and outdated education. Maybe it has disturbed the balance of my mind. Maybe it has warped and thwarted me. Fuck knows. I don't and, without wishing to be rude, you most certainly can't know either.</th>
<th>helvetistäkö sen voi tietää</th>
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<td>unfriendly suggestion used as expletive interjection (cathartic)</td>
<td>sexual activity</td>
<td>fuck off</td>
<td>MIMW414</td>
<td>It was on my second night's Association that a large con put his hand on my knee and told me that I was cute. 'Ere, why don't you fuck off and leave me alone,' a Bristolian car-thief next to me said. There was no fight. That was it.</td>
<td>painin sinä vittuun</td>
<td>sexual organs</td>
<td>KK375-376</td>
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<td>narrative</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>swear word talked about as a swear word</td>
<td>sexual activity</td>
<td>fuck sight</td>
<td>MIMW232</td>
<td>And it was a fuck sight harder to get off ekker at Uppingham than it had been at prep school. 'A fuck sight' was the kind of language one used at Uppingham all the time, out of the hearing of staff.</td>
<td>saatanan</td>
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<td>KK216-217</td>
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<td>intensifier</td>
<td>sexual activity</td>
<td>fuck sight</td>
<td>MIMW232</td>
<td>I hated sport, ekker, games, whatever they wanted to call it. And it was a fuck sight harder to get off ekker at Uppingham than it had been at prep school. 'A fuck sight' was the kind of language one used at Uppingham all the time, out of the hearing of staff.</td>
<td>saatanan</td>
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<td>'predictive name-calling negation' new lexemes</td>
<td>sexual activity</td>
<td>fucked up</td>
<td>MIMW18-19</td>
<td>That my fucked-up-edness sprang from a sense of betrayal, desertion or withheld love I will not allow. Roger, my adorable brother, was and is far from fucked up after all, and he was the first to be sent away and might reasonably be expected to have felt the greater sense of abandonment, there being no elder in whose footsteps he might follow.</td>
<td>vinksahtanut ut</td>
<td>no taboo word</td>
<td>KK24</td>
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<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>stand-alone</td>
<td>predication name-calling new lexemes</td>
<td>sexual activity</td>
<td>fucked up</td>
<td>MIMW19</td>
<td>Roger, my adorable brother, was and is far from fucked up after all, and he was the first to be sent away and might reasonably be expected to have felt the greater sense of abandonment, there being no elder in whose footsteps he might follow. Jo, my adorable sister, wasn't sent away at all, as girls weren't by then. She was fairly fucked up as a teenager but arguably because of the very fact that she didn't go to boarding school.</td>
<td>vinksahtanut ut</td>
<td>no taboo word</td>
<td>KK24</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Private education may be a divisive abomination, it may leave its product weird and ridiculous in all kinds of insanitary and peculiar ways, it may have held back the social development of this country, it may be responsible for all kinds of disasters and unpleasantnesses, but in my case it never left me feeling starved of parental love and attention. I think it safe to say that I would have been a fucking youth had I been given a secondary modern, comprehensive or grammar school education.

It is also true that the ineptly hidden distress of my mother at the end of the school holidays gave me more direct, clear testament of absolute love than most children are ever lucky enough to receive at such an early age. That I was fucked up as a child and then as a youth, I cannot deny. That my fucked-up-edness sprang from a sense of betrayal, desertion or withheld love I will not allow.

To see friends gathering round a piano and singing 'Always Look on the Bright Side of Life', 'Anything Goes', 'Yellow Submarine', 'Summertime', 'Der Erlkönig', 'She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain', 'Edelweiss', 'Non Più Andrai' - it doesn't fucking matter // what bloody song it is....
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<td>I shall never forget the red mist that descended over me, years later, when I once saw youths throwing stones at some ducks in a park in King's Lynn. I picked up some huge pieces of builder's rubble nearby and started to hurl them at the boys, roaring the kind of menlingness obscenities that only pure fury can put into the mind. 'You shit spike wank turbid bastardheads... how do you fucking like it, you tossing tossers...' that kind of thing.</td>
<td>saatanan</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
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<td>Even a tragic management consultant bristling with statistics and psychological advice on the art of people handling — art of the so-fucking-obvious-it-makes-your-nose-bleed more like — has some right to look himself in the mirror every morning, but these baboons with their clip-boards and whistles and lactic acid burn statistics, running backwards with a medicine ball under each arm, shouting 'Come on, Fry, shift yourself, let's see some burn...'</td>
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<td>I shuddred, half at the cold, half at the horror of it all. 'This place!' I said. 'This fucking place...thing is, Matteo, it's a hothouse. You wouldn't think so with the snow falling all around us, but it is. We live under glass.[...]`</td>
<td>saatanan</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>`It is not a potty! It is a slop-pail!' 'Well, I prefer to think of it as a potty, sir.' 'You can fucking think of it // what you fucking like. You will not call that cunt // a fucking potty, you will call that cunt // a fucking slop-pail, got it?'</td>
<td>saatanan</td>
<td>religion/supernatural</td>
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<td>`You can fucking think of it // what you fucking like. You will not call that cunt // a fucking potty, you will call that cunt // a fucking slop-pail, got it?'</td>
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<td>In the evenings there came Association. Association was the prison's major carrot and stick. 'Right! You, off Association for a week.' `First one to clear up this fucking mess gets an extra ten minutes' Association.'</td>
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You're fishing for compliments here or what? No, no. I'm sorry. It's just that. Well. It was something someone said to me. Oh, fuck, here we go. I thought. His brother has been warning him. Some jealous son of a bitch is whispering. The game is up.

"You had a bit of bitter butter and put it in her batter and made her batter bitter. Then Betty put a bit of better batter in her batter better. She stood at the door of Burgess's fish sauce shop, welcoming them in."

"Ovella seisominen vielä meni tämän ongelman – ja vielä tänä päivänäkin sen on seurattu laisenteen ja sen myöttä pura a bit of her batter better."

Betty hold a bit of her batter better and put it in her batter. The Betty put a bit of better batter in her batter. The Betty put a bit of better batter in her batter. The Betty...


"Siitä siirryimme koulupuolkesi – mutta lasten lapsen elämää hän ei ollut tarttunut. Siksi seurattia likkerikastikkeen sijasta seurattia meille lapsen elämäs ja laisenteen, ja seurattia tämän mukaisesti."
I reckoned the devastating admixture of those two, with a little aspirin and codeine thrown in, would do the job. I can’t remember if I wrote a note or not, knowing me I must have done, a note filled with hatred and blame and self-righteous misery. If ever I have been a total prick. // a loveless, unlovable prick in my life, this was the time. I was horrid to look upon, to listen to, to know.

En muista jätäni viestin, joka oli täynnä vihaa ja syytöksiä ja omahyväsitä kurjuutta. Jos olisin ollut parhaassa väestössä, jossa $täytyneen myrskyä ja kiihkoa, en tuntien voi olettaa että jätin viestin, joka oli täynnä vihaa ja syytöksiä ja omahyväsitä kurjuutta. Jos olen koko elämäni ollut täynnä pääviihaa ja syytöksiä ja omahyväsitä kurjuutta, jo en ole ollut ollut parhaassa väestössä, niin $täytyneen myrskyä ja kiihkoa.

'But I thought I was in the top Latin set!' I exclaimed in mock horror. 'How come I've been demoted to the derr-brains? Shoot! He will hear that stupid insult and know it for what it is. He will think me arrogant.'

"Miten minut on voitu alentaa talaiavoimien räjähdyttiä?" Saakele! Hän kuulee tuon typerän loukkauksen ja tietää mitä siitä ajatella. Hän pitää minua ylihymyisänä.


Games! How dared they use that grand and noble word to describe such low, mud-caked barbarian filth as rugby football and hockey? How dare they think that what they were doing was a game? It wasn't lurid, it was ludicrous. It wasn't gamey, as a rotten partridge is gamey. It was shit, it was a wallowing in shouting, roaring, brawling, tribal shit. And the shittiest shit of it all was the showers.

"Kuka halaa! Miten me kehitasivat käyttää sitä hienoa ja jaloa sanaa kuvaamaan niin alhaista, barbarista, mutatahraista kuonaan kuin rugby ja hockey? Miten me kehitasivat ajatella että se oli pelaa! Ei se ollut leikkielämistä, se ollut heikkielämistä. Siinä ei ollut reilua kiskonkä, sen henki häis, se häis kuin mitä pelopyyn. Se olisi paska, se olisi ryhmemättä kiljuvaa, myrkyväta, brutaltaisia, heimoinenpäitä paskassa. Ja kaikin paskamaista paskaa ollivat suhut.

From a world of 'bloody heck' // and the occasional 'balls' // I had been hurled into a society where it was 'fuck' // 'wank' // 'bollocks' // 'cunt' and // 'shit' every other word. To say that I was shocked would be ridiculous, but I was slightly scared.

I shall never forget the red mist that descended over me, years later, when I once saw youths throwing stones at some ducks in a park in King's Lynn. I picked up some huge pieces of builder's rubble nearby and started to hurl them at the boys, roaring the kind of meaningless obscenities that only pure fury can put into the mind. "You..."

Did I hate games because I was so shit at them, or was I so shit at them because I hated them and did I hate them because of...THE BATHS AND THE SHOWERS?

Don't get me wrong, unlike my mother, I've a wicked tongue in my head and when it comes, for example, to that pallid, fraudulent, dangerous twentieth-century version of true mysticism, the charlatanisms of runes, tarot, horoscopy, telepathy, rootless opinion, stale second-hand 'open-mindedness' and all that shit, I get blisteringly unforgiving and furious.

It was perhaps rather more suburban a style than one might expect from a boy of my upbringing: my brother preferred to dream of farming and flying and other pursuits more usual amongst the country-bred, but none the less I was one of the millions and millions of fact-collecting, did-you-knowing, apparently-ingenious little shits that the world has put up with since Gutenberg first carved a moveable letter 'a', which, as every schoolboy tick like me knows, he did in Strasbourg round about 1436.

It was... it was a wallowing in shouting, roaring, brutal, tribal shit. And the shittest shit of it all was the showers.

I was marched to A wing, shouted at nose to nose every time I slowed down or looked from left to right, and told that I had better get used, pretty fucking quick, to being treated like the shittiest little villain that I was.
The game is up. The sooner the better. Hugh can sing splendidly, and play any musical instrument you throw at him.

He was the most beautiful thing I had ever seen in my life. I stopped dead so suddenly that a boy behind walked straight into me. 'Watch where you’re going,' you dozy tosser...’ ‘Sorry.’
I shall never forget the red mist that descended over me, years later, when I once saw youths throwing stones at some ducks in a park in King's Lynn. I picked up some huge pieces of builder's rubble nearby and started to hurl them at the boys, roaring the kind of meaningless obscenities that only pure fury can put into the mind. 'You shit tosser turdy bastard heads... how do you like it,' you tossing tossers... that kind of thing.

It is one of the great ironies of British (anti-)intellectual life that a nebulus sense of twentieth century relativism has taken hold, somewhere deep down, and is used to damn and distrust the logical and the rational. Thus a point of view about art can be dismissed as 'pretentious' and 'wank' -- in other words, as not solid, not real, 'airy-fairy' and 'arty-farty' -- while at the same time any logical, rational defense of it is dismissed as 'just opinion' or 'semantics' in a world in which, 'let's face it, everything is relative anyway...'

I think I had been desperate to show someone, anyone, a section of a team photograph I had managed to steal, cutting Matthew's face into an oval and clipping it into my wallet like a schoolgirl's pressed flower. Jo had grunted sympathetically, he had never been attracted in a way...
boyward direction, but he was good-hearted and perceptive enough to glimpse the sincerity of my passion behind the loose, self-indulgent wank of my rhetoric. MIMW381

I used many times to touch my own chest and feel, not magical power, not all that Carrie teenage telekinetic wank, but real power. KK347

not taboo word

Olin monesti koskettanut omasta rintaani ja tuntenut sen astmaattisen värinänالتلك arena من كلتي. minulla oli hallussani. Ei se mitään taikavoimaa, vaan todellista voimaa.

MIMW232

From a world of `bloody heck´ and the // // bloody balls // bloody bollocks // cunt // shit every other word. To say that I was shocked would be ridiculous, but I was slightly scared.

MIMW125

I once got out my old Stouts Hill boater and wore it to school. This enraged a School Pig I encountered on the way. And just what the fuck do you think you’re doing wearing a boater? But this isn’t a boater, Merrick, it’s a sun-hat. I am highly susceptible to excess heat. ‘You’ll be highly susceptible to a kick up the arse if you don’t take it off.’

MIMW265

I once got out my old Stouts Hill boater and wore it to school. This enraged a School Pig I encountered on the way. And just what the fuck do you think you’re doing wearing a boater? But this isn’t a boater, Merrick, it’s a sun-hat. I am highly susceptible to excess heat. ‘You’ll be highly susceptible to a kick up the arse if you don’t take it off.’

MIMW271

Before this moment I may have thought a particular sunrise or hillside was stunning or attractive but after this moment I would be able to see beauty there. Absolute beauty. ‘What the fuck is going on?’ said Jo, panting to keep up with me as I strode forwards. This apparition was now perhaps three ranks forward of me.
| narrative | slot filler | emphasis | religion/supernatural | what the hell | MIMW24 | | | narrative | slot filler | emphasis | religion/supernatural | what the hell | MIMW373 | | | dialog | slot filler | emphasis | religion/supernatural | what the hell | MIMW6 | | | dialog | slot filler | emphasis | religion/supernatural | where the hell | MIMW277 | | |"After a few days of this kind of staring about, I will leave the lids off the pens, the nibs will go dry and the special ink will harden into a gummy resin. A week or so later I throw the whole kit away and wonder what the hell I have been playing at.

After a few days of this kind of arseing about, I will leave the lids off the pens, the nibs will go dry and the special ink will harden into a gummy resin. A week or so later I throw the whole kit away and wonder what the hell I have been playing at.

The summer after my first year at Lynn I earned enough as a barman at the Castle Hotel (sixteen years old, but what the hell, they didn't ask questions in those days) to buy a Raleigh Ultramatic Moped, which I now used to shuttle me the weekly thirtysomething miles between Booton and King's Lynn.

The door to our carriage slid open with a loud bang. 'Oh God, it's Fry's Turkish Delight. And what the hell are you doing by the window?' 'Hello, Mason,' I said.

The door to our carriage slid open with a loud bang. 'Oh God, it's Fry's Turkish Delight. And what the hell are you doing by the window?' 'Hello, Mason,' I said.

"In love are we? Where the hell did that pop up from?" 'Who?' 'Oh Jesus, Fry,' said Gunn grinning with hideous superiority. 'For such a good liar, you're a terrible liar.'

"In love are we? Where the hell did that pop up from?" 'Who?' 'Oh Jesus, Fry,' said Gunn grinning with hideous superiority. 'For such a good liar, you’re a terrible liar.'

"Oh, hemmetti, Fry", Gunn sanoi ja virnisti hirvittävän ylemmänäntuntoisesti. "Noin hyväksi valehtelijaksi sinä olet ihan surkea valehtelija."